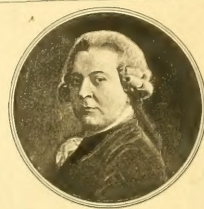




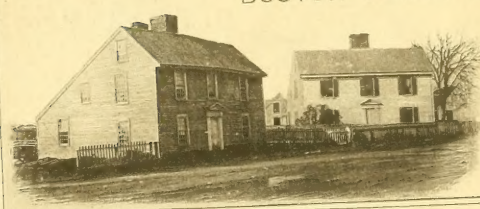
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THE NEW  
ANNUAL REGISTER,  
OR GENERAL REPOSITORY OF  
HISTORY,  
POLITICS,  
AND  
LITERATURE,  
For the YEAR 1781.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,  
A SHORT VIEW of the STATE of KNOWLEDGE,  
LITERATURE, and TASTE, in this Country, from the  
Death of Queen ANNE, to the Death of King GEORGE II.

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L O N D O N,  
Printed for G. ROBINSON, Pater-noster-Row.  
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## P R E F A C E.

**I**T is with pleasure that we introduce to the public the Second Volume of the New Annual Register, and it increases our satisfaction that we have been able to complete it in a reasonable Time. We trust, that it will not be found to be published so early as to be chargeable with having been executed in a hasty or indigested manner. On the contrary, we hope that the marks of our attention and assiduity will be apparent in every part of the undertaking: and indeed, considering the favourable Reception we have met with, we should be very blameable if we remitted in our activity and diligence.

The British and Foreign History, which is so uncommonly interesting at this important crisis, will, we are persuaded, recommend itself by the impartiality and care wherewith it is written. The Occurrences will strongly display the skill and bravery of our naval officers; and in the Public Papers, among which the reports of the commissioners of accounts hold a distinguishing rank, nothing material is omitted.

## P R E F A C E.

We have been enabled to add another head to the Miscellaneous Part; which part we mean hereafter to diversify and improve, as circumstances shall admit. The whole of this division of our work again reflects, by its fulness and variety, signal honour on the productions of the year.

There is no vanity in saying, that the Accounts of Domestic and Foreign Literature, are not inferior to what they were before. The scientific form in which the view of the Annual Domestic Literature is drawn up, will enable the reader to see the true state of the several branches of knowledge in this country; and, in time, may suggest many useful reflections to inquisitive and philosophical minds.

The Introduction is the beginning of a design, which, if it should be executed as it ought to be, cannot fail of affording instruction and entertainment.

Upon the whole, we flatter ourselves, that the New Annual Register, for 1781, will not disappoint either the Politician, the Scholar, or the Gentleman.

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# C O N T E N T S.

**A** SHORT View of the State of Knowledge, Literature, and Taste, in this Country, from the Death of Queen Anne to the Death of King George the Second, — — — 1

## BRITISH AND FOREIGN HISTORY.

### C H A P. I.

*Observations on the State of Affairs at the Close of the Year 1780. Meeting of the New Parliament. Debates on the Election of a New Speaker. Speech from the Throne. Addresses moved for in both Houses, and Debates thereupon.* — — — 3

### C H A P. II.

*Proceedings of the House of Peers relative to a Challenge sent by the Earl of Pomfret to the Duke of Grafton. Debates in the House of Commons on the Bill for continuing the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, with respect to Persons accused of High Treason, either in America, or on the High Seas. Complaint exhibited by Lord Mahon of a Violation of the Law of Nations by the English at the Dutch Island of St. Martin. Debate on the Navy Estimates. Supplies granted to his Majesty. Motion for Naval Papers made in the House of Peers by the Duke of Bolton.* 17

### C H A P. III.

*Debate on a Motion for a Vote of Thanks to the late Speaker of the House of Commons. Debate on a Motion for an Account to be laid before the House of the Number of Forces under the Command of Sir Henry Clinton. Troops voted for the Service of the current Year. Debate on a Motion for a Vote of Thanks to Sir Henry Clinton and Earl Cornwallis. Other Parliamentary Transactions. Recesi.* 28

# C O N T E N T S.

## C H A P. IV.

*Unsuccessful Attempt of the French to make themselves Masters of the Isle of Jersey. Capture of the Islands of St. Eustatius, St. Martin, Saba, and other Dutch Settlements. Rigorous Treatment of the Inhabitants of St. Eustatius. Memorials and Remonstrances occasioned by that Transaction. The United Provinces ill prepared for War at the Commencement of Hostilities. Dissatisfaction in Holland on Account of the Duke of Brunswick. Memorial presented to the States-General by Mr. John Adams, in order to procure an Alliance between Holland and the American Congress. Orders, issued by the Court of Great Britain, respecting the Freedom of Navigation in the Baltic.*

35

## C H A P. V.

*American Affairs. Discontent of some of the American Troops, and Revolt of the Pennsylvania Line. Ineffectual Attempts of Sir Henry Clinton to induce them to join the royal Standard. Resolution of a Committee of the Congress relative to the Treatment of American Prisoners. Defeat of the British Troops under Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton by the Americans under General Morgan. Military Operations after that Event. Lord Cornwallis marches through North Carolina. Large Quantities of American Stores destroyed by Arnold. Wilmington taken Possession of by the King's Troops. Defeat of General Greene by Lord Cornwallis at Guildford. Other military Transactions.*

42

## C H A P. VI.

*Petitions presented to the House of Commons, from the West India Planters and Merchants, on Behalf of the Inhabitants of Jamaica and Barbadoes, who had sustained great Losses by the late dreadful Hurricanes. Relief granted by Parliament to the Sufferers in those Islands. Message from his Majesty to both Houses of Parliament on Occasion of the Commencement of Hostilities with Holland. Debate on the royal Message in the House of Commons. Debate on the same Subject in the House of Peers,*

50

## C H A P. VII.

*East India Affairs. Discontents occasioned in India by the Establishment of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Calcutta, and by the extensive Jurisdiction assumed by the Judges of that Court. The Directors of the East India*

*India*

## C O N T E N T S.

*India Company exhibit a Complaint against the Conduct of the Judges to the Secretary of State. A Petition against that Court, from a Number of the British Inhabitants of Bengal, Babar, and Orissa, presented to the House of Commons. A Petition presented to that House from the Governor-general and some of the Council of Bengal, complaining of the Conduct of the Judges of the Supreme Court, stating that they had been obliged to resist the Proceedings of the Judges by a military Force, and soliciting that an Act of Parliament might be passed to indemnify them against all the legal Consequences of their Resistance to that Court. Remarkable Decisions of the Supreme Court. Case of Nundcomar. Patna Cause. Extraordinary Proceedings of the Officers of the Supreme Court, in attempting to extend its Jurisdiction. Petition from the Natives of Bengal to his Majesty against the Supreme Court. Debate in the House of Commons on a Motion made by General Smith, to appoint a Select Committee to take into Consideration the Petitions against the Supreme Court in India.* 72

### C H A P. VIII.

*Motion made in the House of Commons by Mr. Burke, for Leave to bring in again his Bill for the better Regulation of his Majesty's civil Establishment, and for the Promotion of public Oeconomy, which had been rejected by the preceding Parliament. The Motion agreed to. The Bill read the first Time. Debate on the second Reading. The Bill rejected by the House.* 88

### C H A P. IX.

*Debate in the House of Commons, on Motions made by Mr. Sheridan, relative to the Employment of the Military in the Suppression of Riots, without Authority from the Civil Magistrate, and to the Police of the City of Westminster. A Requisition made by the Minister, for upwards of Twenty-one Millions for the Service of the current Year. The Requisition complied with. Opposition made in both Houses to the Terms of the Minister's Loan. Protest against it in the House of Peers.* 100

### C H A P. X.

*Debate in the House of Peers on the Increase of Popery. Debate in the House of Commons on the Contractors Bill. The Bill rejected on a Division. Debate on the Bill for restraining Revenue Officers from voting at the Election of Members of Parliament. The Bill rejected. Debate on a Motion of Mr. Minchin, relative to the State of the Navy. Debate on a*

## C O N T E N T S.

*Motion of Sir George Savile, that a select Committee should be appointed in order to inquire into the Circumstances of the Loan.* 109

### C H A P. XI.

*Debate in the House of Peers on the Commutation of Tythes, occasioned by the Uxington Inclosure Bill. Resolutions on that subject moved by Earl Bathurst. Debate, in the House of Commons, on presenting a Petition from the Delegates of the several associated Counties. Bill brought in by Mr. Penton, for better preventing Desertions in the Navy. The Bill rejected,* 123

### C H A P. XII.

*East India Affairs. War between the Marattas and the English. Hyder Ally enters into a Confederacy with the former against the latter. He makes an Irruption into the Carnatic. Defeats the British Troops under the Command of Lieutenant-colonel Baillie. Sir Hector Monro, Commander of the British Army, retreats to Madras. Hyder Ally besieges Arcot, the principal Town of the Carnatic, makes himself Master of it, and ravages the Country. Sir Eyre Coote arrives at Madras, and takes the Command of the British Army. He defeats Hyder Ally in a general Engagement. Debates on Motions made in the House of Commons, relative to the Affairs of the East India Company. An Act passed for limiting the Jurisdiction of the supreme Court at Calcutta, and for indemnifying the Governor-general and Council of Bengal, in their Resistance to the Proceedings of that Court.* 135

### C H A P. XIII.

*Petition presented to the House of Peers, in Behalf of a Criminal convicted, and ordered for Execution, by the Court of Justiciary in Scotland. The Petition rejected by the House. Debate, in the House of Commons, on a Motion made by Sir George Savile, that the Petition from the County Delegates should be referred to a Committee of the whole House. The Motion rejected. Decision of the House of Peers, relative to the several Claimants of the hereditary Dignity and Office of Lord Great Chamberlain of England. Motions made by the Minister, grounded on the Reports of the Commissioners of Accounts. Debates on the Bill for preventing certain Profanations and Abuses of the Lord's Day.* 141

### C H A P.

# C O N T E N T S.

## C H A P. XIV.

*Debate in the House of Commons, on a Motion of Mr. Burke, relative to the rigorous Treatment of the Inhabitants of St. Eustatius, after the Capture of that Island. Debate on a Motion of Mr. Minchin, relative to the British Seamen confined in the Spanish Prisons. Application made to Parliament for a Renewal of the Bank Charter. Debate on a Motion made by Mr. Fox, that the House should resolve itself into a Committee, to consider of the American War. The Motion rejected. A new Marriage Bill, brought in by Mr. Fox, thrown out in the House of Peers. Grant of an annual Sum to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, to be paid out of the Produce of a new Duty on Almanacks. Petitions to both Houses from the American Prisoners. Speech from the Throne. The Parliament prorogued.* 147

## C H A P. XV.

*Affairs of Ireland. Perpetual Mutiny-Bill passed in that Kingdom. Objections to that Bill. Efforts of the Irish Nation to obtain constitutional Reforms. France. M. Necker lays before the French King a State of the Finances of that Kingdom. The Emperor of Germany grants the free Exercise of Religion to the Protestants in the Austrian Dominions. Adopts other Measures calculated to reduce the Number of religious Houses. The Pope writes to the Emperor, complains of his late Proceedings, and proposes to pay him a Visit at Vienna. The Emperor's Reply. He declares Osnabruck to be a free Port, and accedes to the armed Neutrality. Internal Commotions in the Republic of Geneva. Engagement off the Dogger-Bank, between the British and Dutch Fleets, under the Command of Vice-Admiral Parker, and Rear-Admiral Zoutman.* 154

## C H A P. XVI.

*Transactions in the West Indies. Unsuccessful Attempt of Admiral Rodney, and General Vaughan, against the Island of St. Vincent's. Action between the British and French Squadrons under the Command of Sir Samuel Hood and the Count de Grasse. The Island of Tobago taken by the French. Disputes in some of the West India Islands between the Houses of Assembly and their Governors. A Squadron, under the Command of Commodore Johnstone, attacked at Port Praya, in the Island of St. Jago, by a French Squadron, under the Command of Mons. Suffrein. The French are beaten off. The Commodore surprises five Dutch East Indiamen in the Bay of Saldanha, of which four are taken, and one burnt. He returns home, without effecting the Purpose of his Voyage. The Spaniards become Masters of the Province of*

## C O N T E N T S.

*of West Florida. The Island of St. Eustatius retaken by the French. Spirited and successful Sally made by the Garrison at Gibraltar, in order to destroy the advanced Works of the Spaniards. Admiral Kempenfelt, with a British Squadron under his Command, meets with a French Fleet of superior Force, under the Command of M. de Guichen, and takes a Number of Transports which were under the Convoy of that Admiral.* 160

## C H A P. XVII.

*American Affairs. Action between the British and French Fleets off the Capes of Virginia. Proclamation issued by Lord Cornwallis, after the Victory obtained by him over General Greene at Guildford. Lieutenant-colonel Simcoe defeats a large Body of the Americans. Action between the British Troops under the Command of Lieutenant-colonel Stewart, and the Americans under General Greene, near the Eataw Springs. Expedition undertaken by General Arnold against New London, and the Devastation committed by him there. Vigorous Defence of Fort Griswold. Critical Situation of Lord Cornwallis in Virginia. Ineffectual Attempts to afford Assistance to that Nobleman. Action between the French Fleet under the Command of Count de Grasse, and the British Fleet under the Command of Admiral Graves, off the Chesapeak, in Consequence of which the latter are obliged to return to New York. Lord Cornwallis, and his whole Army, surrender themselves Prisoners of War, by Capitulation, to the united Armies of America and France, under the Command of General Washington.* 165

## P R I N C I P A L O C C U R R E N C E S.

Major-General Dalling's Account of the dreadful Hurricane at Jamaica,	(3)
Major-general Vaughan's Account of the Hurricane at Barbadoes,	(4)
Particulars of the Attempt made by the French to gain Possession of the Isle of Jersey,	(10)
Lord George Gordon tried in the Court of King's-Bench for High-Treason, and found not guilty,	(13)
Dispatches from Lord Cornwallis,	(17)
Sir Henry Clinton's Account of the Revolt of the Pennsylvania Line,	(20)
Letters from General Lee relative to his Dismission from the Service of the Congress,	(26)
Accounts by Admiral Rodney, and General Vaughan, of the Capture of the Island of St. Eustatius, and its Dependencies,	(29) — (33)
Number of Houses in several principal Towns in England,	(34)
Coals imported into the Port of London for ten successive Years,	(40)
Account of the Defeat of Lieutenant-colonel Baillie by Hyder Ally,	(41)
Admiral Arbuthnot's Account of an Action between the British and French Squadrons off the Capes of Virginia, March 16, 1781,	(50)
	<i>Dij-</i>

# C O N T E N T S.

<i>Dispatches received about the same Time from Sir Henry Clinton,</i>	(55)
<i>Account of the Supply of Sugar, refined, or consumed raw, in England, for fifty successive Years,</i>	(61)
<i>Lord Cornwallis's Account of various military Operations in America, and of his Victory over General Greene at Guildford,</i>	(62)—(71)
<i>Commodore Johnstone's Account of an Action between a French Squadron, and the British Squadron under his Command, in Port Praya Road, in the Island of St. Jago,</i>	(72)
<i>M. de la Motte, a French Spy, tried and executed,</i>	(81)
<i>Letters between Admiral Rodney and the Marquis de Bouillé,</i>	(82)
<i>Admiral Parker's Account of an Engagement between the British and Dutch Fleets off the Dogger Bank,</i>	(84)
<i>Account of the Surrender of West Florida to the Arms of Spain,</i>	(85)
<i>Commodore Johnstone's Account of the Capture of several Dutch East-Indiamen,</i>	(89)
<i>Lord Cornwallis's Account of his being obliged to surrender the Army under his Command, Prisoners of War, to the combined Forces of America and France, under the Command of General Washington,</i>	(96)
<i>Births in the Year 1781,</i>	(101)
<i>Marriages,</i>	(102)
<i>Promotions,</i>	(104)
<i>Deaths,</i>	(106)
<i>Acts of Parliament passed from Nov. 1, 1780, to July 18, 1781,</i>	(109)

# P U B L I C P A P E R S.

<i>His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, Nov. 1, 1780,</i>	(112)
<i>Address of the House of Lords to his Majesty,</i>	(113)
<i>Address of the House of Commons,</i>	(114)
<i>Address of the Convocation to his Majesty,</i>	(115)
<i>Protest of the Peers, on the Rejection of a Motion for addressing his Majesty to give Orders for laying before the House Copies of all the Treaties lately subsisting between Great Britain and the States of the Seven United Provinces, &amp;c.</i>	(117)
<i>Second Protest on the same Subject,</i>	(118)
<i>Protest of the Peers on passing the Bill, entitled, "An Act for raising a certain Sum of Money by way of Annuities and a Lottery, &amp;c."</i>	(119)
<i>Answer of the States General to the Manifesto of the King of Great Britain,</i>	(121)
<i>Memorial of the States General to the Court of Stockholm,</i>	(129)
<i>Memorial and Remonstrance of the Merchants of St. Christopher, to Sir George Bridges Rodney and General Vaughan,</i>	(132)
<i>Admiral Rodney's Answer,</i>	(134)
<i>Petition of the West India Planters and Merchants, to the King,</i>	(135)
<i>Account of the Sums expended in secret Service, in 1778, 1779, and 1780,</i>	(139)
	<i>A cccxv</i>

# C O N T E N T S.

<i>Account of the perpetual Taxes laid on since the Commencement of the War with America,</i>	(139)
<i>Capitulation of the Island of Tobago,</i>	(141)
<i>Address of Governor Ferguson, relative to the Capture of Tobago,</i>	(143)
<i>General Greene's Account of the Action at Guildford,</i>	(148)
<i>His Majesty's Speech on closing the Session of Parliament, July 18, 1781,</i>	(150)
<i>Lord Stormont's Answer to M. Simolin, with Respect to the Mediation offered by the Empress of Russia, between Great Britain and the United Provinces,</i>	(152)
<i>State Paper presented by Baron Nolken, the Swedish Minister, concerning the Intermediation of that Court between this Country and the Dutch,</i>	(153)
<i>Lord Stormont's Answer to Baron Nolken,</i>	(154)
<i>Correspondence between Earl Cornwallis and General Washington,</i>	(155)
<i>Articles of Capitulation settled between General Washington, the Count de Rochambeau, and Count de Grasse, and Earl Cornwallis and Thomas Symonds, Esq. for the Surrender of the Garrison of York and Gloucester, &amp;c.</i>	(157)
<i>Letter from General Washington to the President of the Congress,</i>	(160)
<i>Petition of the Jews at St. Eustatius, to Admiral Rodney and General Vaughan,</i>	(161)
<i>Petition of the West India Planters and Merchants to the King,</i>	( 62)
<i>Address, Remonstrance, and Petition of the City of London to the King,</i>	(163)
<i>Petition of Henry Laurens, Esq. to the House of Commons,</i>	(165)
<i>First Report of the Commissioners for examining, taking, and stating the Public Accounts,</i>	(166)
<i>Second Report,</i>	(167)
<i>Third Report,</i>	(172)
<i>Fourth Report,</i>	(180)
<i>Fifth Report,</i>	(186)
<i>Parliamentary Supplies and Ways and Means, for 1781,</i>	(199)
<i>Translation of a Persian Petition from the Native Inhabitants of the Province of Patna, to his Britannic Majesty,</i>	(221)
<i>Prices of Stock for the Year 1781,</i>	(227)

## B I O G R A P H I C A L   A N E C D O T E S   A N D C H A R A C T E R S.

<i>Some Particulars of the Life of the celebrated Linnæus,</i>	[3]
<i>Sketch of the Life and Character of the famous Spanish Poet Lope de Vega,</i>	[15]
<i>Account of the Marquis of Villena, Father of Spanish Poetry,</i>	[17]
<i>Some Particulars concerning the celebrated Quevedo,</i>	[19]
<i>Behaviour of the present Queen of France upon her first coming into that Country,</i>	[20]
3	Cha-

# C O N T E N T S.

<i>Character of the Abbé Terrai, Comptroller-general of the Finances in France,</i>	[21]
<i>Anecdotes of Madame Du Barri,</i>	[23]
<i>Character of the Emperor Constantine,</i>	[24]
<i>Character of Athanasius,</i>	[27]
<i>Civil Government and Private Life of the Emperor Julian,</i>	[28]
<i>Character of the Emperor Julian,</i>	[30]
<i>Some Account of George of Cappadocia, the Patron Saint of England,</i>	[31]
<i>Some Particulars concerning Mr Hogarth,</i>	[32]
<i>Anecdote of Dr. Fothergill,</i>	[40]
<i>Account of Dr. Fothergill's Institution at Ackworth,</i>	[41]
<i>Character of Mr. Addison,</i>	[43]
<i>Life of Tickell,</i>	[46]
<i>Some Particulars concerning Mr. Pope's Domestic Habits and Character,</i>	[49]
<i>Intellectual Character of Mr. Pope,</i>	[54]
<i>Life of Gilbert West,</i>	[56]
<i>Life of David Mallet,</i>	[58]
<i>Singular Character of an Inhabitant of Glenorchay,</i>	[61]

## M A N N E R S O F N A T I O N S.

<i>The Pastoral Manners of the Scythians or Tartars,</i>	[64]
<i>Manners of the Britons, after the Romans had quitted this Island,</i>	[70]
<i>Account of the Hidalgos in Spain,</i>	[71]
<i>Account of a Convention of the Inhabitants of Wales in the Reign of Henry IV.</i>	[74]
<i>Ancient Hospitality of the Welch,</i>	[75]
<i>Remains of Minstrelsy among the Welch,</i>	[ibid.]
<i>Ancient Hunting among the Welch,</i>	[76]
<i>Generosity of the English Baron in the 13th and 14th Centuries,</i>	[78]
<i>Hospitality of the Princes and great Barons, in the same Period,</i>	[ibid.]
<i>Romantic Gallantry and Chivalry in the Centurie before mentioned,</i>	[79]
<i>Some Account of the Manners of the Inhabitants of Connecticut</i>	[82]
<i>Some Account of the Inhabitants and Productions of the Sandwich Islands,</i>	[84]

## C L A S S I C A L A N D P O L I T E C R I T I C I S M.

<i>Character of Euripides, and Remarks in Favour of the Greek Tragedies,</i>	[86]
<i>On the Luminous Splendor of the Pagan Divinities,</i>	[88]
<i>Plan of the Georgics of Virgil,</i>	[90]
<i>Defence of Critical Rules,</i>	[93]
<i>General View of the Character and Poetry of Queen Elizabeth's Age,</i>	[97]

On

## C O N T E N T S.

<i>On the Tragic Ballad,</i>	—	[103]
<i>Account of the Tatler and Spectator,</i>	— —	[105]
<i>Character of Thomson's Seasons,</i>	— — —	[109]
<i>Character of Dr. Young's Poetry,</i>	—	[110]

## P H I L O S O P H I C A L P A P E R S.

<i>Account of the Methods of Botany before Linnæus wrote,</i>	—	[113]
<i>Linnæus's Arrangement of the Plants,</i>	—	[115]
<i>Some Account of the General Methods of arranging the Fossil Kingdom,</i>		[118]
<i>Account of some particular Animals in Connecticut,</i>	—	[120]
<i>Natural History and Description of the Tyger-cat,</i>	—	[121]
<i>Some Account of the Harmattan, a singular African Wind,</i>		[123]
<i>Account of the Termites, or white Ants, of Africa,</i>	—	[126]
<i>Observations on Respiration,</i>	— —	[132]
<i>Observations on Putrefaction,</i>	— —	[133]
<i>On the Heat of Water in the Gulf-Stream,</i>	— — —	[136]
<i>Account of a Phenomenon observed upon the Island of Sumatra,</i>		[140]
<i>Account of the Usefulness of Washing the Stems of Trees,</i>	—	[142]

## A N T I Q U I T I E S.

<i>On the Origin and Derivation of the Title of Ionians from Ion and Javan,</i>		[144]
<i>Short Historical Account of Athens,</i>	— — —	[146]
<i>Conjecture, concerning the Duration of the Latin Tongue at Constantinople,</i>		[151]
<i>Short View of Arabian Literature,</i>	—	[152]
<i>Account of the Arabic Manuscripts belonging to the Escurial Library,</i>		[153]
<i>Observations concerning the ancient State of the Isle of Wight,</i>		[156]
<i>Recapitulation of Mr. Bryant's Arguments in Favour of the Authenticity of the Poems ascribed to Rowley,</i>	—	[159]

## M I S C E L L A N E O U S P A P E R S.

<i>Speech of Sir Joseph Banks, President of the Royal Society, Nov. 30, 1780, being the Day on which the Society first assembled at their new Apartments in Somerset Place,</i>	— — —	[163]
		<i>Account</i>

# C O N T E N T S.

<i>Account of a Satirical Piece, by Juan Ruiz, a Spanish Poet in the fourteenth Century,</i>	[164]
<i>Progress of the Agrarian Laws at Rome,</i>	[166]
<i>Observations on the Treatment of the Fair Sex in different Countries,</i>	[169]
<i>Upon the Use of Tea,</i>	[171]
<i>Laws of Chivalry,</i>	[172]
<i>Enquiry into the Lorenzo of Dr. Young's Night Thoughts,</i>	[174]
<i>Estimate of Mr. Richardson's Merit,</i>	[176]
<i>On the Literary Education of Women,</i>	[178]
<i>How Education should be conducted with respect to Revealed Religion,</i>	[181]
<i>The Rural Taste of a London Tradesman's Wife,</i>	[182]
<i>Advertisements and Letters with Regard to the late Controversy concerning the Authenticity of Ossian's Poems,</i>	[184]

## P O E T R Y.

<i>Ode for the New Year, 1781. By William Whitehead, Esq. Poet Laureat,</i>	[188]
<i>Elphin's Consolation, an Ode of Taliesin, from Pennant's Journey to Snowdon,</i>	[189]
<i>Lady Bothwell's Lament, from the Scotch Tragic Ballads,</i>	[191]
<i>The First Chanson a Boire, or Drinking Ballad of any Merit in our Language, from Warton's History of English Poetry,</i>	[ibid.]
<i>Ode on the Death of a young Lady, from Mr. Logan's Poem,</i>	[192]
<i>Ode for his Majesty's Birth-Day, June 4, 1781, by William Whitehead, Esq. Poet Laureat,</i>	[193]
<i>The Hermit and his Dog, from Sympathy, a Poem,</i>	[194]
<i>Fable, by the rev. Mr. Whalley, from Poetical Amusements at a Villa near Bath, Vol. IV.</i>	[196]
<i>To Three Ladies, on the Death of a favourite Parroquet, from Penrose's Poems,</i>	[198]
<i>On the Dutchess of Devonshire, from the Bevy of Beauties,</i>	[199]
<i>On the Dutchess of Rutland, from the same,</i>	[ibid.]
<i>A Morning Ramble, from the Beauties of Spring,</i>	[200]
<i>Extract from Miss Seward's Monody on Major Andrè,</i>	[201]
<i>Extract from the Fourth Book of Mr. Mason's English Garden,</i>	[203]
<i>Serena's Difficulty in the Choice of a Masquerade Dress, from Halley's Triumphs of Temper,</i>	[205]
<i>Description of Ennui, from the same,</i>	[ibid.]
<i>Description of Scandal, from the same,</i>	[206]
<i>Conclusion of the Poem,</i>	[207]
<i>Influence of Chivalry in freeing Europe from the growing Dominion of the Moors, from Mickle's Almada Hill,</i>	[208]

## DOMESTIC

C O N T E N T S.

DOMESTIC LITERATURE

For the Year 1781.

[209]

FOREIGN LITERATURE

For the Year 1781.

[243]

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S H O R T V I E W  
O F T H E  
S T A T E O F K N O W L E D G E,  
L I T E R A T U R E, A N D T A S T E,  
I N T H I S C O U N T R Y,

From the Death of Queen ANNE, to the Death of King GEORGE II.

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**T**HE period of Queen Anne's reign hath usually been esteemed the Augustan age of English Literature; and it cannot be doubted that, in many respects, it is highly deserving of that honourable appellation. It was not till that period, or a little before, that our countrymen had arrived to a true and correct taste in composition; and the names and works which adorned it will ever shine with distinguished lustre, and have a just claim to be held out, in general, as objects of emulation and models of good writing. But whether the Augustan æra of Great Britain is to be absolutely and exclusively confined to Queen Anne's time, and whether our own age hath any title, and in what degree, to so illustrious a distinction, may reasonably become a matter of enquiry.

What we propose, in the prosecution of our design, is to consider, very particularly, the State of Knowledge and Literature in the present reign; in doing which, we intend to take a separate view of the various branches of science and learning, to examine what progress hath been made in them, and to point out, under each department, the writers and works that shall be found the most worthy of distinction. After this, we shall advert to a number of literary facts, and discuss a variety of literary questions, which will tend to fix the character and manners of the times with the greater precision. In short, we shall proceed in the method proposed by Lord Bacon with regard to Philosophy, and which hath been followed by such wonderful and happy effects in the scientific world. We shall bring the enquiry concerning the State of Literature in England, to the grand test of fact and experience; which alone can enable us to determine what ground there is for the complaints sometimes thrown out of the want of genius and learning amongst us, how far the contrary is the case, and what still remains to be done to advance the knowledge and taste of the nation to a higher degree of perfection.

But before we proceed to the consideration of our principal object, it may not be amiss to take a short view of the literary character of the period that immediately succeeded the decease of Queen Anne, and which, by introducing the present royal family to the throne of Great Britain, gave a new epocha to our civil history. This will prepare the way for our subsequent enquiry, give it a better connection, and enable us to prosecute it with superior exactness and advantage. And here the first circumstance that strikes us is, that the Augustan age of Queen Anne did not strictly end with the death of that princess. Several of the eminent authors who are appealed to, as having been the chief ornaments of that age, continued to write for a much longer term; and did not cease to instruct and entertain the world till even the middle of the reign of  
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King George the Second. The finest parts of Atterbury's works, and especially the two first volumes of his Sermons, were, indeed, published some years before the queen's decease. The most beautiful productions, likewise, of Addison, excepting his Free-holder, and his Verses to Sir Godfrey Kneller, and to the Princess of Wales, were previous to that event. Steele, too, did not write any thing peculiarly worthy of notice, besides the *Conscious Lovers*, after the accession of King George the First. As we have no very high opinion of the classic merit of Steele's compositions, we should scarcely have mentioned him at all upon this occasion, if we had not thought him entitled to it, on account of his having begun a new and admirable species of writing in this country, in the *Tatler*, *Spectator*, and *Guardian*. It ought also, to be remembered, that, though the chief excellence of these papers is to be ascribed to the assistance of men whose abilities were superior to his own, he hath, nevertheless, a claim to no small degree of praise for much of the humour that runs through the *Tatler*. But though the best works of Atterbury, Addison, and other writers that might be specified, may be considered as almost solely appropriated to Queen's Anne's reign, this is not the case with regard to the rest of the great geniusses who are generally ranked among the distinguished glories of that period. If several of Swift's most valuable and celebrated productions were published before the accession of King George the First, it is well known that many others of them, which are equally valuable, and equally celebrated, were posterior to that æra, and that he continued to exercise his pen for some time during the reign of his late majesty. The same observations will more strongly hold good with respect to Pope, whose last poetical publication, the complete edition of the *Dunciad*, did not appear till 1743. Even his Translation of Homer, which Dr. Johnson hath celebrated as a great event in the history of English literature, and which hath so beautifully ascertained and established the correctness and harmony of our versification, though it was begun in the latter end of queen Anne's life, was not finish-

ed till several years after her death. All the humorous pieces of Arbuthnot, as well as some of his graver treatises, were, likewise, written after the demise of his royal mistress. With regard to Lord Bolingbroke, who is usually classed with Swift and Pope, if we except his Letter to the Examiner, and some little share he might have in the writing of the Paper so called, we know of none of his literary compositions but what were produced in the Reigns of King George the First, and King George the Second.

But still it may be said, “that the merit of these eminent authors properly belongs to the æra of Queen Anne: it was in her time that their genius was completely formed; it was in her reign, or somewhat earlier, that they began to write; and it was the spirit they had then imbibed, which continued to operate in the subsequent period. The glory, therefore, they have reflected on their country, was a glory of which the succeeding princes had no right to partake.” Admitting, or, at least, not disputing the truth of these allegations, we shall proceed to state the literary facts that more distinctly mark the reigns of the two first sovereigns of the Hanover family. It is certain that, during that time, a considerable revolution was produced in the minds of men; and that various objects of inquiry engaged their attention, which, if not wholly new, had not been discussed before to an equal extent, or with an equal degree of accuracy and precision. Nor was this entirely owing to the natural progress of reason, and the gentle and gradual operation of literature in opening and enlarging the human faculties, but arose, in particular, from the political situation of Great Britain. The accession of another royal family, whose claims were disapproved by a large body of the people, rendered it highly requisite to disseminate, as widely as possible, the principles which were favourable to the recent establishment. For this purpose, it was necessary to oppose, with the utmost vigour, the narrow views of the clergy, not only concerning the doctrine of passive  
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obedience, non-resistance, and hereditary right, but, likewise, with respect to the measure, extent, and exercise of church power. Accordingly, able men were engaged in diffusing more liberal sentiments upon these subjects; and as this could not be done without exciting a warm controversy, hence a different turn was given to the studies of the age. The celebrated bishop Hoadly took the lead in this important business. He had distinguished himself greatly in the preceding reign, by his attachment to the cause of civil liberty, his defence of the Revolution, and his zeal for the Protestant succession; and he now still more distinguished himself by his Sermon on the Nature of the Kingdom or Church of Christ, in which he endeavoured to reduce ecclesiastical authority within much narrower limits than was usually assigned to it by the body of the clergy. Never did a single discourse excite greater attention, or give rise to a more extensive or eager debate. The Hoadlian controversy, both on account of the variety and ability of the publications it afforded, and the effects it produced, must undoubtedly be considered as a very important object in the literary history of the period concerning which we are treating. The almost numberless tracts which sprang from it are now, indeed, nearly buried in oblivion; but the influence of the dispute still remains. We are greatly indebted to it for that liberality of sentiment which hath ever since been so generally prevalent, and for that moderation in the claims of church-power to which the clergy themselves have been willing to submit.

It is not in the nature of the human mind, when once set in motion, to stop precisely at the point which may at first be thought desirable. Many who had contracted a dislike to ecclesiastical authority, and who were disgusted with the high-churchmen for their attachment to the family of the Stuarts, pursued the blow much farther than had been done by the gentle and moderate Hoadly. The design of that eminent prelate was only to establish what he ap-

prehended to be the true principles of Christian liberty. But other writers aimed to destroy all reverence and regard for the clergy. Tindal and Toland had attempted this in Queen Anne's time; but not being very popular authors, and their characters not being held in much estimation, they did not procure a great number of followers. The case, however, was different with respect to those who assumed the same task in the reign of King George the First. They wrote with superior ability, and at a more favourable opportunity. The persons we principally have in view were Mr. Trenchard and Mr. Gordon, men of very vigorous minds, and who had an uncommon strength, if not elegance of composition. The bold principles they advanced in several of their productions, especially in the Independent Whig, and the force with which they maintained these principles, had no small effect on the minds of great numbers, and helped to give a considerable turn to the character of the age. The clergy endeavoured, in various writings, to counteract this effect, but not with any remarkable success. The controversy called forth, from time to time, a multitude of authors on both sides of the question; and therefore it justly deserved to be mentioned as an important circumstance in the literary studies of the period we are describing.

The spirit of enquiry extended to the doctrines of the Church, as well as the general claims and pretensions of the clergy. This, however, did not proceed from any hostile design against the establishment, but from the private scruples of some learned and pious divines, particularly Mr. Whiston and Dr. Clarke. These gentlemen had attacked the Athanasian opinion concerning the Trinity in Queen Anne's reign; but it was not till after the accession of the Brunswick Line that the controversy was fully entered into, and became widely diffused. It employed, for many years, the abilities and literature of several of the first men both in the Church and amongst the Dissenters, and had an influence in giving a change to the sentiments of the age.

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Many of the laity shook off their reverence for the doctrine of the Trinity, and it was discarded by some of the most eminent and worthy of the clergy. The simplicity of the opposite scheme, which held out, in an intelligible manner, the unity and supremacy of the Deity, struck philosophical minds, and was congenial to the understanding of a Newton. Among the Dissenting divines, Unitarianism had so extensive a spread, as, at length, perhaps, to take in half of their number.

As the doctrine of the Trinity constituted a part of the ecclesiastical establishment, and a solemn assent to it was legally required from the clergy of every denomination, it was impossible to attack this doctrine without bringing forward the question concerning subscription to articles of human composition in religion. The debate concerning this matter forms another circumstance in the literary character of the age. It hath been continued to our own time, and comprizes in it two points of enquiry; in what sense the doctrines of the Church are to be assented to by such as do subscribe them, and whether a subscription to them should not wholly be rejected. The latter sentiment hath been embraced by the generality of the Dissenting ministers, and some of the ablest men among them have warmly supported this opinion. Not a few, likewise, of the established clergy have pleaded for a relaxation of the terms of admission into the Church: and the result of these discussions hath been an enlargement of the principles of moderation and candour.

But it was not to particular doctrines of Christianity, or to questions concerning ecclesiastical authority or discipline, that the disputes of men were confined. The truth and divine original of Revelation itself became the subject of debate. Notwithstanding the able defences of religion which Mr. Boyle's Lecture had produced, a spirit of infidelity continued to operate, and, during the reigns to which our present view of it is limited, appeared in several different forms.

forms. The first, and, perhaps, the most formidable attack on the Christian system, was that of Collins, upon the head of "Prophecy." This was followed by Tindal's "Christianity as old as the Creation," in which he asserted the absolute sufficiency of reason to ascertain every point of a religious nature; and the consequence hence intended to be drawn was, that Revelation was totally needless and inexpedient. Then succeeded Morgan's "Moral Philosopher," which, under an honourable title, contained a violent invective against the characters recorded in Scripture, and was designed to overthrow the authority of the Old and New Testament in general. The subtle author of "Christianity not founded on Argument," came after Morgan. In a short time, Mr. Hume produced his "Essay on Miracles," and last of all Bolingbroke's "Letters on History," and his "Philosophical Works" were levelled against the authenticity and credibility of the Sacred Books, and against every part of Revelation. The reason of our mentioning these writings thus particularly, is not from any approbation we entertain of the truth of the principles advanced in them, or any conviction we feel of the force of the arguments they contain; but because they gave rise to six different controversies, of great importance in our present survey of English Literature. These controversies called forth the abilities of the ablest scholars, and occasioned some of the most learned and capital defences of Religion that ever were written. Besides these six principal controversies, there were other collateral ones from which arose some very valuable works. The particular debate concerning the Resurrection of Jesus, should have been added to the subjects already specified, as having been a matter of the greatest importance. It was, indeed, included in some of the rest, and especially in all the questions relative to miracles. It is not in a theological view that we have insisted on the grand dispute concerning Revelation, but as it is a great object in the literary History of England. It extended through the reign of both the Georges, employed the first men of the kingdom, and called forth the activity and exertions of the human mind,

mind. We may observe, by the way, that the infidelity of this period, at least before Mr. Hume wrote, was not of the atheistical kind. It was only Deism that prevailed; and many who were sceptical with regard to Christianity, professed themselves to be sincere believers, not only in the existence and perfections, but in the moral providence of God, and in a future state of retribution. The form which infidelity hath since assumed, will be considered when we come to the present reign.

Besides the direct Enquiries concerning the Evidences of Revealed Religion, the controversies on that subject led to a variety of discussions relative to its particular doctrines, nature, and views. Hence it was that the Scriptures were very critically examined; and the result of the examination was, that they were cleared of many things which had erroneously been supposed to belong to them. The deliverance of Christianity from the absurdities which had been fathered upon it, and the rendering it better understood, must be reckoned among the most valuable effects that resulted from the attacks of infidelity. Whilst divines were employed in rescuing Revelation from the rubbish in which it had been almost overwhelmed, the human mind was improved, and more just and rational views of truth were attained. The Spirit of Enquiry, diffusing itself to a multitude of objects, weakened the reign of ignorance, bigotry, and superstition.

We do not consider the "Examination into the Miracles of the Primitive Church" by Dr. Middleton, one of the finest writers of the age, as having been hostile to Christianity. On the contrary, it was serviceable to it in a high degree, by introducing the proper line of distinction, and setting the subject on its right foundation. The debate which it occasioned contributed, with other liberal controversies and discussions, to promote a rational and manly turn of sentiment.

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The attention of the age, and even of the clergy, was not wholly confined to questions in which Revelation was immediately concerned. Moral subjects were studied with great and particular ardour. The nature, the foundation, and the obligations of virtue were very closely examined; and a large number of treatises appeared on these topics. Different hypotheses were formed concerning them, and were maintained with eminent ingenuity and ability. Whether virtue was founded on the essential reason and fitness of things, on a moral instinct, or the will of God; whether it arose from a disinterested principle of benevolence alone, or a well regulated self-love; whether wisdom, or rectitude, or benevolence were the springs of action in the Deity, were questions greatly agitated. It was fashionable to write systems of morality, to form delineations of natural religion, and to shew its connexion with revealed. Scarcely ever was there a period in which the science of ethics was more diligently investigated, or in which the knowledge of it was carried to higher perfection. Butler, and, after him, Hartley, excelled all their contemporaries in explaining the Principles of the Human Mind, and in the Solution of moral Questions.

Nor could the objects we have mentioned excite the attention of the studious part of the nation, without a considerable regard being paid to metaphysical enquiries. Besides not a few publications concerning the old and never to be determined disputes about liberty and necessity, and the origin of evil, the question whether the existence of the Deity can be proved *à priori*, was much discussed. In general, the metaphysics of the times were less favourable to materialism and fatalism than hath lately been the case. The essential difference between the soul and body, the freedom of the human will, and the conclusiveness of the natural arguments in support of a future state, were the prevailing opinions among divines and men of letters.

In the midst of the numerous objects which so much employed the attention of our countrymen, it will not be deemed surprising, that erudition, strictly so called, should be rather on the decline. There were fewer persons who had either inclination or leisure to apply to the examination of ancient manuscripts, the settlement of various readings, the illustration of the classics, and the other laborious, and, in their kind, very useful pursuits, in which the learned had formerly been engaged. The important and interesting subjects of debate which the age presented, reasonably and necessarily gave a different direction to the exertions of the human mind. There was, likewise, another circumstance that lessened the ardour of men for the studies of which we are speaking. The scholars that were devoted to them were represented as people of no taste, as piddling critics,

“ As word-catchers, that lived on syllables.”

The ridicule, though in many respects groundless, was not without effect; and the effect was the greater, as ignorance and idleness hence found the opportunity of concealing themselves under the semblance of an aversion to pedantry. Still, however, the pursuit of ancient literature, in that mode of it we are now considering, was not wholly neglected. Bentley, amidst all the opposition he met with, amidst all the unmerited contempt with which he was loaded, continued to maintain, in this view, the honour of his country. He was the Atlas whose single shoulders were equal to the burthen. But others were not wanting who were attached to the like studies. Hare and Pearce were considerable authors in the same walk of learning. Warburton distinguished himself by his multifarious reading, as well as by his bold and vigorous imagination; and Jortin added an excellent critical acumen to an enlarged understanding and a liberal mind. The brief survey we here take of things must be our apology for the omission of other names that might deserve to be mentioned.

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But though enquiries into ancient manuscripts and various lections, and the corrections and illustrations of corrupted passages, were less ardently pursued than had heretofore been done, there was another respect in which the Greek and Roman writers were by no means disregarded. The debates concerning the divine perfections and government, the nature and obligation of virtue, the expedience and necessity of revelation, and the truth of the Christian religion, occasioned a most diligent investigation into the opinions and practices of the Pagan world. In this view, therefore, the authors of antiquity were closely examined, and much light was thrown upon them, in many valuable works.

Of all the species of literature, that which was most neglected, during the former part of the period we are describing, was the oriental. From the death of Pococke and Hyde, it had gradually declined, till, at length, it was too generally forgotten. In king George the First's reign, there were few who distinguished themselves in this department of learning. At length, however, a better spirit prevailed. The study of the Eastern languages, under the auspices of the excellent Dr. Thomas Hunt, revived at Oxford, and it probably was not a little promoted by Dr. Lowth's admirable Lectures on the poetry of the Hebrews. Nor was the revival of it confined to that celebrated university, but extended to Cambridge, and to persons who resided in other places. Before the decease of king George the Second, oriental literature was in a flourishing state; and it hath since been cultivated to a degree which will call for our very particular notice, when we come to the present reign.

From the situation of things with regard to the pursuit of ancient learning, we turn our view to a different object, Philosophical and Mathematical Science. In this respect fir Isaac Newton had raised the glory of the nation to the  
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highest pitch, and none could expect to equal him in renown. He had, however, several illustrious followers, such as Halley and Bradley, Maclaurin and Smith, who eminently distinguished themselves by their knowledge, discoveries, and writings. Under such men, Geometry, Astronomy, and Optics, assumed no small degree of splendour. The enquiries of the Royal Society were continued; experiments were successfully made; Magnetism became better understood; Natural History advanced in cultivation; and the improvements of the Microscope opened new wonders in the world of Insects. Nevertheless, during part of the period we refer to, the society did not seem to maintain the lustre it had formerly done. But if, for a time, its reputation appeared to decline, this diminution of its honour was not of a long duration. The ardour of research was revived by the discoveries in Electricity; the Franklinian system was completed and established; and henceforward a rapid and surprising improvement was made in an acquaintance with the powers and properties of nature. It belongs to the reign of king George the Third to set this matter forth in all its glory.

With regard to the state of Poetry, we have already observed, that Pope continued to shine in it long after the accession of the house of Hanover. He was, indeed, the chief ornament of this divine art; and so far was any man from being able to be mentioned as his equal, that there was no one who could be pretended to come near him in excellence and reputation. Young, nevertheless, sustained an honourable rank in his peculiar walk of composition. His Night Thoughts, in particular, amidst all their faults, contain the most striking proofs of a fruitful imagination, and of a bold and sublime genius, which if it had been refined by elegance, corrected by taste, and regulated by judgment, might have claimed a high station in the temple of poetical fame. Thomson's exquisite descriptive powers, not to mention his moral and sentimental beauties,

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will render his Seasons the object of eternal admiration ; and his Castle of Indolence will, perhaps, prove him to have been the most successful and pleasing of all the imitators of Spenser. There were many others who aimed at attaining the character of Poets, but the generality of them had not the good fortune to rise above mediocrity. We are speaking only of the early part of the period before us ; for towards the latter end of it, the poetical genius of England revived in an eminent degree. A new race of men arose, who again brought poetry into deserved reputation. Mason, in his Monody, sprang up another phoenix out of the ashes of Pope. Gray, besides his beautiful Elegy in a Country Church-yard, carried the Lyric Ode to its highest point of grandeur. Akenfide and the Wartons breathed a truly poetical spirit ; and Johnson gave to satire the severity and strength of Juvenal. But of all these gentlemen it is the less needful to speak at present, as they will be the subject of future consideration.

Dramatic Poetry did not greatly flourish in the reigns of the two first princes of the Brunswic line. The Cato of Addison had introduced a false taste with regard to tragic composition. Young, indeed, in his " Revenge " and his " Busiris," the latter of which is very bombastic, wrote with a vigour that was his own, and which was not the result of imitation. But the greater part of those who attempted Tragedy, seduced by the poetical excellencies of Cato, and by the astonishing applause it had met with, unwisely considered it as a model of perfection. Hence a cold and declamatory manner became the fashion. Our Tragedies abounded with just and sometimes noble moral sentiments, and with fine speeches in favour of liberty and the rights of mankind ; but they were destitute of interest, animation, and pathos. Not even Thomson is to be exempted, in general, from this censure, though in his " Tancred and Sigismunda " he came nearer than usual to the human heart. From amongst the numerous Tragedies  
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of the time, there are very few indeed which could be singled out as having risen to any extraordinary dramatic excellence. During the latter part of the reign of King George the Second, a different taste began to prevail. The folly of the declamatory and merely sentimental Tragedy was discerned; and our writers aimed to distinguish themselves by greater bustle and variety, by being more striking, vehement, and pathetic. But still no single author can be mentioned who redeemed the character of the age, and who deserved to be ranked with Otway, or even with Rowe. We are speaking of the higher kind of tragic composition; for with regard to the Tragedy of Low Life, Lillo attained to the utmost height of tenderness and pathos.

In comedy there was nearly the same deficiency of genius. Cibber, indeed, flourished at the beginning of the period; but there was no one, at least for a long time, who had a right to be named as his successor. Fielding, who justly obtained so much reputation in another way, though he was the author of several comedies, did not in this respect rise to any great excellence. Dr. Hoadly, son of the eminent prelate of that name, shewed, in the instance of the "Suspicious Husband," what he might have attained to; but he never again obliged the public in the same line of writing. The rest of the plays that appeared, had, for the most part, their nine days run, and were seldom heard of afterwards. But towards the close of the time to which our present survey is confined, comedy revived with considerable splendour. Foote, who was usually called the English Aristophanes, introduced a mode of composition, that well marked certain peculiar characters and manners, but which was defective in the regularity of dramatic fable and contrivance. Garrick wrote some smaller pieces that were by no means destitute of merit. But it was Colman who promised completely to restore the honour of the comic muse, and who will hereafter be more distinctly mentioned, with the other gentlemen who have lately endeavoured to excel in the same species of literature.

We cannot find a better place than the present to take some notice of the state of dramatic representation, which ought not to be omitted in such a view of the times as now employs our attention. During the reign of King George the First, those celebrated actors, Wilkes, Booth, Cibber, and Mrs. Oldfield continued to hold the possession of the stage. But when they quitted the theatre, they had no illustrious successors, Quin excepted, who followed the deep-toned Booth in tragedy, and had no rival in the comic action of Falstaff. In general, however, the art of playing was, for several years, in a low condition, when, at length, a surprising phœnomenon appeared in Garrick. He was most eminently in this respect, the child of genius and of nature. His various and astonishing powers we need not enlarge upon, as they are deeply engraven in every memory. His appearance may justly be considered as a literary revolution in this country; for, by his representation and establishment of Shakspeare, he gave a different turn to the taste and character of the age. He not only brought that matchless poet into universal admiration, but opened the way to a more accurate and extensive acquaintance with our older dramatic authors in general, and to a new species of criticism, the effects of which will call for our future discussion. We must not forget that there were other actors, besides Garrick, who were contemporary with him, and helped to sustain the honour of the stage. Barry and Moflop shone in their respective departments; and there were three actresses that rose to an uncommon excellence. Mrs. Cibber was unrivalled in tragedy, and Mrs. Clive in humorous comedy; whilst Mrs. Pritchard could appear with dignity and advantage, both in the tragic and the comic line.

The changes in the state of Knowledge and Literature, in the turn of thinking, and the taste of reading, which took place more particularly in the reign of King George the Second, were various, and are worthy of notice. We may here mention the prevalence of the sentimental morality. Dr. Clarke's system of the eternal fitnesses of things, was, for  
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a while, the leading fashion; and his mode of expression, or that of Wollaston, was much in use among our ethical writers. But by degrees the language of Shaftesbury's *Characteristicks* prevailed, and it was a language more pleasing and splendid than the other. This style especially prevailed, after Hutcheson had published his *Treatises on the Ideas of Beauty and Virtue*, and on the *Passions*. These works, indeed, or at least, the former of them, appeared before the death of King George the First, but it was not till afterwards that the philosophy contained in them became predominant, and that the disciples of Shaftesbury received a large increase. For a number of years, no book was more universally admired, or more generally read than that nobleman's *Characteristicks*. The beauty of virtue, and disinterested benevolence were expatiated upon in many elegant and agreeable productions. We are not insensible that the matter was carried to an excess, and that those who founded virtue on instincts and internal feelings only, were guilty of an error. But still we cannot avoid regretting that the sentimental morality hath gone so much out of vogue. There was an energy in it which touched the finer affections of the soul, and which came more powerfully to the human heart, than the cold and formal language of the Clarkists. Hartley's *Principle of the Association of Ideas* gave a great blow to the system of distinct moral instincts.

With regard to the political sentiments of the age, a considerable revolution was effected by a single author. This author was Rapin, whose *History of England*, being translated, dispersed in Numbers, and almost universally read, contributed, in an eminent degree, to promote a spirit of moderate Whiggism. From that time the High-church, and especially the Jacobite principles, which had hitherto pervaded a large body of the nation, were far less prevalent than before. The history, being written with candour and judgment, was well calculated to produce so desirable an effect. Time, and that more critical examination into ancient records, Parliamentary Journals, and State-Papers, which hath since taken place, have en-

abled us to discern some defects and mistakes in Rapin, and we are now apt to consider him as a tedious and heavy writer. But still he must be numbered among the useful authors; and, in the point we have mentioned, he was singularly beneficial. Notwithstanding the more elegant productions that have since been published, a perusal of him will reward the reader's attention: and we well remember that Mr. Hume, in the first edition, we believe, of his *Essays, Moral and Entertaining*, called Rapin the most judicious of all historians. Whether the expression be retained in later editions, we have not enquired.

Another circumstance which must not be disregarded, in a View of the State of Knowledge and Literature in England, during the period before us, is the Introduction of the Monthly Magazines. This may absolutely be considered as forming a kind of literary epocha. The previous periodical publications were few in number, and were most of them confined to News and Politics. But the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and the *London*, which soon followed, opened a new source of instruction and entertainment. We know that there are persons who despise this species of writing; and to men of eminent science, and very extensive literary reading, it may not be of much use. But the effects of it with regard to the body of the nation are very great. Magazines have certainly been the means of diffusing a variety of general knowledge. Besides, they often discuss (we mean the better sort of them) curious and useful questions, which even the learned are glad to see examined. They preserve too many small and valuable pieces, which might otherwise be lost. Nor is it a trifling advantage that young authors here first try their strength, and make their original efforts in composition. Perhaps, there are few persons, who are now celebrated in the world of literature, that did not begin to write either in the *Gentleman's* or the *London Magazine*.

The state of Literary Journals is an important object in the survey we have now before us. The history of them in  
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general would be curious ; but we cannot here look back to them as they flourished in other countries, when they were dignified by the labours of a Bayle, a Beauval, and a Le Clerc. In our own kingdom, it was long before they assumed a regular and permanent form. They did, however, occasionally appear in the reign of King George the First, and in the former years of his successor. But the “*Historia Literaria*,” the “*Memoirs of Literature*,” and the “*History of the Works of the Learned*,” though useful in point of information, could not attain a durable establishment. This species of writing was neither extensive in its sale, nor productive of great effects, till first the Monthly, and then the Critical Review became fixed on a firm and durable foundation. From that time a more general attention hath been paid to all kinds of publications ; some acquaintance with them has been spread among the body of the people ; and a spirit of curiosity and criticism hath been promoted. Of late, almost every Magazine hath been converted into a sort of a Review. The Literary Journals are, undoubtedly, sometimes partial and sometimes erroneous. Being written by a number of persons of different abilities, opinions, and application, and who are not void of private passions and prejudices, the judgments passed upon books must not always be admitted with implicit reverence. Men of real learning will determine for themselves, and not bow to the authority of the ablest critic. Nevertheless, even the learned derive benefit from well conducted Literary Journals, and their influence upon the sentiments and taste of the nation in general is very considerable. If the knowledge they diffuse should be objected to as superficial, let it be remembered, that it is a knowledge which vast numbers would not otherwise have obtained.

Even the effect of News-Papers is not to be forgotten in the present Survey. For a long time they were few in number, and, excepting with regard to a circumstance hereafter to be mentioned, were confined to the mere intelli-

gence of facts. But, gradually they have assumed a more extensive office : they have become the vehicles of political discussion in a far higher degree than they formerly were, and, in this respect, they have acquired a national importance.—Besides this, they assume the liberty of examining literary questions, and contain essays on all kinds of topics. They are the means of communicating a knowledge of things, which, though not deep, tends to enlarge the understandings of the common people. If they were conducted with greater wisdom, discretion, and candour, they might be far more extensively useful. The personal and malignant turn they have lately taken is not the subject of our present consideration.

But though News-Papers, in the former part of the period we are describing, generally contained nothing but the public intelligence, and the common occurrences of the day, this was not always the case. They were sometimes made the vehicles of periodical essays, though these were usually, we believe, published in separate sheets ; and a little attention to the history of them will not be unsuitable to our present design. It was natural for the excellence and success of the *Tatler*, *Spectator*, and *Guardian*, to produce a great number of imitations. Accordingly, during King George the First's reign, periodical Papers were continually springing up, under different names and titles. In general, they were feeble, compared with the beautiful models set before them, nor were they attended with any remarkable success. Nevertheless, several of them were not destitute of merit, and, though now not much known, might still deserve to be read. We might particularly mention the papers, called, the "*Free-Thinker*," and those written by Gordon. We do not mean his "*Independent Whig*," but another publication of a more miscellaneous nature, under the appellation, if we recollect it rightly, of the "*Humorist*." In the course of things, these periodical Essays took a variety of turns, and were even rendered subservient to the purposes of religious controversy. But the more frequent

Another species of writing, historical in its nature, but fictitious in its foundation, Romance Writing, was carried to a singular degree of perfection, by two extraordinary men in this way, Fielding and Richardson. These gentlemen were remarkably different in their talents, but both were excellent in the kind of composition they adopted. Fielding, taking Don Quixote and Gil Blas for his models, was admirable in the humorous novel, and in the representation of the characters of common and familiar life. He was, likewise, without rival, in what may be called the epic contrivance of his story, especially in his principal work. Richardson, whose genius was truly original, shewed the deepest penetration into the human heart, displayed a surprising power in describing it, and exhibited an instance of pathetic narration which has not been equalled in any age, or in any country. He may justly be entitled the Shakspere of Romance. Both the authors we have mentioned had some not unsuccessful followers. Smollet came next to Fielding; and Richardson has been the most happily imitated by ladies. As for the common trash of Novels, under which the press has groaned, which have introduced so wretched a taste of reading, and have been so hurtful to young minds, particularly of the female sex, they are unworthy to be named, excepting in the way of censure.

Among the various objects which engaged the attention of a learned and inquisitive age, it was not likely that Polite and Poetical Criticism should be wholly neglected. It was far from being neglected: there were many pleasing and useful productions in this mode of literature; though the authors of them seldom went farther than Addison had done in a philosophical investigation of the beauties of writing. One of his most elegant and successful disciples was Spence. At length, a more refined spirit entered into critical disquisition. Warburton made several attempts in this way, sometimes happily enough, but frequently with more ingenuity than success. Hurd displayed equal ingenuity, with superior judgment, and with greater purity and cor-  
 1781. c rectness

rectness of taste. Lowth, in his Lectures on Hebrew Poetry, attained to the highest rank of eminence as a critic. Lord Kaims explored the beauties of composition in the inmost recesses of the human mind; and in the depth of his researches, occasionally carried refinement to an excess. The Warrtons followed: but we say no more, at present, upon a subject which will hereafter appear in its fullest lustre.

If we look back to the state of the arts of Painting, Sculpture, and Design, in the period we have been considering, we shall not, in this respect, find much cause for triumph. The two first Georges, though excellent monarchs, were no patrons of these arts, being destitute of taste with regard to them, and ignorant of the glory which they reflect upon a country. Nor had the nation, in general, though growing in wealth, splendour, and luxury, acquired that delicacy of discernment which is necessary to excite a proper emulation among the artists, to animate their exertions, and to push them on to perfection. There were, however, some portrait and landscape painters, and some engravers, who might deserve to be applauded in a more particular history. The inimitable Hogarth it is needless to mention, whose humorous and moral paintings, which are almost sufficient of themselves to compensate for the defects of the age, are universally known, admired, and felt. Sculpture was not only gaining ground, but making great advances under Roubiliac; and Architecture was much improved by the knowledge and patronage of lord Burlington. Gardening was the art that was the most distinguished by its rapid progress to the height of taste and excellence. The just ideas, and varied improvements, introduced by Kent, and since perfected by Brown, have adorned many parts of England with exquisite beauty. Upon the whole, towards the end of king George the Second's reign, the professors of the fine arts, and the lovers and judges of them were increasing; exhibitions of pictures were begun under the auspices of the Premium Society; and the way was preparing

paring for the noble revolution that was afterwards accomplished, and which will form one of the most pleasing subjects of our future history.

Our survey of things, brief as it was intended to be, would be imperfect, if we did not take some notice of the distinguished figure made by the writers in Scotland during this period, and especially in the latter part of it, when a wonderful ardour for literary eminence, and elegant composition, animated the gentlemen who inhabited that division of the united kingdoms. In Philosophy we have already mentioned Maclaurin; and Simpson might be added in Mathematics. Blackwell might justly have been celebrated for his depth in Ancient Literature, if he had not disgraced it by pedantry and affectation. The Scottish authors have particularly applied themselves to metaphysical disquisitions, and the cultivation of sentimental ethics. The turn begun by Hutcheson was greatly improved, and appeared in many ingenious productions, by which the knowledge of the principles and affections of the human mind has been highly promoted. When we specify Hume, Lord Kaimes, Reid, and Adam Smith, we speak of them only historically, without considering how far their respective systems are founded in truth. Neither do we enter into the question, whether the English Hartley may, in any respect, have been more successful in explaining the mental constitution. The progress of Society and Manners hath, likewise, been deeply investigated by the writers of North Britain, and several of their works of this kind will hereafter be noticed. We should remember, also, that to North Britain we are indebted for Hume and Robertson, our two classic historians. Arbuthnot and Thomson were natives of that country, though they resided wholly in England. In short, Scotland had its full share in contributing to the literary glory of the age.

Nor is Ireland to be forgotten in our present survey. Ireland can boast of her Swift and her Berkeley: Ireland can  
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say that, in liberal Theology, she hath produced an Abernethy, a Clayton, and a Leland; and that we owe to her another Leland, the translator of Demosthenes, and the historian of Philip of Macedon. It may be added in her favour, that she hath adorned England with some eminent names that will occur in the prosecution of our design.

In reflecting upon the period we have thus briefly described, we perceive it to have been an active and busy one, with regard to the cultivation of Knowledge and Literature. A vast number of important subjects were discussed in it, and the discussion of them effected a great revolution in the sentiments of the kingdom. Extraordinary light was thrown on the very first objects that can demand the attention of man. Human reason, on the whole, was much improved, and a candid and enlarged turn of thinking increased. It was a peculiarly agreeable circumstance that the state of things was progressive; since the latter part of the reign of King George II. was not only splendid in arms and commerce, but in the rising situation of every liberal art. What hath been the subsequent condition of Science, Learning, and Taste; what improvements have been made in them; what changes have taken place; and what have become the prevailing opinions and literary pursuits of the present times, will, in the course of our undertaking, be the subjects of distinct and particular enquiry.

quent application of them was to politics. The example had been set by the Examiner and the Freeholder, and the pattern was abundantly followed. We have no intention of enumerating the vast multitude of them that rose and fell; many of which were little entitled to regard when they were first written, and much less when the circumstances that brought them into existence were at an end. There were two of them, however, which ought not to be omitted; Cato's Letters, published soon after the South-Sea year, and the Craftsman, in the next reign. Cato's Letters, of which Trenchard and Gordon were the authors, are absolutely the best model of periodical political writing that can be exhibited; for they are composed with admirable strength and spirit, and are always upon subjects, and not upon persons. There is nothing in them of that private invective which hath so greatly disgraced recent productions. The Craftsman was more personal; but whilst it was supported by such men as Bolingbroke and Pulteney, it was certainly an illustrious publication. All this while, no Essays appeared of a generally miscellaneous kind, that could be ranked with the Tatler, Spectator, and Guardian. But at length the time came for even these beautiful Papers to be rivalled. The "Rambler" carried the composition of moral essays, and moral narrations, so far as dignity of sentiment, sagacity of observation, and strength of style are concerned, to perfection. The "Adventurer," joined to much of the same merit an excellent talent at Eastern tales, and was adorned with some valuable critical communications. The "World," assumed all the variety of the Spectator, being wise or witty, grave or gay, sentimental, literary, or humorous, as the subject required. It was also, in another respect, like the Spectator; for the conductor of it was lost in the splendour of his auxiliaries. The "Connoisseur," which was the production of two gentlemen, who united their powers in every single paper, was a striking instance of ingenuity and ability. Never was there a work that more happily hit off and exposed the evanescent follies and fashions of the times. Other attempts have

have been made in the same way, but not with equal success. This mode of writing seems to be nearly exhausted; nor is it likely to revive, with distinguished lustre, in any separate publication, as the Magazines and News-Papers are so open to every kind of discussion.

Let us now advert to what may, perhaps, be regarded as a more important object in the view before us. The state of Eloquence in this country is no small matter of consideration, in estimating the character of the age. It is parliamentary eloquence that we have more immediately in contemplation; for that it is to which the British constitution directs, and which has been the most ably and successfully pursued. The great personal and public motives by which our senators are actuated, and that warmth of opposition in which many of them are always engaged, are calculated to call forth the strongest exertions of oratory. During the mighty contest between sir Robert Walpole and his adversaries, it shone with uncommon splendor. Voltaire, speaking of the English eloquence, as it subsisted in the two houses of parliament at this period, says, that it excelled that of Greece and Rome. We do not agree with him in the assertion, but we know that it attained to a high degree of excellence. Not to enter into an enumeration of the principal orators, we may observe, that Pulteney took the lead among them during the grand opposition to Walpole, and that he was fitted for it by his various and powerful talents. He was succeeded by Pitt, whose copiousness, ardour, and energy, carried every thing before him, and have left the most lively impressions on the memories of those who have seen him wield the English democracy. He did, indeed, rise with a surprising superiority over his contemporary speakers, though several of them were highly accomplished, and would deserve to be particularly applauded in a more enlarged examination of the subject than comports with our immediate design. Pitt hath been called the Demosthenes of his age; and he was so with re-  
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gard to that grandeur and force which nothing could resist ; but he was not a Demosthenes in closeness of composition.

The eloquence of the pulpit forms no great object in our present survey. The discourses of our best and most celebrated divines were rational, sensible, and judicious : they contained excellent instructions, conveyed in plain, clear, and sometimes elegant language : they are a valuable part of English literature, have eminent moral and practical merit, and excel in explications of scripture : but they seldom ascend to dignity or pathos ; they seldom attain that sublimity, variety, and tenderness which might, perhaps, be expected from the important and interesting subjects which the preacher has to recommend. If any one is to be distinguished from the rest of the pulpit orators of his time, it is bishop Sherlock. The general character of his sermons, like that of those of his contemporaries, is the calm and perspicuous mode of composition. But they have usually a greater elegance, and they occasionally rise to a certain degree of grandeur. We remember that the conclusion of one of bishop Sherlock's discourses is uncommonly striking and sublime. There is, likewise, in him, a refinement of sentiment and reasoning, which we are not sure to be always founded on truth.

Another matter, well deserving of our consideration, is the state of Historical Writing. The light in which we before mentioned Rapin, was only that of his political value and influence, and he is not an object of attention in the point we have now in view. The circumstance in which our country had long failed, and wherein it had little title to fame, was the composition of history. Many works, indeed, we had, of great use with regard to information, but they were destitute of elegance and dignity. It was reserved for the latter end of king George the Second's reign, to enable England to vie with foreign nations, and even with the authors of antiquity, in this mode of writing. To Mr.  
Hume

Hume and Dr. Robertson we are indebted for so noble a revolution. But we say the less of them at present, as they will come before us hereafter, when the name of a Gibbon will be added to them, and when, perhaps, some other names will not be found unworthy to be recorded.

It was a long time before this kingdom shone in Biography. A number of single lives had been written, and there were a few general collections; but they were not recommended by any uncommon excellence, either with respect to choice in selection, neatness of composition, or sagacity of reflection. The translation first of Bayle separately, and then another translation of him, with the addition of a multitude of lives, extending the work to ten volumes, folio, introduced a more general taste for biographical knowledge. "The Biographia Britannica" succeeded, being consecrated to the worthies of our own country. Both the "General Dictionary," and the Biographia Britannica are works of very unequal execution; but, notwithstanding this, they are considerable objects in the literary history of the period. Of the single lives which were published, few could be compared with that of Cicero, by Dr. Middleton. Mallet's Account of lord Bacon might have deserved to have been distinguished, if he had been more particular in his survey of that great man's philosophy. Biography hath lately become a favourite study with the public, and our future survey of it will hold it out in all its lustre.

We may observe, by the way, that the age was marked by scientific, as well as Biographical collections. Harris's and Chambers's Dictionaries are works of no small consequence, and the latter hath been remarkably popular. The productions of this kind, in which universal science has been thrown into the alphabetical form, for general instruction, have enabled the bulk of the people to acquire some little portion of knowledge, upon any subject that excites their curiosity, or requires their attention.

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BRITISH AND FOREIGN  
H I S T O R Y

For the Year 1781.



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# BRITISH AND FOREIGN HISTORY

For the Year 1781.

## CHAP. I.

*Observations on the State of Affairs at the Close of the Year 1780. Meeting of the New Parliament. Debates on the Election of a new Speaker. Speech from the Throne. Addresses moved for in both Houses, and Debates thereupon.*

**I**N the course of the year 1780, the war between Great Britain and America had been carried on with considerable success on the part of the former; the utmost ardour in the service had been displayed by the royal troops; Charleston, and the whole province of South Carolina, had been subdued; and other signal advantages obtained, the particulars of which have been related in the preceding volume of our work. But notwithstanding these favourable circumstances, no prospect appeared of any speedy termination of the war: the authority of Great Britain was acknowledged in those places only of which the king's troops were in possession, and only during their continuance there; and on the continent of America in general, the most rooted aversion was uniformly manifested to the government of the mother country.

The dangers of the latter were also increased by the war with Holland, which commenced at the close

of the year 1780; and the rupture with that republic naturally augmented the difficulties, and lessened the extent, of the national trade. The alliance between France and the revolted colonies had not, indeed, been so beneficial to the latter, as might have been expected; and the French ministry seemed more solicitous to increase their possessions in the West Indies, than to afford any substantial assistance to their American allies. In Europe, no effects had yet been produced, in any degree proportionable to the mighty armaments that had issued forth from the ports of France, and of Spain; and by which, though much alarm had been excited, little had been performed.

The dissolution of the last parliament was not attended with any circumstances that portended a change of administration: however unsuccessful and disastrous might be the result of the measures of the ministry, their influence in the cabinet and in the nation was not diminished;

ed; nor did the opposition derive any advantage from the election of the members of the new parliament. If popular members were chosen in some places where before they had representatives of a different complexion, in others popular members were removed to make way for those who were known to be ministerial: so that, upon the whole, no very important changes were made on either side. In the nation at large, a spirit of opposition to the measures of administration was far from being increased. For though few persons in the kingdom, it might be presumed, could be wholly insensible of the fatal consequences of the American war, of the burthens under which the nation laboured, and of the dangers with which it was surrounded; the people seemed more disposed to resign themselves with patient acquiescence to the events that might arise, than to take any active part in bringing about a change of men, or of measures. The little effect that had been produced by the vigorous and able stand that had been made by the opposition, during the last session of the last parliament, had inclined many almost to despair of the success of any future opposition: and a great damp had been thrown upon public associations by the late dangerous and destructive riots in the metropolis. These, and other causes, occasioned the meeting of the new parliament to be attended with circumstances favourable to the views of the minister, whatever they might be to the general welfare of the nation.

The first session of the fifteenth parliament of Great Britain began to be held at Westminster, on Tuesday the 31st day of October, 1780. His majesty having commanded the

attendance of the Commons in the House of Peers, they were acquainted, by the chancellor, on their arrival there, that the king would delay declaring his reasons for calling the present parliament, till a speaker of the House of Commons should be elected; and that it was his majesty's pleasure that they should immediately proceed to the choice of a speaker, and that they should present the person elected, on the following day, for his royal approbation. The Commons accordingly returned to their own house for this purpose, and a debate of some length ensued, from which it was apparent, that the conduct of Sir Fletcher Norton, in the last parliament, had neither been forgotten, nor forgiven. Lord George Germain first rose, and made some general observations on the qualifications which were requisite in a speaker of that house; and he remarked, that the late speaker, Sir Fletcher Norton, had, during the course of nearly two parliaments, executed the duties of that most honourable, but arduous office, with so much diligence, and so much dignity, as to entitle him to the warm applause of that house; and to leave nothing for them to lament, except that the labour which attended it, had too visibly impaired his constitution. Of this melancholy truth, the last session, unfortunately for the public, was marked by several instances. It would, therefore, neither be decent in him, nor would it become the house, to shew so little gratitude and respect to the right honourable gentleman, for his important and acknowledged services, as to propose again to place him in a situation, the fatigues of which were too heavy a burthen to be imposed upon him, considering the

the present precarious state of his health. Hence alone originated the idea which his lordship had conceived, of moving that Mr. Cornwall might be appointed to fill the chair. That gentleman, before he came into that house, had done his country essential service, and acquired great personal honour, by the very able and active share he had taken, in the adjustment of some public accounts, which had been submitted to the investigation of certain persons commissioned for that purpose. He had also been some years a member of that house, was well acquainted with the law of the land, with the law of parliament, and with all the forms, orders, and rules of proceeding, peculiar to the house of commons. His lordship therefore moved, "That Mr. Cornwall be elected speaker."

This motion was seconded by Mr. Welbore Ellis, treasurer of the navy, who observed, that Mr. Cornwall seemed to be possessed of all the qualifications which were requisite in a speaker of the house of commons. He acknowledged the great abilities and services of Sir Fletcher Norton; but remarked, that as the labours of the office, which he had so honourably sustained, had so much impaired his health, he thought it necessary, as an opportunity now offered, to afford him the relief which the house had in its power, by electing another speaker. He considered Mr. Cornwall as the fittest successor of Sir Fletcher Norton, whose conduct ought to be the model of that gentleman's, if the house should honour him so far as to seat him in the chair.

Mr. Dunning expressed his surprise, that the minister had not risen, at the commencement of the

debate, to move that the office of speaker should be continued in the person of Sir Fletcher Norton; and that it should seem to be the general idea of the house, that Mr. Cornwall would be appointed his successor. He admitted the abilities of that gentleman, and should not have objected to his nomination, if the chair had been really vacant: but he was of opinion that this was not now the case. Sir Fletcher Norton was then present in the house, and appeared fully equal to the duties of the office, which he had lately executed with such universal approbation. It was, therefore, extremely singular, that the noble lord who made the motion, and the honourable gentleman who seconded it, should acknowledge, that the late speaker was the properest and most able of all persons to fill the chair with dignity, and in the very same instant propose another candidate. . . It might at least have been expected, when the bad health of Sir Fletcher Norton was talked of, and urged as a ground for not continuing him in the chair, that either the noble lord, or the gentleman who seconded him, would have stated to the house, that Sir Fletcher Norton had formally applied to them, declaring his desire to resign the chair, and assigning as a reason for his so doing, that his health was in that impaired state in which it had been represented. But the fact was, that their late speaker appeared to be in full health, and equal to all the duties of the office: he, therefore, moved, "That Sir Fletcher Norton be continued speaker."

This motion was seconded by Mr. Thomas Townshend, who objected to the propriety of nominating Mr. Cornwall for speaker, even if there

had been a real vacancy; because that gentleman was a placeman at pleasure, a pensioner, and a representative not of any independent place, but of one of the cinque ports, which were known not to be allowed a free and unbiassed choice of their representatives. He farther remarked, that it was the impartiality of the late speaker, though that was a virtue in the execution of that office which his opponents had affected to applaud, from which the desire of removing him from the chair had really originated: for offence had been taken, that in a speech which must perpetuate the remembrance of his attachment to his native land, he had expressed his deep concern for the calamities which surrounded it, and his anxiety, that the liberal and unprecedented donations of the people might be applied with wisdom and frugality.

Sir Fletcher Norton then rose, and expressed his desire of saving the time of the house, by an immediate declaration, that he had resolved, in spite of all considerations whatever, to decline the chair. He observed, that when he was first chosen speaker, his constitution was in its full strength: nor were the humble talents, with which Providence had endowed him, at all weakened by their exertion through the former periods of his life. But the very great and increased duties of the office had materially impaired his constitution, and his sense of his growing infirmities had made him resolve to give up all thoughts of returning to his former station. With this temper of mind, he felt no anxiety for the fate of the motion that had been made by his honourable and learned friend, of whose encomiums he possessed a grateful sense, and whose favourable opinion he

was happy to enjoy. He also expressed his acknowledgments to the noble lord who had made the motion for a new speaker, and to the gentleman who had seconded him, for the compliments that they had been pleased to pay him. He must, however, be an idiot indeed, if he could possibly suppose, that his state of health, of which none of the king's ministers had ever received the slightest intimation from him, was the real cause of their moving for a new speaker, when they had not previously said a word to him upon the subject. He was satisfied, that every man, who had the least pretensions to understanding, went before him in the fullest conviction, that a consideration of the state of his health was not the true motive for the present measure. He had a just sense of the merit of the honourable gentleman who was proposed for his successor, and thought him fully equal to the duties of the office: but, at the same time, in justice to himself, he must call upon the noble lord, and the honourable gentleman by whom he was seconded, to assign the true reason of their unmanly effort to drive him from the office with insult and disgrace. If they had any objections to his conduct in the chair, they ought openly and fairly to state those objections. He the rather called for this explanation, because he could assure the house, upon his honour, that though he had been in town three days, and accessible to any member of administration, he had never been asked whether his health would enable him to continue in the chair, should the house approve of his continuing there; nor had he been applied to, either directly or indirectly, on the subject of choosing a new speaker.

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Mr. Fox arraigned the ministry, in very pointed language, for having made it a part of their system, during their continuance in office, to disgrace every dignified character in the kingdom, and especially to insult and vilify those men whose conduct the house of commons most approved. Admiral Keppel had been an instance of this, and a new instance was afforded by the present treatment of the late speaker. It seemed as if the ignominious business of that day was to extinguish those sparks of independence, which the virtuous rejoice to cherish, and to degrade that rectitude which had a just claim to honours and rewards. Unfortunately for the nation, the present example, of dismissing from employment a virtuous individual of high rank, merely because he had uttered his sentiments, and given his vote in obedience to the dictates of his conscience, was not a novelty. The marquis of Carmarthen, and the earl of Pembroke, had been divested of their offices for the same reason. The conduct of the ministry was equally absurd and unjustifiable. The noble lord, who made the motion, had filled his speech with empty compliments of Sir Fletcher Norton; and after asserting, that he was the ablest man the house could chuse to sit in the chair, had concluded his address with moving, that another gentleman might be elected to fill it. The honourable gentleman, who had seconded his lordship's motion, had recommended it to the gentleman moved for, as Sir Fletcher Norton's successor, to copy his example; telling him, in the most plain, positive, and direct terms, that his chance of making a good speaker rested on his following the model of Sir Fletcher Norton. But would any men, except the present mini-

stry, refuse an excellent original, which it was in their power to possess, and fix their choice upon a copy, on a supposition that it might prove not much unequal to the finished workmanship of the master? The true reason which actuated administration in the present measure was, however, sufficiently apparent: the gentleman whom they proposed as a new speaker was one of those who had voted, in the last parliament, in opposition to the sense of the majority of the house, that the influence of the crown had not increased; that it was not increasing; and that it ought not to be diminished. This was his recommendation: whilst the ministry were desirous of removing Sir Fletcher Norton, because he had executed the office of speaker with impartiality; had performed his duty to the house, and to the nation, in his address to his majesty, on the commons granting him a great augmentation of his revenue; and had voted, agreeably to truth, and to the dictates of his conscience, that, "the influence of the crown had increased," was increasing, and ought to be diminished." These were his crimes, and these were crimes not to be forgiven. But he hoped the house would not, in the choice of a speaker, implicitly obey the dictates of a secretary of state. As to the health of Sir Fletcher Norton, it was apparently very good; and when, unhappily for his family, and the public, he should feel a relapse, it would then be sufficiently early to talk of a successor.

Mr. Cornwall said, that if the house thought proper to elect him to the chair, he should exert his endeavours to give them satisfaction; but at the same time expressed his conscientiousness, that those friends,

who were desirous of raising him to an arduous and important post, had regarded his abilities in too favourable a point of view; and that after his utmost exertions he should be greatly inferior to the late speaker. He bestowed some compliments upon Mr. Frederick Montague; and declared, that if that gentleman had not been absent from his place by a fit of illness, he would have been much more equal to the duties of the office than himself. But he felt the impropriety of troubling the house with any farther observations on himself; and should therefore esteem it a duty to meet their judgment and resolutions with the most perfect submission and respect.

As the ministry made no attempt to justify their behaviour in this transaction, Sir Fletcher Norton rose again, and observed, that if any thing could induce him to aspire once more to the honour of presiding in that house, it was the contemptuous insult which he had received from the determined silence of the ministers, whom he had repeatedly and in vain desired, to assign some cause for the present mode of dismissing him from the chair. If either the noble lord who made the motion, or the honourable gentleman who seconded it, supposed that he at any time had been culpable in the execution of his office, it was incumbent on them publicly to declare the nature of his guilt. If they still obstinately refused to give any answer, he must throw himself upon the candour of the house, who well knew what kind of interpretation to give to so extraordinary a treatment.

Mr. Welbore Ellis now rose, and declared, that he conceived every member had an undoubted right to vote for a new speaker as he thought

proper; that he had no design either to insult or disgrace Sir Fletcher Norton, of whom he had before spoken his sincere opinion; but he did not think, after the alarming state of the late speaker's health the last session, that it was either respectful to him, or consistent with the public good, to put him again in the chair. The present situation of political affairs was so universally important, that every toil connected with the office of a speaker of the house of commons would probably be augmented; and it was fit the burthen should be transferred to one, who being less advanced in age, and possessed of greater strength, would be thereby rendered more equal to the support of it.

Lord Mahon expressed his sense of the great talents and public virtues of Sir Fletcher Norton, and thought no other person should be placed in the chair. He considered the informations which had been given, concerning the health of that gentleman, to be extremely ridiculous when proceeding from the ministry, as they should certainly have been communicated only by himself. He farther remarked, that the liberties assumed by secretaries of state to dictate to the house of commons, in a matter of such importance as the election of a speaker, was singular and unbecoming; and that he should the rather oppose the motion, because it was made by a member of that administration, whose baleful measures had loaded their country with disgrace and distress, had abridged the inheritance of the Prince of Wales, and entailed ruin on the house of Hanover.

Mr. Rigby, pay-master of the forces, remarked, that this was the first debate in which he had ever heard it asserted, that there was any thing

## FOREIGN HISTORY.

thing of insult, disgrace, or contempt to any man, in appointing a speaker; or that any gentleman was expected to state his reasons why he recommended, or why he voted for this or that particular candidate. He had always understood that when a new parliament was summoned, every individual member had a right to give his vote as he pleased for a new speaker; and he challenged the most learned of the law to prove, that it was any part of the constitutional law of parliament, that when a member was once elected to the chair of the house, he was to sit there just as long as he pleased, unless some charge of criminality could be made out against him. He also expressed his disapprobation of the freedom that Sir Fletcher Norton had taken with the king, in the speech that he had addressed to him on the augmentation of his revenue; and thought that the conduct of the late speaker had been liable to objection, in his having neglected to maintain that regularity and order, which ought always to be observed in the proceedings of that house. Several other gentlemen spoke in this debate, after which the house divided, when there appeared in support of the motion for appointing Mr. Cornwall speaker 203, and against it 134.

The day following, the first of November, his majesty testified his approbation of the new speaker, and then addressed both houses in a speech from the throne; in which he informed them, that it was with more than ordinary satisfaction he met them in parliament, at a time when the late elections might afford him an opportunity of receiving the most certain information of the disposition and wishes of his people, to which he was always inclined to pay

the utmost attention and regard. His majesty farther observed, that by the force which the last parliament had put into his hands, and by the blessing of divine Providence on the bravery of his fleets and armies, he had been able to withstand the formidable attempts of his enemies, and to frustrate the great expectations they had formed; and he trusted, that the signal successes which had attended the progress of his arms, in the provinces of Georgia and Carolina, would have important consequences in bringing the war to a happy conclusion. It was his most earnest desire to see this great end accomplished; but he was confident, that they would agree with him in opinion, that safe and honourable terms of peace could be secured only by such powerful and respectable preparations, as should convince their enemies, that they would not submit to receive the law from any powers whatsoever, and that they were united in a firm resolution to decline no difficulty, or hazard, in the defence of their country, and for the preservation of their essential interests. His majesty farther declared, that he saw and felt, with great anxiety and concern, that the various services of the war must, unavoidably, be attended with great and heavy expenses; but he desired them to grant him such supplies only, as their own security, and lasting welfare, and the exigency of affairs should be found to require.

An address of thanks, containing, as usual on these occasions, an echo of the royal speech, was moved for by Mr. De Grey, one of the lords commissioners of trade and plantations, and seconded by Sir Richard Sutton, one of the lords of the treasury. These gentlemen pointed out

out the necessity there was that all parties should unite in the determination to support with fresh spirit, and with increased resources, the continuance of the war. The distresses of the empire, it was said, were arguments for the prosecution of hostilities against those foes, who, jealous of the magnitude of its power, and eager to destroy it, might entertain the hope of conquest, unless, superior to calamity, the greatness of its exertions should be redoubled in proportion to the violence by which it was attacked. The unnatural combination of America with France, had given a new appearance to the contest between the mother country and the colonies. It was no longer a question of allegiance and independency between us and our colonies; but whether we should relinquish those invaluable provinces in favour of the house of Bourbon. High encomiums were also bestowed on the exploits of Earl Cornwallis, and other British officers, in North America; and these successes were mentioned as affording a just ground for the most sanguine expectations, that the issue of the war would be fortunate to Great Britain.

An amendment was moved by Mr. Thomas Grenville, by which great part of the proposed address was to have been omitted; so that it would have contained little more than a general declaration of the conviction of parliament, that the present arduous situation of public affairs called upon them for the most active and spirited exertions; and an assurance of their determination to avail themselves of all the means within their power for the purpose of administering to the defence of this country, and of preserving its essential interests in full security and

vigour. He observed, that though he was ready to concur in any professions of loyalty and attachment to his majesty, yet he should refuse his vote to those unworthy clauses, by which the house seemed to pledge themselves for the continuance of hostilities against America. At this alarming juncture, it became the wisdom of parliament, to guard against incautious promises to the throne, that they would support the measures of the ministry; measures which, being calculated to protract a desperate, unnatural, and expensive war, must add to the calamities of the empire; and, if permitted to prevail, accelerate and confirm its ruin. As to the successes which had been lately obtained in America, there was little reason to expect that they were sufficient to induce the colonies to submit to this country. The advantages resulting from the conquest of Charles-town, and the submission of the Carolinians, were neither durable nor important: for, on the first appearance of the troops commanded by general Gates, great numbers of the inhabitants deserted from the royal standard, and again enlisted under the banners of America. This incident alone, amidst a multitude, all equally decisive of an inveterate antipathy to the government of Great Britain, stood forward as the unquestionable proof that our most animated and enlarged exertions could never effect the total subjugation of the colonists. Perseverance in the attempt must drive us to disgrace and ruin; whilst not only the house of Bourbon, but every power in Europe, would rise upon the fall of a deserted empire.

Mr. Fitzpatrick seconded the motion for the amendment, and urged various reasons against agreeing to the address as it was first proposed.

But

But Mr. Pulteney defended the address in its original state; and remarked, that as the attention of all Europe appeared fixed upon the conduct of the present parliament, and every power, whether neutral or belligerent, might reap advantages, or suffer detriment, from their proceedings, it would be impolitic to address his majesty in a form of language, which could hereafter be represented as implying a distrust in our resources, and a pusillanimous alarm at the preparations of our enemies. Although the opinion of the majority within the house should prove averse to the continuance of hostilities in America, it would be at once dangerous and impolitic to suffer it to be known abroad. The sentiments of individuals out of doors, whether real or pretended, were criminally dispersed amongst the multitude, by daring pamphlets, and licentious conversations. It ought to be regarded as high treason to presume to justify, either in public writings, or by verbal assertions, *that* resistance of the Americans, which the legislature of Great Britain had deemed rebellion. Within the walls of parliament, the necessary freedom of debate would countenance discussions concerning the propriety of the revolt of our colonists. In such a place it might be fair to urge the justice of their appeal to arms. But surely it must be an offence against the law to propagate, either in printed publications, or at debating societies, or in private companies, the doctrine that America was justified in disobeying and raising her hand against the power of the parent state. If our codes had not denounced a punishment on this species of transgression, it was full time effectually to check its progress, and to enact a penal

statute that might describe the nature of the guilt, and the exemplary retribution which ought to follow it. He acknowledged, that he had himself at the beginning of the war with America thought it unjust, and he had contended that it was so in that house; but thinking, as he then did, that the war was unjust, he had never conceived that he should be warranted in terming it so without doors, after parliament had chosen to pronounce the war just, and to pursue it under that idea. But a change of circumstances had made a change in his sentiments concerning it. We had now given up the taxation of America, which would have been injustice, as they had no representatives in parliament; and the justice of the American war had been recognized, and confirmed repeatedly by parliament. In this state of things, he thought such sentiments should not be thrown out, as were calculated to repress the ardour of the people for the advancement of their prosperity and splendour, and to introduce a miserable despondency, ill suited, in the worst of times, to the resources of the state, and, at the present period, unworthy of the enlivening prospect which appeared in those parts of the globe, where our military and naval operations had been so successfully conducted.

Those parts of Mr. Pulteney's speech which recommended severe penal statutes against those who should defend the resistance of the Americans, or censure the war against them as unjust, were thought, at least without doors, to contain very extraordinary sentiments for a British senator; and not the less extraordinary, as coming from a gentleman, who had formerly, in the most explicit terms, censured the

the American war as unjust. His idea of confining the freedom of speech within the walls of parliament, and of banishing it from the rest of the kingdom, was not likely to be much relished by the people of England: and, indeed, the house had more wisdom than to make any attempt towards such an invasion, or abridgment of the liberties of the people, as must have been comprehended in such penal statutes as were recommended.

Sir Horace Mann, in the course of this debate, declared himself of opinion, that declamations tending to give the world an idea, that our resources were exhausted, and that we ourselves were in a state of dependency, ill became Englishmen at any time, but least of all in a moment of real difficulty and danger, in a moment when the most powerful confederacy that ever was formed, threatened us with destruction. To look with intrepidity on surrounding dangers, and, as the difficulties accumulated, to glow with a redoubled ardour, was the distinguishing characteristic of our ancestors. Strangers to despair, they pressed forward; beheld with a collected spirit every gathering calamity; and rose, amidst a multitude of enemies, by fortitude and perseverance, to conquest and to glory. Such was the great example which they had left us, and it was an example which ought to be copied at the present period. The American war did not originate from the ministry; the latent sparks of it were burning before they became possessed of the administration; and it was, therefore, absurd to be now losing time in accusations, and in fruitless attempts to charge any particular set of men as the authors of the present difficulties. America

had in an hostile manner allied herself to France, the actual foe of Great Britain, and Spain had joined in the confederacy. Each of the three powers who formed the league, were to be regarded with equal jealousy, and to be opposed with equal exertion; America as well as France and Spain; France and Spain as well as America. A natural regard for the preservation of whatever could be dear to us, required that we should make war on all: for, if the strength of the contention should be turned away from the one, and directed solely against the remaining two; these last, invigorated by our impolitic indulgence to the former, might obstinately maintain their ground, protract the termination of hostilities, and lessen the advantages of peace. The proper inquiry, therefore, now was, how the operations of the war could be best carried on by us, to answer the great end of breaking the union of the three powers, and rendering ineffectual their attempts to destroy our naval force, and to ruin our commerce. He farther remarked, that powerful as the present confederacy undoubtedly was, he could not think it so alarming and tremendous as some gentlemen imagined it to be. All confederacies carried in them principles of disunion. The present confederacy was formed by powers, the most unlikely to coalesce with cordiality for any continuance, that could possibly join together. The colonists, who were Protestants, who had asserted that they drew the sword for the defence of their invaded freedom, formed an alliance with a nation in whose dictionary it was impossible to find the word; even with the French, a race of Roman Catholics, whom no person, endowed with common under-stand-

derstanding, could really suppose to have plunged into the difficulties and the expence of war, for the purpose of giving liberty and independence to America. He concluded with inculcating the necessity of prosecuting the war with redoubled vigour; of compensating for the want of allies by firmness and unanimity; and of acquiring, by the force of arms, those advantages which were the probable rewards of gallantry and perseverance.

Mr. Thomas Townshend lamented that there should appear so fixed a determination to prosecute the American war, which he now considered to be the favourite object of government. To that object all others were sacrificed. The administration had sent young regiments under unexperienced officers to the West Indies, to the great danger of our islands there, whilst our veterans were employed in America. He wished that the amendment proposed to the address might be agreed to, because it would prevent the house from precipitately pledging themselves to that ruinous measure: and he hoped the house would not be drawn in, year after year, to support the hopeless and destructive American war. It was true, that our ancestors had often delivered themselves from imminent dangers by the energy and spirit of their conduct: but the British nation had, at no preceding period, been in a similar situation to the present. The wisdom of our ancestors engaged them to form leagues, during a time of war, with those powers which were the most distinguished by their respectability and importance. Hence arose a brilliant series of successes, that ultimately established a durable and advantageous peace. But to such a peace we could never be led

by our frantic perseverance in the unnatural contest with America.

Mr. Fox observed, that his majesty's speech from the throne had not brought any tidings of consolation, or enlivened the habitual gloominess of the prospect, by even distant views of an amendment in that reproachful plan of politics, so stubbornly adhered to by the servants of the crown. It seemed to be the height of ridicule, and a premeditated insult on the feelings of the people, when it was declared, in the speech, that "the late elections had afforded his majesty an opportunity of receiving the most certain information of their wishes." Did this extraordinary idea arise from the remembrance of the sudden dissolution of the last parliament, the season at which it had been permitted to take place, and the unworthy artifices which had been employed to bias the constituents in their choice of representatives? He hoped the day might come when the house would thoroughly investigate this criminal proceeding, and drag forward to the public indignation the ministers from whom it had originated. It was an act committed by stealth, that astonished and alarmed the multitude, although it made no great impression upon him, who having turned his eyes, for a preceding length of time, to every operation of the officers of the state, could fathom all their views, and easily foretel that a general election would start up, when neither the constituents nor the candidates were sufficiently prepared to frustrate the insidious designs of government; when many voters were employed to gather in the harvest; when the encampments yet remained; and when gentlemen bearing commissions in the militia,

and

and absent on the service, were removed to a distance from those places, in the faithful representation of which they had opposed and censured the ruinous and disgraceful management of public affairs. Thus, from an unwillingness to gratify the wishes of the people, and from a total disregard to the maintenance of tranquility within the island, the ministers had even laboured to render the rapid modes of dissolving one parliament, and of choosing another, hostile to the privileges of the subject, and to the spirit of the constitution. The officers of the crown, he farther remarked, were amenable to public inquiry for their presumptuous and alarming violation of the principles of the constitution, when they commanded the military, in every part of England, even in towns where the riots had either subsided, or never broken forth, to act discretionally, without waiting for the intervention of the civil magistrate. This guilt, so daring in its nature, was highly aggravated, by their adherence to the perpetration of it, until all the popular elections were concluded: for, previously to that period, the orders were not withdrawn.

It had been said, that expressions of despondency at the present period were very unworthy of Englishmen, whatever might be the dangers of the state: and he admitted, that no passion could be more odious and unnatural to the gallant temper of an Englishman than despair. But at the present moment of embarrassment and distress, when the brightest jewel was torn from the royal diadem, when America was dissevered from the British empire, never to be reunited; when a spirit of revolt appeared waiting only for an oppor-

tunity to blaze out, in those disgusted territories that yet remained; at such a time, to approach the throne with congratulatory addresses, was not loyalty, but cruel mockery and insult. Was it despair, to persist in offering to the consideration of the house, such sentiments and advice as the exigencies of the moment might obviously suggest; to investigate our real force by a comparison with that which was exerted to oppose it; and to deliberate on the policy of prosecuting those enterprises, from which little prospect of advantage appeared, and which might involve the state in misery and destruction?

In the address which was proposed, Mr. Fox remarked, that the blessings of his majesty's reign were to be recognized; but in this he could not concur, as he was not acquainted with those blessings. The present reign had been one continued series of disgrace, misfortune, and calamity. It had also been asked, whether honourable mention ought not to be made of the late successes in America, and of the gallant officers by whom they had been obtained? To this he should answer, that he would not thank his own brother, who was now serving in America, for any success he might obtain: as long as he lived, he never would join in a vote of thanks to any officer, whose laurels were gathered in the American war. His reason was, that he hated and detested the war: he regarded it as the fountain-head of all the mischief, and of all the calamities, under which this country now laboured. Much had been said of the efforts which had been made by this country during the course of the present war; and it was asserted, that we had astonished all Europe by our exertions.

This

This he should not controvert; but should only observe, that the violent efforts of Great Britain resembled the ungovernable fury of a lunatic, who, aiming at impossibilities, for the moment, exceeds in force the well-directed struggles of individuals possessed of understanding. The latter might persevere and conquer. The former, enfeebled by exertions, becomes at length the victim of his own phrenzy. Mr. Fox farther added, that notwithstanding the advantages which had been gained in America, he was well convinced, that the ministerial prospects of success would still be closed by merited delusion. He was, therefore, entirely against the address as it originally stood, and should vote for the amendment.

Lord George Germain observed, that notwithstanding the desponding ideas that had been thrown out, he saw no reason for adopting melancholy sentiments. The last campaign had not been unsuccessful. In America we had gained considerably. In the West Indies, what advantages had France and Spain to boast of, notwithstanding the great superiority of Mons. Guichen over Admiral Rodney? The British admiral had now the command of those seas, and the important island of Jamaica, which, day after day, for the whole summer together, we had been taught to believe lost, was perfectly secure. Next year, he would venture to assure the house, we should have a fleet superior, both in number of ships, and in point of equipment, to any we ever had, either in this, or the last war. As to the American war, he had never entertained but one opinion of it; and that was, that it was just from the beginning; that it was a necessary war; a war which had been unavoidably

begun, in support of the undoubted rights of Great Britain, and of the British parliament; and a war which he had the greatest hopes might be brought, and that speedily, to a happy and honourable conclusion. He admitted, that the congress would instantly open a negotiation with Great Britain, provided that the independency of America were acknowledged by the latter; but this was an idea that he spurned at, as dishonourable and ruinous. Such circumstances still existed as gave ground to imagine, that the colonies might be brought back to their allegiance, and form again a peaceable and happy portion of the empire. The conviction that a majority of the Americans were still attached to Great Britain, still anxious to return to their ancient connexion, should operate as an incentive to the maintenance of a war that can alone enable them to throw off the yoke of congress, and change the miseries of servitude and civil confusion for freedom and tranquillity.

Lord Mahon made some general observations on the occurrences of the American war, and declared his resolution to withhold his vote from an address, of which the language appeared to pledge the house for the support of ministers, whose baneful politics had brought the country to the verge of ruin. He remarked, that the pleasing hopes of reconciliation between the colonies and the parent state were dashed away, when the servants of the crown treated with a contemptuous neglect the petition presented from America by Mr. Penn; and when a similar impolitic and wanton disregard was shewn to the intelligence, that the committee of congress had resolved, to offer to secure to Great Britain the payment of the whole national debt,

debt, in the space of one hundred years, provided that she would have relinquished the coercive plans of the administration. Several other members spoke in the debate; but, upon a division, the address, as it was first moved, was carried by a majority of 203 to 134.

In the house of peers a similar address to his majesty was moved for, but it did not give rise to much debate. The great leaders of opposition in that house did not think proper to exert themselves on the present occasion. But the earl of Westmoreland, who moved for the address, made some observations that were thought rather extraordinary. His lordship, after speaking in high terms of the happiness enjoyed under his majesty's just and constitutional government, remarked, that one conspicuous proof and example of the king's regard to the constitution and liberties of his country was, his conduct during the late riots. When private houses were in flames, when the prisons were opened, when force and outrage were exercised against both houses of parliament, when the bank was in danger, and the metropolis in the most imminent hazard of being laid in ashes; then the king interposed the force, with which he had been intrusted by the former parliament, for the salvation of the city of London, of the public liberties, and of the state. Every king would not have observed the same conduct; some would have seized the opportunity of turning the arms of an enraged populace against the civil constitution; and, uniting their arms with those of the military, have trampled upon the rights of the subject. Such was the late conduct of

a northern potentate, who had directed the fury of the people, and turned their power against the senate. But this conduct had not been imitated by his majesty, who had acted like the father of his people. These observations were not taken much notice of in the house of peers, tho' they met with some animadversion in the house of commons, from Mr. Fox: and it was thought not a little remarkable, without doors, that overturning the constitution by the power of the crown should be considered in parliament as so very practicable a measure; and that an English peer should speak of the king as having conferred an obligation on the people, because he had not enslaved them.

The marquis of Carmarthen made several objections to the address; and remarked, that it was in every body's mouth, and the world believed it to be true, that the councils in the cabinet were fluctuating and various. There were different factions even among administration themselves. What one minister or counsellor was for, another was against; one counsel was adopted to-day, another to-morrow; one day the word was, Push the war with vigour; the next, Let us try what we can do by negociation; let us try what we can do in Europe, or in America. One plan of operation is sent to America this month, and the next, before that has been tried, another is sent totally different. He expected, therefore, no good from the present war, or from the conductors of it. The Earl of Abingdon also expressed his total disapprobation of the address. But, upon a division, it was carried by a majority of 68 to 23.

## C H A P. II.

*Proceedings of the House of Peers relative to a Challenge sent by the Earl of Pomfret to the Duke of Grafton. Debates in the House of Commons on the Bill for continuing the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, with respect to Persons accused of High Treason, either in America, or on the High Seas. Complaint exhibited by Lord Mabon of a Violation of the Law of Nations by the English at the Dutch Island of St. Martin. Debate on the Navy Estimates. Supplies granted to his Majesty. Motion for Naval Papers made in the House of Peers by the Duke of Bolton.*

THE attention of the House of Peers was somewhat engaged, early in the present session, by an affair of a rather singular nature, which happened between the earl of Pomfret and the duke of Grafton. The business was first opened in parliament, on the 3d of November, by the chancellor, who observed, that a rumour had been spread of an insult having been offered, and a farther insult threatened, to one of their lordships; that the whole of the report was so uniformly consistent, that although it was impossible for the house to take up the matter in its present stage, or for him to suggest to their lordships what would be the proceedings which might possibly be necessary, when the whole fact, and all its relative circumstances, were formally and correctly laid before the house, yet he had thought it peculiarly incumbent on him to rise, not to inform, but to remind their lordships, with all due respect, that it was their duty to take some step in relation to the rumour, which to their wisdom should seem most likely to rescue the house from so foul an indignity, as it would unavoidably sustain, if an insult were permitted to be offered to the person of any one peer. He added, that if any noble lords present were in possession of the

facts, or of any letters relative thereto, it would be an act of duty on their parts, and of obligation to the house, to communicate the same to their lordships. The earl of Jersey then rose, and informed the house, that a correspondence tending to the most serious consequences had taken place between two noble peers, which, unless proper and immediate steps were taken by that house, might be fatal to one or both of the parties. He acquainted their lordships, that the noblemen meant were the duke of Grafton, and the earl of Pomfret; and he therefore moved, that these two noblemen should be summoned to attend in their places on some future day. It was accordingly agreed, that summonses should be issued to direct their attendance on the 6th of that month.

On the day appointed, the two noblemen attended in their places, agreeably to order: when the chancellor observed, that the house had been acquainted, that a correspondence had taken place between a noble duke, and a noble earl, members of that house, which, from its complexion and tendency, was likely to be productive of very fatal consequences. Upon this information the order for their attendance had been made by the house, and as he perceived that in

compliance with the order both the lords were in their places, and as it was impossible for the house to proceed farther in the business, without being informed of the circumstances alluded to, it was expected that the noble lords, or either of them, would state to the house, as members, how far they were respectively concerned. The duke of Grafton then rose, and stated a variety of particulars to the house, from which it appeared, that lord Pomfret had been induced, by total misapprehension, and an agitation of spirits occasioned by uneasiness of mind, to send a challenge to the duke, though his grace declared, that he had never had any disagreement whatever with the noble earl; that he had always entertained a high respect and esteem for his lordship; and that of course what had happened seemed to him the more unaccountable. It appeared, that the earl had formed an imagination, that the duke had provided for and protected one Langstaff, who had been lord Pomfret's game-keeper, and whom he had lately discharged, and which his lordship considered as a very high affront. The duke had assured the earl, that he was so totally unacquainted with Langstaff, that till he had received a challenge from his lordship on his account, he had never even heard of his name, and that he neither directly nor indirectly had any hand in providing for Langstaff, who had, in consequence of some other interest, been made assistant to the officer of excise for the district of Towcester. It was manifest, that, through the whole transaction, the duke of Grafton had conducted himself with great propriety, moderation, and temper; but the earl still continued suspicious and dissatisfied, and re-

peated his challenge, which was couched in terms of a very opprobrious nature. Lord Pomfret's letters were read, after which his lordship attempted a justification of himself, in which he stated his reasons for persisting in his suspicions concerning the duke: he represented Langstaff as having vowed vengeance against him on his being dismissed from his service; that he had repeatedly injured him, and even formed a scheme to murder one of his lordship's sons; that he was under perpetual apprehensions of some dangerous attempts against the life of himself, his wife, and his children, from this man; and he appealed to the house whether he had not just grounds for resentment. His lordship spoke in a very pathetic manner, and seemed under much distress of mind. After some debate, he was committed to the Tower; and the house resolved, that the conduct of the duke of Grafton had been "perfectly conformable to the principles of a man of honour." Lord Pomfret continued in the Tower till the 17th of the month, when his lordship having petitioned the house, was brought to the bar, where he was reprimanded by the speaker; after which he asked pardon of the house, expressed his conviction that the duke of Grafton had not been influenced by any design to affront him, and declared upon his honour, that he would not farther prosecute any measure of violence against his grace's person, or against any other person, upon account of any suspicions that he had entertained, or any thing that had passed upon this occasion.

In consequence of a motion made in the House of Commons, by Sir Philip Jennings Clerke, on the 6th of

of November, that "the commissioners appointed, by an act passed in the last session of parliament, for examining, taking, and stating the public accounts, do forthwith report to the house what progress they have made therein;" and which was carried in the affirmative, without a dissenting voice; several reports of the commissioners were laid before the house; from which it appeared, that these gentlemen had discharged the trust reposed in them with great assiduity and ability, and that some new regulations were indispensably necessary in the several offices of public accounts.

On the 14th of the same month, Sir Grey Cooper moved, for leave to bring in a bill, that an act of the 17th of his present majesty, entitled, "An act for impowering his majesty to secure and confine persons guilty, or suspected of high treason, in the colonies, or on the high seas," might be continued in force for another year. He remarked, that all the reasons which, during the preceding year, conspired to justify the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, still subsisted; that the rebellion in the American colonies was not extinguished; that they were confederated with the house of Bourbon; that the communication between the American continent and the European powers at enmity with England was still preserved, and frequently maintained; and that, unless the two branches of the former act should be continued beyond the month of January following, to which the operations of their power stood confined, no prisoner charged with high treason could thenceforward be detained; and nearly four hundred persons, at present in close

custody, would unavoidably recover their freedom. Sir George Yonge observed, that the point in question was of too delicate a nature, and too likely to draw after it a train of serious and alarming consequences, to justify either the want of circumspection, or the precipitancy of blind and dangerous determinations. Such was the nature of the act, that it enabled ministers of state to give orders, not merely for the apprehension of Americans suspected to have committed the crime of treason, but for the confinement of any British subject, intercepted on the high seas, and deemed a proper victim to the violence of private pique, or to the wantonness of unrelenting power. It was, indeed, a criminal concession to entrust any set of men whatever, with an authority extensive in its source, repugnant to the principles of the constitution, destructive of the claims of human nature, and hostile, in the extreme, to all the dearest rights of Englishmen, without the most infallible reliance on their possession of that equity of mind, and that regard to the liberty of the subject, which would not suffer them to prostitute so high a trust to the purposes of tyranny. In an inquiry concerning the spirit and tendency of this great assumption of power, and the manner in which it should be exercised, if it were exercised at all, the whole matter should be maturely and thoroughly investigated: he, therefore, expressed his wishes, that the honourable baronet would, for the present, withdraw his motion, and reserve it until a future day, when, proper notice having been given, a greater number of members might be present, to deliver their sentiments on the subject.

Mr. Baker agreed in opinion with Sir George Yonge, and also remarked, that the power, delegated to the ministry by this act, of proceeding, entirely unmolested, and at their own will and pleasure, to direct that any person, whom they might choose to single out as the devoted sacrifice to their resentment and oppression, should be apprehended on suspicion of treason, though a very dangerous power, was still less so, and less alarming, than the authority which they enjoyed, of either deferring the trial of these imprisoned individuals to any distant day, or of preventing it from taking place. Four hundred objects of their despotic violence had languished, from the commencement of the war, without the slightest hope of liberty, in all the horrors of confinement. On this occasion, the proceedings of the ministers were scarcely reconcilable with common sense. They complained, that if the house should not accede to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, nearly four hundred prisoners, accused of high treason, must be set free; and yet they did not once attempt to bring these prisoners to a trial. They had committed the unhappy men as charged with an atrocious crime; yet classing them, at the same moment, in the description of prisoners of war, they negotiated for their exchange, by a cartel for an equal number of British subjects in the hands of the Americans. The subject was intricate and important, and therefore required the discussion of a fuller house, and should be postponed till the members had been summoned to attend.

Sir Grey Cooper replied, that there was no reason to suppose, that the administration availed them-

selves of the act to wreak their vengeance against any prisoners who fell under its construction. They were incapable of wishing to prostitute the power which they derived from it to purposes of oppression. Either the bill in question, or another, framed on principles of the same nature, would annually become requisite, so long as the war with the American colonies should be continued. Previously to its passing for the first time, every clause of it was deliberately examined; and the late parliament had assented, in three different sessions, to its revival. No intention had been conceived of establishing it with a criminal precipitancy; and, in its future stage, the house might canvass, as they thought proper, its propriety and its demerits. The motion passed; and the gentleman by whom it was made, together with the attorney and solicitor-general, were directed to prepare and bring in the bill.

When the bill was read the first time, it was again opposed by Mr. Baker, who observed, that the danger of investing ministers with the power of perpetually confining those victims of their oppression, whom they might think proper to suspect of high treason, beyond the seas, was too apparent from a variety of examples. Of the many persons detained in prison, by this act, not one had yet been brought to trial. An American, who had been made a prisoner, at a period prior to the introduction of the bill, was shamefully secreted, and hurried from one vessel to another, that his friends might not discover him, and thereby be enabled to procure his liberty, by a Habeas Corpus, before the bill, then under contemplation, should have been passed.

passed for the suspension of it. At last he was not brought to trial, nor set at liberty until he had languished, during fifteen months, under the severities of close imprisonment. Of the four hundred persons detained in prison, by virtue of this act, many had been taken in arms. Whence did it arise, that such captives were not considered, as the subjects of Great Britain under a similar predicament in America were regarded by the congress, as prisoners of war, and exchanged accordingly? Or what motives could induce the government, to order them into custody on a charge of high treason, and yet evade bringing them to trial?

Sir Edward Astley declared himself to be of similar sentiments; and also added, that when he considered to what ruinous and unexpected lengths the frantic prosecution of hostilities in America had hitherto been carried, and how distant the prospect of a reconciliation as yet appeared, he judged it dangerously impolitic to introduce an act, that might either enforce the trial of the prisoners of war, upon the charge of high treason, or their detention in close confinement. Sir George Yonge remarked, that the continuance of the act was needless, if a power existed of exchanging under the name of prisoners of war, by a cartel, the persons who might be described in it as suspected of having committed the guilt of high treason, beyond the seas.

Sir Grey Cooper replied, that there were a multitude of impediments which arose to occasion, and to justify, the delay of the administration in bringing the prisoners to trial. The various evidences in favour of the prosecution, and of

the accused, were at a distance; and even if the difficulty of obtaining them could be easily surmounted, humanity would suggest the absolute necessity of waiting until the ferment of the passions, occasioned by the ravages of war, should have subsided, and left the mind to enter upon cool and unprejudiced discussions. It was certain, that the act invested the ministers with a discretionary power, either to liberate, or to detain in custody, the prisoners suspected of having committed high treason, beyond the seas; and the propriety of the measure seemed grounded on the natural expectation of a concurrence of incidents, which might render it at once equitable and politic, to vary the modes of treatment, with the varying predicaments in which the objects of it might occasionally stand. The necessity of the act had been admitted, at a former period; and the motives, which then induced the house to pass it, must still operate for its continuance; without which the parties apprehended would immediately obtain their freedom. The confederacy of the French, the Spaniards, and the revolted colonies, must gather strength from the improvidence of Great Britain, unless the bill should be immediately renewed; and numbers of the Americans, discharged from prison, would hasten to the scene of war, and lift their arms, a second time, against the mother country. The act had been spoken of as an innovation without a precedent; yet it was really copied from the examples of former times. Similar acts were passed, upon the like occasions, in the reigns of king William the Third, of queen Anne, of king George the First, and king George the Second; and when the

last sovereign sat upon the throne, a bill of this nature was kept in force for three successive years. After this debate, little other opposition was made to the bill, which passed both houses, and received the royal assent.

On the 13th of November, lord Mahon informed the House of Commons, that a report prevailed, that the law of nations had been flagrantly violated by the English at the Dutch island of St. Martin, in the neighbourhood of St. Eustatia. According to the accounts received, an English man of war, six frigates, and a cutter, had chased seven American vessels into the harbour of St. Martin. The British commander insisted that these vessels should be immediately delivered up; and the governor of St. Martin replied, that they were under the protection of a neutral port; and that an attempt to seize them would be so violent an outrage against the law of nations, as must justify resistance, and compel him to give orders for an attack upon any of the English ships presuming to molest the vessels of the Americans, within the harbour of the place where he had the honour to preside. Regardless of these menaces, and unmoved by the subsequent remonstrances of the governor, the English officer protested, in his turn, that if his demand were not instantly complied with, he would destroy the island by fire and sword. The governor, whose force was too feeble for a contention against a powerful opposer, at length submitted to the debarkation of a body of troops; but, previously to the seizure of the vessels, and of the cargoes, which had been deposited in the warehouses of the respective pur-

chasers, he requested from the British commander a written acknowledgment, whether this act of violence issued exclusively from himself, or in consequence of the orders of a superior officer. The commander yielded to his desire; and observed, that the lengths to which he had proceeded, were conformable to express directions from admiral Sir George Rodney, who had been authorized by the court of Great Britain, to attack the Americans in all places, and upon all occasions. The fact he had stated, his lordship said, was a gross insult to a neutral power, and a daring violation of the law of nations. He asked, whether this country had not already enemies enough to cope with? Whether America, France, and Spain united, did not give the arms of Great Britain sufficient employment? In the present instance, as if it had been necessary to augment the formidable combination of enemies against us, we had incensed, with a degree of frantic rashness, a neutral, if not a friendly power; and laboured, perhaps effectually, to convert the Dutch into determined foes. What argument could possibly be advanced in vindication of a conduct, which might exasperate the several courts, who, in order to preserve inviolate their system of neutrality, had strengthened their alliance by the equipment of considerable fleets, to resent unjust depredations, and for the purposes of mutual defence?

Lord George Germain, in answer, said, that no official accounts of this transaction had yet been received by government; but he had learnt some of the particulars, from a private letter, written at one of the West India islands, and conveyed

conveyed to England by the way of Holland. A man of war, and some frigates, belonging to the squadron under Sir George Rodney, had defied and given chase to seven vessels, which, crowding sail, took shelter in the Dutch harbour of the island of St. Martin, where, appearing to triumph over their pursuers, they, in defiance of the British flag, hoisted the thirteen stripes, the colours of America. The English immediately prepared for the attack; and were on the point of entering the haven, when the governor informed them, in a message, that if they proceeded to the commission of hostilities, they should be resisted by the fire of the fort. The commanding officer replied, that he acted in obedience to the order of his admiral, Sir George Rodney, and that if the Dutch presumed to discharge a single shot, he would reduce their town to ashes. In consequence of this menace, he was suffered to bear away, as prizes, the American vessels. It did not appear, that Sir George Rodney had been particularly directed by the court of Great Britain, to pursue the line of conduct which he had observed, respecting the affair in question. The admiral might probably imagine, that the shelter intended to have been granted, by force of arms, to vessels bearing rebel flags, was an insult to his sovereign and his country, and generally irreconcilable with the law of nations, so far as it regarded neutral powers. Whether such an idea really suggested to him the proceedings which followed, or whether these last were strictly justifiable, or open to the censure of the house, must be left to the decision of a future day, when the memorial of complaints on this subject,

which he understood to be preparing by the States of Holland, had been transmitted to the ministry, and when a parliamentary inquiry might take place, if it were thought necessary.

The same day the house resolved itself into a committee of supply, when it was moved by lord Liffburne, that "ninety one thousand seamen, including twenty thousand three hundred and seven-teen marines, should be the number voted for the service of the year 1781." Sir Charles Bunbury expressed his satisfaction at hearing so many seamen moved for: he thought the navy the natural defence of this country; and reminded the house, that last war we had 1,000 American sailors on board our fleet, which was a number sufficient to man thirty-six ships of the line. This advantage we had lost, and it had turned the scale in favour of our enemies: the government, therefore, ought to be vigorous in their exertions, and as attentive as possible to economy, in their mode of manning, as well as of equipping and fitting out ships.

Admiral Keppel remarked, that it was an established truth, that a durable and advantageous peace could only be obtained by the superiority of our marine; but it seemed equally true, that unless our squadrons should proceed to meet the enemy much earlier than they quitted the British harbours, during the course of the last year, our hopes of victory would still be fruitless, and our officers and men lose every opportunity of signaling, by great and fortunate exertions, their courage and their conduct. Mr. Thomas Townshend contended, that, prior to the grant of fresh

supplies, and to the imposition of such enormous burthens on the public, it was requisite, that the account of various expenditures should be submitted to the inspection of parliament. The unnatural prosecution of hostilities against the colonists was at once ruinous and disgraceful; while even the boasted victories which had been gained over them, instead of hastening the return of peace, served only to augment a thirst for war. But a reconciliation with America would diffuse a general joy through every quarter of the empire; and, when that point should have been obtained, no lover of his country could murmur at the accumulated supplies, provided that they were employed in correcting the infolence, and crushing the power, of the French and Spaniards.

General Smith observed, that the destruction of the country would prove inevitable, unless expedients were devised to terminate the unnatural and frantic war against America, and to prevent the lavish grants of public money for the support of wicked measures. He added, that a spirit of dissension had unfortunately gone forth amongst the fleet, which threatened to overwhelm it in ruin and disgrace: but the ministry, as if this circumstance were not sufficiently alarming, appeared to set all the powers of Europe at defiance; and, quarrelling with a friendly state, had countenanced a compulsion, by force of arms, in consequence of which the Dutch reluctantly delivered up the American vessels that had taken shelter in the neutral harbour of St. Martin. The violence of this conduct seemed an ungenerous return to the spirited protection afforded, on a late occasion, by the Dutch, to two

English East India-men. These ships, valued at four hundred thousand pounds, were chased by some French frigates into a bay adjoining to the Cape of Good Hope. As no fort had been erected for its defence, the Dutch immediately brought down their cannon to the sea-side, and discovering a resolution to oppose any attempt to commit hostilities, as an infringement of the law of nations, effectually preserved the English ships, which fled for shelter from an enemy too powerful to be resisted.

Mr. Rigby acknowledged, with concern, that the American war had, in a general point of view, been marked by deep misfortunes, and unavailing enterprizes; that, in the business of his department, he had frequent and melancholy opportunities of discovering, that the expences which attended it were enormous; and that he sincerely wished some quick expedient might be devised for bringing it to a successful close. The commissioners employed, to treat for reconciliation with the colonies, had failed in their attempts. In what manner, therefore, to facilitate the accomplishment of views so laudable and important, was more than he could venture to suggest: but he would cheerfully concur in all rational and proper propositions which might hereafter be advanced for that purpose. Not that he had changed his sentiments, so far as related to the justice of the war; but because he felt that its duration, and its expence, would plunge the kingdom into distress; and because he considered it as an act of policy to imitate, on this occasion, the frequent prudence of men, who, having long been engaged in unavailing

ing suits at law, at length agree to settlements and arbitrations, lest they should fall a sacrifice to an impetuous perseverance in the contest. He had approved of the commencement of the war, but the calamities which accompanied its course had rendered him extremely anxious for its cessation. At the same time he should vote for the present motion, because the successes of Great Britain, during the continuance of hostilities, would much depend upon the power of her navy; and none could be averse to means that promised to augment it, if they sincerely wished for the return of peace.

Several other gentlemen spoke in the debate, but the motion at length passed, without a division, as did also another made by the same nobleman, "that the sum of four pounds per man per month, be granted for the support and maintenance of the above ninety-one thousand men, including ordnance and stores."

Mr. Adam complained of some resolutions which had been made by the Westminster committee of association, and that had been printed in the public papers, in which the committee declared, that they were sensible, that Mr. Fox's firm, constant, and intrepid performance of his duty, would probably render him, in common with other distinguished friends of liberty, the object of such attacks as he had already experienced, and to which every unprincipled partizan of power was invited by the certainty of reward: they therefore exhorted the inhabitants of Westminster "to do their utmost, by every legal measure, to preserve to the great body of citizens, by whom he

"had been elected, and to his country, the benefit of his services, and the inviolable security of his person." Mr. Adam declared, that he considered himself as alluded to in these resolutions, and that he was represented in them as a mercenary partizan of power, actuated by the worst principles. He defended himself, threw out some sarcasms against Mr. Fox, and some severe reflections against the Westminster committee of association. This occasioned a warm altercation between Mr. Adam and Mr. Fitzpatrick: and it was remarked by Sir James Lowther, that the former gentleman had more than once discovered an unjustifiable propensity to misconstrue into particular aspersions on himself, language which was general in its import: it appeared therefore necessary to inform him, that he transgressed against the rules and orders of the house, when, with a groundless warmth, he entered into private altercations, and took the liberty to impede the progress of the public business. The affair was at length ended by the interposition of the speaker.

Two days after, the house again resolved itself into a committee of supply, when it was resolved, "that the sum of four shillings in the pound, on all lands, and pensions in England, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed, should be granted towards the supply of the year 1781, and that a proportioned sum, as stipulated by the ninth article of the Union, should be levied in Scotland for the same purpose: and that the duties on malt, cyder, mum, and perry, should be continued for one year."

On

On the 16th of November, a motion was made in the House of Peers by the duke of Bolton, "that an humble address be presented to his majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to give directions, that there may be laid before this house copies of the orders and instructions given to Captain John Moutray, of his majesty's ship *Ramillies*, in July or August last, respecting his taking under his command a number of merchant ships bound to the East and West Indies, and other parts, so far as relates to Captain Moutray's being directed to go to the island of Madeira, or respecting his being particularly cautioned to use his utmost endeavours to avoid sailing in such a tract, as might risk his falling in with the enemy's fleet:" and also, "a copy of Captain Moutray's letter to the board of Admiralty, giving an account of the capture of a great part of the merchant ships under his care, on the 9th of August last." In the speech by which his grace introduced this motion, he remarked, that in the present critical and very unusual situation of this country, when the landed interest was oppressed beyond all example, from the nation's being engaged in a war of so ruinous and expensive a nature, and when an enormous addition was annually made to our public debt, it must certainly be proper to compare what was performed in return for this wasteful profusion of treasure; to oppose the advantages to the disadvantages; and, by striking a balance, learn whether the nation had been a loser or a gainer. This, he believed, could not be so well decided upon in any

other way, as by having reference to the events of the last year; which, if it was not a disgraceful campaign, was certainly inactive and inglorious. There was no prospect of any fortunate issue of the war, nor indeed of any issue. The language of the times was, like the times themselves, altogether new and extraordinary. In former wars, when this nation was ever so hard pressed by her enemies, the speeches from the throne, and the speeches of the ministers, held out to the people something of comfort, some hopes of a better turn of fortune. At present, neither the speeches of his majesty, nor the speeches of his servants, afforded any thing comfortable or satisfactory with respect to our future prospects. On the contrary, all was dismay; and nothing was heard, from any quarter, but the tremendousness of the confederacy against us, and the great power and mighty preparations of the family alliance, the alliance of the House of Bourbon. Of that alliance he had at different times heard very different language. The late earl of Chatham, he remembered, used to warn the house of that alliance. Others had said, it was an alliance to be laughed at. Without giving any opinion upon this subject, he begged leave to ask, what had the ministers to shew, or what argument could they urge to prove, that this country was now in a better state than it had been in the preceding year. He knew not where to turn his eyes in order to find that our situation was improved. In America, we had lost Rhode Island, the only good winter harbour on that side the Atlantic: we had also sent a gallant officer to be hanged, and in return received a very bad man in exchange,

change, in whose services or fidelity no reliance could be placed. As to the boasted victories of lord Cornwallis, he saw no great cause for exultation on that account, though our officers had undoubtedly behaved well. He was convinced, that the state of New York, and its vicinities, hemmed in on all sides, as the commander in chief was, more than counterbalanced any advantages obtained in the Carolinas. In the West Indies, our situation was much worse than it had been during the last year. In Europe, we had but one ally, and by our own mismanagement had contrived to lose that ally. The ally, his grace said, to which he alluded, was Portugal; which we had lost as an ally, by most unwarrantably presuming to make the port of Lisbon, a neutral port, a station and a place for fitting out ships; nay, a kind of naval arsenal; a matter unheard of before, and contrary to the law of nations. By such conduct it was, that we had now no ports in Europe but those of Great Britain, and were confined to our own island. By such conduct it was, that we had increased the number of the neutral powers in confederacy, and thereby strengthened the hands of our enemies. The trade of Great Britain had likewise suffered, in the course of the last summer, to a degree that had never happened at any preceding period. On the 9th of August no less than fifty-two ships were captured at once, and among them five East India-men, and many richly laden for the West Indies. That fleet had, contrary to wisdom, contrary to every necessary caution, been suffered to touch at Madeira, when it was well known that the com-

bined fleets of the house of Bourbon were stationed at Cadiz, and waiting to make the best of any opportunity that might offer of enriching themselves at our expence. It was this circumstance to which he particularly meant to call their lordships attention, when the necessary papers were laid before the house; as he intended to institute an inquiry, from whence it arose, that this fleet failed under so slight a convoy, and who it was that directed the commodore to come in so close with cape St. Vincent; and why, at a period of such imminent danger, that fleet failed in the tract for Madeira; or, if it was indispensably necessary that the fleet should touch at Madeira, why it was not convoyed, by the western squadron, across all the latitudes till it passed cape St. Vincent. He had been induced to institute this inquiry, that their lordships and the nation might know who it was, who ought to stand responsible to the parliament and people, for the loss of one of the most valuable outward-bound trade fleets, that had ever failed from the harbours of England.

The earl of Sandwich then rose, and said, in reply, that so far was he from having the smallest objection to the present motion, that he begged leave to second it. He thought the house, and the public, were entitled to have the fullest satisfaction, respecting the loss of so very important and valuable a fleet, as that to which the noble duke had alluded; and therefore, in order to throw the greater light upon that affair, he would, with the leave of the house, move an addition to his grace's motion, and call for a paper, which, in his opinion, would assist materially in convincing their lordships,

lordships, that it had not been owing to any neglect of his, that so fatal an accident had happened. Accordingly his lordship moved, that “an extract from the letter of admiral Geary, of the 2d of August, 1780 so far as related to his falling in with the *Ramil- lie*, and her convoy, bound to the West Indies, might be laid

“before the house.” His lordship also made several observations, in order to shew, that the board of admiralty had not been in any respect culpable in this transaction. In this he was answered by the duke of Bolton; but the farther discussion of this business was deferred till after the Christmas recess.

### C H A P. III.

*Debate on a Motion for a Vote of Thanks to the late Speaker of the House of Commons. Debate on a Motion for an Account to be laid before the House of the Number of Forces under the Command of Sir Henry Clinton. Troops voted for the Service of the current Year. Debate on a Motion for a Vote of Thanks to Sir Henry Clinton and Earl Cornwallis. Other Parliamentary Transactions. Reces.*

**T**HOUGH a new speaker of the House of Commons had been appointed, at the beginning of the session, in the manner that has already been related, it was thought by many that it would be manifest injustice in the house, not to give some testimony of the sense they retained of the great merit, and the important services, of the late speaker. Accordingly on the 20th of November, a motion was made by Mr. Thomas Townshend, “that the thanks of that house should be given to the right honourable Sir Fletcher Norton, knight, late speaker of that house, for his conduct while he filled the chair of the house during the two last parliaments.” But this motion did not pass without some debate: and it was urged by those who opposed it, that the majority of that house having already voted for the removal of Sir Fletcher Norton from the chair, they would forfeit all claim to consistency of conduct, if, after having taken such a step, they should assent to a pro-

position for conferring on him a vote of thanks. It was also said, that there were many new members in that house, who could not be adequate judges of the propriety of the present motion; because not having been present in the last parliament, they could not be personally acquainted with the merits of the late speaker. Several gentlemen also expressed their dissatisfaction at the liberty which he had taken with the king, when the parliament had granted an augmentation of the royal revenue. But it was urged in support of the motion, that all the public measures, wherein Sir Fletcher Norton had acted a distinguished part, were recorded in the journals of the house, and were not less investigated and applauded by the people at large, than by their representatives within the senate. As to his address to the throne, to which objections had been made, though it might have given offence to those who were disposed to pay a mean and servile court to the sovereign, it was certainly

tainly an illustrious proof of the late speaker's attachment to the service of the people, of his intrepid zeal for the preservation of their rights, and of his anxiety to maintain the true dignity and importance of the commons of Great Britain. In his general conduct, he had supported, during the space of eleven years, the weight of an exalted and important office with firmness, with talents, and with honour; and was therefore justly entitled to the thanks of parliament. The question was at length put, and the house divided, when there appeared for the motion 136, and against it 96.

At the beginning of the session, it was a remarkable circumstance, that no members were returned for the town of Coventry; the sheriffs only reporting to the house a state of facts, in which they represented, that in consequence of hired and desperate mobs, they had been prevented from proceeding to any regular election. A new writ was afterwards issued, and at the time of election new sheriffs were in office, who returned two gentlemen as duly elected. Petitions were afterwards presented by the two unsuccessful candidates, colonel Holroyd, and Mr. Yeo, complaining of an undue election. The affair was canvassed by a committee, who committed the late sheriffs to Newgate, and declared Mr. Holroyd and Mr. Yeo duly elected. The transactions respecting this business were very variously related; and an act was afterwards passed for the regulation of elections at Coventry.

On the 24th of November, a motion was made by Mr. Minchin, and seconded by Sir George Sa-

vile, "that an humble address be presented to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to give directions that there should be laid before that house an account of the number of forces under the command of lieutenant-general Sir Henry Clinton in North America; and also the distribution of the same, according to the last returns made up and transmitted by him to the office of Lord George Germain."

The motion was opposed by Mr. Jenkinson, secretary at war, who observed, that it could not be conceived that the house would submit to the publication, not only in the face of enemies, but in the face of all the world, of the number of forces serving in America, and of their actual distribution. The house had, on former occasions, refused their assent to motions less comprehensive than that before them, and extending only to the producing of papers relative to the mere state of the army in America. They wisely foresaw, that if the contents of such papers were permitted to transpire, the nation might suffer detriment from the publication of circumstances; of which the powers at war might, perhaps too fatally, avail themselves.

The gentleman who made the motion expressed his astonishment, that the secretary at war should countenance the ridiculous and hackneyed idea, that laying a state of military forces open to the inspection and subsequent debates of the House of Commons, was furnishing the enemy with intelligence. Whenever such reasons were assigned, in order to set aside motions similar to that which he had now made,

made, he blushed for those by whom they were advanced. On the present occasion, they were totally inapplicable. To imagine that the Americans and the French had not discovered the secret of the number and distribution of the troops under the command of Sir Henry Clinton, was in fact to argue, that the officers and soldiers serving with the latter, could not be either seen or heard of by the former. Were the English camps on the other side of the Atlantic, totally different from the camps in other quarters of the world? Did no spies, no friends to the enemy, contrive to get and to remain within their limits? Who could be so credulous as to imagine, that either general Washington, or monsieur Rochambeau, or monsieur de Ternay, were not possessed of the intelligence which it was the object of the motion to bring before the house? Was it decent, or justifiable, to keep the great body of the people, who were represented within those walls, ignorant of points which were notorious to all Europe? On them the burden of expences relative to the maintenance of the army had fallen with unprecedented weight, and yet they were denied the trifling benefit of official information. After some farther debate, the motion was carried; but an amendment was previously agreed to, by which the clause relative to the distribution of the troops was omitted.

The same day a motion was made by Mr. Jenkinson, "that thirty-nine thousand men should be employed in the service of Great Britain, for the year 1781." This motion was carried, after some debate; but in the discussion of the army estimates, it

was observed by Mr. Townshend, that the extravagance of the army charges was boundless and unprecedented. To account for them in any reasonable manner, must perplex the ingenuity even of the persons from whom they had originated. In the estimates laid before the house, several regiments were stated as having a full complement, and consisting of eight or nine hundred men each, though he had himself been an eye-witness, at the encampment during the course of the preceding summer, that, on a review day, only about three hundred, or, at most, three hundred and fifty men, could be mustered, with the ineffectual view of making up their given number. Other regiments, if they deserved the name, limited to officers, and having no men, were set down in the estimate as complete; but the plain fact, in confirmation of which the most indisputable authorities stood forward, and for which the ministers ought strictly to answer in the face of parliament, was, that the money granted for raising these regiments had never been applied to such purposes; but was set apart for the maintenance of a corrupt influence, and not for the military service of the kingdom; for the support of venal pensioners, but not for the national defence.

On the 27th, a motion was made by Mr. Daniel Parker Coke, that "the thanks of that house should be given to general Sir Henry Clinton, knight of the Bath, for the important services rendered by him and the troops under his command, in the reduction of Charles-town; and that the thanks of that house should also be given to earl Cornwallis, for the signal and meritorious ser-

“vices

“vices he had done to his country, try, by the most glorious victory obtained by him over the American rebels at Camden.” He observed, that he had before given notice of his design to make a motion for the thanks of the house to earl Cornwallis, for the important services he had rendered to his country. But at the time when he gave that intimation, he did not recollect the propriety of giving thanks at the same time to Sir Henry Clinton, for the signal services performed by him to this nation. He now wished to comprehend him in the vote of thanks that he moved, and which he hoped would pass unanimously. Gentlemen on every side of the house bore testimony to the excellent conduct and to the gallantry of earl Cornwallis; nor would it be denied, he presumed, that the same qualities were possessed in an eminent degree by Sir Henry Clinton. It would have a bad effect to vote the thanks of the house to one of those gentlemen, and not to the other. The thanks of the house were deserved by both; but while gentlemen allowed the great qualities and virtues of those officers, there were some who disapproved the cause in which they were exerted. For his own part, he had been one of those who lamented the commencement of the American war, and disapproved of many of the measures adopted in its prosecution. But the origin of the present war should be kept entirely out of view in the present question. America was now the ally of France, the confederate of the house of Bourbon. He did not say, that the war against America was not big with many calamities to Great Britain; he apprehended, that if it

would not be the ruin of this country, it would at least extremely impoverish it; but still he saw no medium between unconditional submission to the enemy, and the most spirited exertions. He had not, in the motion that he offered to the house, said any thing concerning the justice or policy of the American war, hoping thereby to gain that unanimity, without which a motion of thanks, though carried, lost much of its value. He added, that if he could harbour the least suspicion, that his motion, if persevered in, would meet with a violent resistance, he should instantly beg leave to withdraw it; as he could not rest satisfied with any acquisition short of that at which he aimed; the payment of a just and necessary tribute to military virtue, the enterprizes of which were crowned with victory.

Lord Lewisham seconded the motion, and observed, that however remote the period might be, when a virtuous and successful coincidence of opinions would animate the investigations of a whole British House of Commons, he flattered himself that the present motion must give occasion to at least a temporary blessing of this kind; and that no difference of sentiment would prevail in an assembly, whose too frequent departure from unanimous resolutions had overset those great advantages, which might have swelled the sails of the agitated vessel of the state, and waisted it in safety over that sea of difficulties, where, during such a length of time, it had been dangerously tossed. One source of consolation was still remaining, and it became evident from the ideas which were thrown out, in the course of former debates, that every

ry member within the walls of parliament felt the strongest conviction of the necessity of humbling the arrogance, and of diminishing the power of the house of Bourbon. To this end would each advantage acquired in America naturally conduce; and therefore, upon that account alone, exclusively of a multitude of others, Sir Henry Clinton, and earl Cornwallis, whose gallant and well directed enterprizes had been accompanied by brilliant victories, were undoubtedly entitled to public marks of approbation from the representatives of a people, accustomed to look with pleasure on the rewards of military conduct and determined courage.

Mr. Thomas Townshend then rose, and lamented that the honourable gentleman by whom the motion was made, and who was so anxious for the prevalence of unanimity on the occasion, had not so worded his motion, as to secure it against all cavils and exceptions. There were some particular terms, that were probably inadvertently thrown in, but which were liable to give rise to warmth and altercation, and were too obvious to require that they should be expressly pointed out: these even the honourable gentleman, who had used them, might, upon second thoughts, be desirous to expunge. Lord North appeared to concur in opinion with Mr. Townshend; and allowed that it would be better if the motion were so worded, as not to give the least offence to any party. He hoped, therefore, that the gentleman by whom the motion was made would admit of an amendment, and consent that the words "import-  
"ant," and "over the re-  
"bels," should be omitted: and

this amendment was accordingly agreed to.

Mr. Wilkes declared, that he thought it his duty to oppose the motion, as originally intended, respecting only lord Cornwallis, and all the subsequent amendments; because, in his idea, every part of it conveyed an approbation of the American war; a war unfounded in principle, and fatal in its consequences to this country. He had condemned it, he said, at the beginning, and had regularly opposed its progress in every stage, both in and out of parliament. The eminent and very important services to his majesty and this country, mentioned in the motion, he entirely disapproved, and consequently should withhold his thanks and gratitude, where he did not think them wanted, in a war of glaring injustice and wretched policy. He did not mean, he said, to derogate from the heroic courage, and superior military virtues, of lord Cornwallis. He admired the splendour and brilliancy of those qualities, which dazzled in his countryman as they did in Julius Cæsar; and he equally lamented that they were called forth to action in the same bad and mischievous cause, the attempt to overturn the liberties of his country. The Roman too possessed, as had been said of lord Cornwallis, nice and delicate sentiments of honour and virtue; and was certainly an accomplished gentleman, perhaps the most accomplished of any in the history of mankind. But he carried on a wicked war against the constitution of the free country in which he was born, and which therefore he was under the strongest obligation to support. In the same light, Mr. Wilkes proceeded to observe, he considered the war  
carrying

carrying on in North America; and if an arbitrary, but incapable administration, had succeeded in the plan of dragooning the colonists into unconditional submission, he believed that the liberties of England would not long have survived those of America. He could not but regard it as an inconsistency in the character of lord Cornwallis, that when he had, in the debate in the house of peers on the declaratory act, strenuously denied any right we had to tax the Americans, while they continued unrepresented in the British senate, he should solicit a command against the Americans at the first breaking out of the war, and afterwards endeavour by fire and sword to enforce a taxation of the colonies. As a peer, his lordship had supported American freedom, and voted against an ignominious badge of bondage on the colonists; as an officer, the same lord solicited a command in America, to enforce that injustice of which he complained, and was active to rivet the chains of slavery on the free-born inhabitants of the new world, and the descendants of Englishmen. In such a cause, he would not give thanks to genius and courage united, but ill directed, productive of no good, but of infinite mischief. He could not but consider it as a subject of regret, when great military talents were thus seen to triumph over the superior civil virtues of the citizen, and when mere lawless force and violence received the aid of valour and distinguished ability, in order to overturn a fabric of freedom and justice, cemented by the best blood of our ancestors. A good man would indignantly turn his eyes from laurels and palms of victory stained with the blood of deserving fellow-subjects, sacrificed to fordid views, to the lust

of power, to the rage of a tyrannical administration. Mr. Wilkes added, that he would not give thanks for victories, which only tended to protract a destructive war. Peace with America could only save this sinking state, and give us permanent prosperity. There was more matter of grief than of triumph, of bewailing than thanksgiving, in this civil contest, and in the deluge of blood which had overflowed America. Public thanks from that house on the present occasion would only widen the breach, and demonstrate how far we were behind other nations in the knowledge of true policy. The wisest and most polished nations of antiquity drew a dark and thick veil over the horrors of civil commotions and bloodshed. The Romans granted no triumphs for the victories of their generals in civil wars. They wished not to record and perpetuate, but to conceal and consign to oblivion, the memory of Romans falling by the swords of Romans. As to the victories of lord Cornwallis, their lustre was obscured and darkened by the want of a good cause; without which, in the eye of truth and reason, no war could be justified. In every view, therefore, he was entirely against the present motion.

Lord North endeavoured to defend the character of lord Cornwallis from the charge of inconsistency. He had, indeed, protested against carrying on coercive measures against America, as long as he conceived the Americans injured by such measures. But as soon as Great Britain gave up the point of taxation, and made other liberal concessions, it was consistent in lord Cornwallis to draw his sword against those whom justice, and more than justice, would not satisfy, and who had leagued them-

selves with the inveterate enemies of their country. Even the late earl of Chatham would have been moved with the greatest indignation at the idea of giving up the dependency of America on this country, though he was not a friend to American taxation.\* His lordship farther observed, that earl Cornwallis was not a soldier of fortune, or under any temptation to seek in war the advancement of his interest. He had left the comforts of a liberal fortune to risk his life, and undergo many toils in war, to serve his country, and perhaps from a view to personal reputation; but a reputation well deserved, being founded on services of the greatest importance to his country. Several other gentlemen spoke in the debate, and the motion was at length carried, without a division, and with an amendment proposed by lord Beauchamp, that the thanks of the house should also be given to admiral Arbuthnot.

On the 28th, upon the report of the resolutions of the army estimates, a motion was made by Mr. Hufsey, that the said estimates should be re-committed, and deferred till after the holidays. He assigned as one reason for his motion, that he disapproved of the mode of recruiting the army, by reducing the old regiments, and raising new levies; but he said, that what weighed much more with him was, the enormous amount of the army estimates. He thought that the navy was neglected, and that our naval force ought to be considerably augmented. Several other gentlemen concurred with him in opinion: and Mr. Thomas Townshend expressed himself with warmth on the inhumanity of sending out new raw regiments to the West India islands. He declared, that he had it from good authority,

that no less than 740 soldiers died at St. Lucia in a very few months. But instead of attending to the decrease of our resources of men, the ministry were wantonly wasting the strength of the country, and sending its army to rot in unwholesome climates, and to find early graves in the West Indies. The house divided upon Mr. Hufsey's motion, when there appeared 37 for it, and 108 against it.

The following day, the house having resolved itself into a committee of supply, the estimates of the expence of the ordnance for the year 1781 were laid before the house; and the supplies moved for on this account were agreed to without much debate. On the 30th, Colonel Barré moved, that accounts of the army in North America and the West Indies, in November, 1779, according to the returns for that year from Sir Henry Clinton, should be laid before the house. This motion was agreed to, as were also two others made by the same gentleman; one, that "accounts should be laid before the house of all the troops embarked for America, according to the embarkation returns, from 1777 to 1780 inclusive;" and the other, "that accounts of all the men raised and employed in the land service in Great Britain and Ireland, including twenty thousand marines, in the years 1777, 1778, 1779, and 1780, the fencibles or militia of Scotland not being included, should be laid before the house."

On the 4th of December the supplies required for the navy estimates were agreed to by the house; and these giving rise to a short debate, some reflexions were thrown out in the course of it against the administration, on account of their having appointed sir Hugh Palliser to be  
governor

governor of Greenwich Hospital. That gentleman being present took occasion from hence to attempt a vindication of his conduct; and some altercation ensued between him and admiral Keppel. The next day, a motion was made by Mr.

Sawbridge, and agreed to, that a copy of the minutes of the trial and sentence of the court-martial held for the trial of vice-admiral sir Hugh Palliser should be laid before the house. The day following, the house adjourned to the 23d of Jan. 1781.

## C H A P. IV.

*Unsuccessful attempt of the French to make themselves masters of the isle of Jersey. Capture of the islands of St. Eustatius, St. Martin, Saba, and other Dutch settlements. Rigorous treatment of the inhabitants of St. Eustatius. Memorials and remonstrances occasioned by that transaction. The United Provinces ill prepared for war at the commencement of hostilities. Dissatisfaction in Holland on account of the Duke of Brunswick. Memorial presented to the States-General by Mr. John Adams, in order to procure an alliance between Holland and the American congress. Orders, issued by the court of Great Britain, respecting the freedom of navigation in the Baltic.*

**I**N the year 1779, an unsuccessful attempt was made by the French to render themselves masters of the island of Jersey. Their want of success on that occasion did not, however, prevent their making another attempt at the commencement of the year 1781. On the 6th of January, upwards of eight hundred French troops, commanded by the baron de Rullecourt, landed at the Bank du Violet, in that island. In their attempt to land, more than 200 men were lost, in consequence of one privateer, and four transport vessels, being wrecked upon the rocks. But the militia guard of the island were so deficient in vigilance, and so totally neglectful of their duty, that the French effected their landing with the utmost privacy. To the astonishment of the inhabitants, the market-place of St. Helier, the principal town of the island, was filled with French troops, soon after the day began to dawn, without a single gun having been fired, or the least alarm being given from any quarter. Major Moses Corbett, the

lieutenant-governor, was in bed, when his servant first acquainted him with the arrival of the French troops. When he had dressed himself, he found his house surrounded, and on his appearing was taken prisoner. He had, however, previously found means to send some information of the state of things to the 78th, 83d, and 95th regiments, which were stationed in different parts of the island. After the lieutenant-governor was taken prisoner, he was carried to the French general, who immediately proposed to him to sign articles of capitulation; threatening in case he refused, to set fire to the town, and put the inhabitants to the sword; and at the same time, in order to prevail on him to comply, falsely assuring him, that he had landed above five thousand men on the island. The lieutenant-governor represented, that, being a prisoner, he was in consequence deprived of all authority, and that therefore his signing any terms of capitulation, or pretending to give any orders, could answer no purpose. The French

general, however, persisted in his requisition; and the lieutenant-governor, influenced by his menaces respecting the town and its inhabitants, and paying too much regard to his representations, was at length prevailed with to sign the articles, and to send orders to some officers under his command to comply with the capitulation. He afterwards declared, in his own justification, that he had not the least expectation that his orders would be obeyed; that he was convinced, that his imprisonment utterly abrogated his command, even if he had been disposed voluntarily to exercise it; and much more, when the command exercised, was the imposition of foreign force; and he therefore considered that his acquiescence, while it protected the town, could not possibly surrender the island, if those on whom its protection devolved, found themselves possessed of the means to protect it.

When the French general summoned Elizabeth castle to surrender, captain Aylward, who commanded there, not only peremptorily refused, but fired upon the French, and compelled them to retire. In the mean time, the British troops, under the command of major Pierfon, who was next in seniority to the lieutenant-governor, together with the militia of the island, assembled upon the heights near the town. The French general sent to them a requisition, that they should conform to the capitulation: but received for answer, "That if the French did not lay down their arms, and surrender themselves prisoners in twenty minutes, they would be attacked." Accordingly, major Pierfon, having made a very judicious disposition of the British troops, they attacked the enemy with great vigour and impetuosity. During the heat of the action,

the French general compelled major Corbett, the lieutenant-governor, to stand close by him, saying, that he should share his fate. But the French general was mortally wounded; and, in less than half an hour from the commencement of the action, the French officer next in command desired major Corbett to resume the government, and to accept their submission as prisoners of war. Such was the end of this attempt upon the isle of Jersey: but it unfortunately happened that major Pierfon, who was a very able officer, and had behaved with great gallantry, was killed in the moment of victory. The conduct of the lieutenant-governor was afterwards censured by a court-martial, and he was superseded in his office.

The beginning of this year was also rendered remarkable by the unexpected attack of the Dutch island of St. Eustatius, and its dependencies, by admiral Rodney and general Vaughan. On the 3d of February these commanders, with a considerable fleet, and a large body of land forces, appeared before St. Eustatius, and sent a summons to the governor, demanding the surrender of the island of St. Eustatius, and its dependencies, and giving him one hour to consider of it. This unexpected attack threw the inhabitants into the utmost consternation. They had so little apprehension of any thing of this kind, that they could scarcely give credit to lieutenant Cockburne, who was sent with the summons to the governor. A Dutch man of war, commanded by count Byland, and belonging to the department of the admiralty of Amsterdam, had arrived there just before; and from the representations of the officers of this ship, the inhabitants of St. Eustatius had been led

to believe, that there was no danger of hostilities with England. The island was incapable of any resistance to the force that was brought against it; and it was therefore surrendered at discretion, by the governor, De Graaf, who recommended the town and its inhabitants to the mercy of the British commanders. But though they made no resistance, and surrendered at discretion, they experienced no lenity, but were treated with a degree of rigour very unusual among civilized nations in such cases. The pretext assigned for this conduct was, that the inhabitants of St. Eustatius had afforded considerable assistance to the Americans, and to the enemies of Great Britain. All the property found upon the island, public and private, was declared to be confiscated. The inhabitants were compelled to deliver up their cash, and all their effects. Their warehouses were locked up, and access was denied to the proprietors; so that they were not even permitted an opportunity of ascertaining the amount of their commodities, or of securing any future claim to their property by labels, or by inventories. The merchants books were also seized, and even their letters and private papers. All the Jews upon the island were informed that they would be transported from it, and only one day was given them for preparation. At the time appointed, they all appeared, to the number of one hundred and one, and after all their money had been taken from them, to the amount of eight thousand pounds, thirty of them were embarked on board the Shrewsbury, and carried to St. Christopher's, without being informed whither they were going, or without being permitted to take with them their wives or children. The rest, after being stripped of

their property, were suffered to return to their families, and continue on the island. A proclamation was also issued by the British commanders, ordering all the Americans, without distinction, to depart the island: similar orders were issued respecting the French inhabitants, the Dutch inhabitants who had been citizens of Amsterdam, and all foreigners of every kind, excepting the settled inhabitants of the island. The property of the inhabitants was sold by auction, the sales commencing on the 15th of March; and notice was given in the Carribbean gazette, that all persons who would come to the island in order to purchase, should have whatever they bought properly secured to them. The goods purchased at these sales were supposed to be sold at about one fourth of their value; and were permitted to be shipped off in English or neutral bottoms, for the purpose of conveying them to any of the English or neutral islands.

The treatment of the inhabitants of St. Eustatius, and the seizure of their private property, were highly dishonourable to the British name and character; and of a totally different kind from that behaviour and conduct to our enemies, by which the English had been distinguished in those more brilliant periods, when they were equally characterised by gallantry and by humanity. Indeed, the transactions at St. Eustatius were condemned in England, by men of discernment and philanthropy, and those who had a just regard to the national character, from the very moment that the account of them arrived: though, to many of a different disposition, this triumph over the Dutch was considered as a matter of great joy and exultation. But the more this matter was canvassed,

the more odious it appeared ; and no generous mind could receive any pleasure from such a method of treating a defenceless enemy. All reflecting men beheld it with concern, as a precedent of a very dangerous nature, and as calculated to increase those calamities and horrors of war, which the mildness of modern manners had greatly contributed to alleviate.

It was boasted by one of the British commanders, in his letter to government, that, in consequence of the conquest of St. Eustatius, they took possession of property to the amount "of at least three millions of money." Besides the island, they took a Dutch man of war of 60 guns, a large frigate, and upwards of 200 trading vessels. The man of war had sailed from St. Eustatius, having an admiral on board, and with a convoy, before the arrival of Rodney and Vaughan at that island ; but it was overtaken, and attacked, and the Dutch admiral killed in an engagement with the *Monarch*, after which the whole convoy surrendered. Besides the island of St. Eustatius, the islands of St. Martin and Saba also surrendered at discretion, on terms whatsoever being granted them. Admiral Rodney and general Vaughan likewise added to their former conquests the French island of St. Bartholomew, and the Dutch colonies of Demerary and Isequibo upon the Spanish main ; but to these they thought proper to afford better treatment than had been experienced by St. Eustatius, leaving the inhabitants in possession of their private property. A number of Dutch merchant-ships in the river Demerary were also taken possession of by two sloops of his Britannic majesty. The Dutch settlement of Berbicia, a few leagues distant from Demerary, toge-

ther with several vessels, was also taken by two private sloops of war. But a considerable number of the vessels captured at St. Eustatius, being afterwards sent home, under convoy of the *Vengeance* and *Prince Edward* men of war, and two frigates, fell in with a French squadron, consisting of six ships of the line and two frigates, under the command of *Monf. de la Mothe Piquet*, to the westward of Scilly. Most of the merchant ships were captured by the French ; but the king's ships, on board one of which was the greatest part of the specie taken at St. Eustatius, escaped.

The merchants of the British island of St. Christopher, who had considerable property at St. Eustatius, and who were alarmed at the treatment of the inhabitants of that island, and at the indiscriminate confiscation of private property, transmitted to admiral Rodney and general Vaughan, by the hands of John Glanville, esq; his majesty's solicitor-general for St. Christopher's, a memorial and remonstrance against the conduct of those commanders. They represented, that their property, fairly bought, under the sanction of acts of parliament, with their own money, had been forcibly taken from them, without their being allowed to mark or number the packages, and without knowing in what ships they were to be loaded. They observed, that if, by the fate of war, the British West India islands should fall into the hands of an enraged enemy, the conduct of the British commanders at St. Eustatius would be a pretext for them to retaliate, and to confiscate private property ; which might deprive them of the means of paying their creditors in England, and be the cause of numerous bankruptcies there.

there. They farther represented, that the conquerors of all civilized nations had avoided the invasion of private property; being led, from motives both of humanity and policy, to preserve the property of individuals. They took notice of the late generous behaviour of the French court in the case of Grenada; by which a spirit was manifested totally different from that which had occasioned the late treatment of the inhabitants of St. Eustatius. Grenada being taken by storm, without capitulation, was at the mercy of the conquerors. The count D'Estaing did not, however, seize the property of individuals; though he issued edicts to prevent the payment of debts due in Great Britain, and displaced agents of absentees, by appointing trustees to receive the produce of the estates. But even these measures caused an universal clamour among the enlightened part of the French nation, who carried remonstrances to the throne of an absolute monarch, and count D'Estaing's conduct was severely reprobated, his edicts rescinded, and the inhabitants put upon the same footing with French subjects in that island. They also intimated to the admiral, that if he declined doing them justice, respecting their property in St. Eustatius, they should be compelled to have recourse to the courts of law in England.

This memorial produced no effect. The admiral informed Mr. Glanville, that "he had not leisure to peruse the memorial," which he had delivered to him; and added, in a style somewhat haughty, "that the island of St. Eustatius was Dutch, every thing in it was Dutch, every thing was under the protection of the Dutch flag, and that as Dutch it should be treated." But it having

been intimated by sir George Rodney, as a reason for confiscating even British property at St. Eustatius, that the king's enemies were supplied from that island, Mr. Glanville very properly replied, that "it seemed to be one of the first principles of a great commercial nation, to know no limits to its trade, but what are imposed by the laws. Under this principle, and with the laws for their guide, British merchants had acted. They saw, that the laws of their country did not forbid the trade to St. Eustatius. They saw, that the officers of his majesty's customs cleared out vessels from the principal ports of Great Britain and Ireland for St. Eustatius. They saw too, and were encouraged in their opinion, not of the legality only, but even of the propriety of this trade, by the conduct of his majesty's naval officers in those seas: For if the king's enemies were supplied, by the trade of his subjects through St. Eustatius, they were likewise supplied through the same channel, by the sale of prizes captured by his majesty's ships of war."

The West India planters and merchants of London likewise presented a petition to the king on this subject, in which they stated, that the seizure of private property at St. Eustatius was contrary to the practice of all civilized nations; that the Dutch islands, particularly St. Eustatius, were justly considered as free ports, open to all the world, where the subjects of all states in amity with Holland were equally welcome; where the goods imported by the hand of commerce were at open market, ready to be sold to the best bidder, without favour and affection, without any partial or political attachment or predilection to any of the powers at war, without regard

to any other object than that of mercantile profit, which was the spring and soul of all commerce; that the trade with the Dutch islands, before the commencement of hostilities, was strictly legal, and expressly authorized by an act passed in the last session of parliament; that a considerable part of the property found in the Dutch islands belonged to some of his majesty's most faithful and loyal subjects; and that the confiscation of the private property even of the enemy must necessarily tend to increase the calamities of war, by exciting desperate resistance, by exasperating the foes of England against the trading inhabitants of those islands, who might hereafter be obliged to submit to their arms, and by establishing a predatory system, destructive and ruinous in its consequences to individuals, and of no solid benefit to any of the states at war.

After the commencement of hostilities between Great Britain and Holland, the latter endeavoured to interest the other powers of Europe in her favour, and to make it appear, that the former had been principally induced to attack Holland, from indignation at her having acceded to the treaty of armed neutrality. This was strongly represented in a memorial presented on the 28th of February, 1781, by the baron Van Lynden, envoy extraordinary from the States-general of the United Provinces to the court of Stockholm, to count Ulrich Schieffer, minister and secretary of state to the king of Sweden. The States-general also published, on the 10th of March, an answer to the manifesto of the court of Great Britain. The courts of Russia and Sweden having both made offers of a mediation between Great Britain and the United Provinces, the British court

thought proper to give the preference to the former; but the precipitation with which the English had engaged in actual hostilities against Holland, and their conduct at St. Eustatius, had no tendency to promote an object so desirable as that of peace.

The Dutch nation were very ill prepared for war, at the time when hostilities took place between them and Great Britain. Their navy had been so much neglected, that it would necessarily require a considerable time before they would be able to equip a formidable fleet. This state of things caused much dissatisfaction to be expressed in Holland against those who were invested with the government of that country. The conduct of Duke Lewis of Brunswick Wolfenbuttle, field-marshal of Holland, was particularly censured. He had been appointed, in 1759, representative of the prince stadtholder, as captain general, during the time he should be under age; and it was said, that his influence over the stadtholder was the first cause of the weakness of the state, and of that slowness and indolence which were so conspicuous in the management of the affairs of the republic. Insinuations were even thrown out, that he had an excessive and illicit attachment to the English court, and that he had been bribed by that court. The regency of Amsterdam transmitted a memorial to the stadtholder, in which they represented to him, that the aversion and hatred of the Dutch nation against the person and administration of the duke of Brunswick, had risen to such an height, that the most disagreeable and troublesome consequences might justly be apprehended; and they therefore solicited, that he might be removed from the direction

direction of public affairs, and from the person and court of the stadtholder. It was, however, afterwards thought prudent by the States-general, in consequence of the remonstrances of the duke of Brunswick, to pass some resolutions in vindication of the character of that prince; and placards were published, prohibiting all pasquinades, satirical prints, or libels of any kind against the duke of Brunswick, and denouncing penalties against the authors or printers of such libels. But it is not probable, that these measures produced any general conviction of the duke's innocence, or restored him to the public confidence.

In April, 1781, a memorial was presented to the States-general by Mr. John Adams, agent for the American congress at the Hague, declaring the firm resolution of the several United States of America to maintain their independency at all hazards; pointing out the advantages which would accrue both to Holland and America from a mutual alliance; and therefore requiring them to acknowledge the independence of the United States of America, and to enter into equitable treaties with them, and such as should be beneficial to both countries.

About this time the king of Prussia acceded to the armed neutrality,

which was become so formidable, as to oblige the court of London, soon after, to make a concession respecting the navigation of the Baltic, not quite consistent with that high tone which had lately been assumed. A declaration was made by the king of Denmark, "That the Baltic being, from its peculiar and local situation, an inclosed sea, in which the ships of all nations might, and ought to navigate in peace, and enjoy all the advantages of a public tranquility, his majesty could not permit, that any ships of war or privateers of the belligerent powers, should enter the said sea, with a view to commit hostilities against the subjects of any state whatsoever." It was added, that the two other northern courts had adopted, and would support the same system. And on the 21st of April, orders and instructions were published in the London Gazette, by which his Britannic majesty strictly charged and enjoined the commanders of all ships of war, and the commanders of all ships and vessels having letters of marque and reprisal, not to stop or detain any ships or vessels in the Baltic, for the purpose of making prize of the same, but that they should suffer all such ships or vessels as they should meet in those seas, to proceed on their respective voyages without interruption.

## C H A P. V.

*American Affairs. Discontent of some of the American troops, and revolt of the Pennsylvania line. Ineffectual attempts of sir Henry Clinton to induce them to join the royal standard. Resolution of a committee of the congress relative to the treatment of American prisoners. Defeat of the British troops under lieutenant-colonel Tarleton by the Americans under general Morgan. Military operations after that event. Lord Cornwallis marches through North Carolina. Large quantities of American stores destroyed by Arnold. Wilmington taken possession of by the king's troops. Defeat of general Greene by lord Cornwallis at Guildford. Other military transactions.*

AT the beginning of the year 1781, an affair happened in America, from which expectations were formed by sir Henry Clinton, that some considerable advantage might be derived to the royal cause. The long continuance of the war, and the difficulties under which the congress laboured, had prevented their troops from being properly supplied with necessaries and conveniences. In consequence of this, on the first of January, the American troops that were huddled at Morris town, and who formed what was called the Pennsylvania line, turned out, being in number about 1300, and declared, that they would serve no longer, unless their grievances were redressed, as they had not received their pay, or been furnished with the necessary cloathing or provisions. It is said, that they were somewhat inflamed with liquor, in consequence of rum having been distributed to them more liberally than usual, New-year's day being considered as a kind of festival. A riot ensued, in which an officer was killed, and four wounded: five or six of the insurgents were also wounded. They then collected the artillery, stores, provisions, and waggon, and marched out of the camp. They passed by the quarters of ge-

neral Wayne, who sent a message to them, requesting them to desist, or the consequences would prove fatal. They refused, and proceeded on their march till the evening, when they took post on an advantageous piece of ground, and elected officers from among themselves. On the 2d, they marched to Middlebrook, and on the 3d to Prince-town, where they fixed their quarters. On that day, a flag of truce was sent to them from the officers of the American camp, with a message, desiring to know what were their intentions. Some of them answered, that they had already served longer than the time for which they were enlisted, and would serve no longer; and others, that they would not return, unless their grievances were redressed. But at the same time they repeatedly, and in the strongest terms, denied being influenced by the least disaffection to the American cause, or having any intentions of deserting to the enemy.

Intelligence of this transaction was soon conveyed to New York. A large body of British troops were immediately ordered to hold themselves in readiness to move on the shortest notice, it being hoped that the American revolted might be induced to join the royal army.

Messengers

Messengers were also sent to them from general Clinton, acquainting them, that they should directly be taken under the protection of the British government, that they should have a free pardon for all former offences, and that the pay due to them from the congress should be faithfully paid them, without any expectation of military service, unless it should be voluntary, upon condition of their laying down their arms, and returning to their allegiance. It was also recommended to them to move beyond the South river; and they were assured, that a body of British troops should be ready to protect them, whenever they desired it. These propositions were rejected with disdain, and they even delivered up two of sir Henry Clinton's messengers to the congress. Joseph Reed, esq. president of the state of Pennsylvania, afterwards repaired to them at Prince-town, and an accommodation took place: such of them as had served out their full terms were permitted to return to their own homes, and others again joined the American army, upon receiving satisfactory assurances that their grievances should be redressed.

Whatever expectations might at first have been formed of advantage to the royal cause from this transaction, the termination of it, and the circumstances with which it was attended, naturally led to conclusions of a very different kind. It appeared that these American troops, however great the hardships they laboured under, and however dissatisfied with their condition, had not the least inclination to join the royal standard, but the most determined aversion against it. This affair, therefore, afforded one evidence, among many others, of the extreme difficulty, if not impossibility, of subduing the Americans by force,

or of bringing them again to a submission to the British government.

On the 5th of the same month, the following report was made by a committee of congress to that body, relative to the treatment of American prisoners, after an inquiry upon this subject: "That notwithstanding every effort of congress to obtain for our people, prisoners in the hands of the enemy, that treatment which humanity alone should have dictated, the British commander, unmindful of the tenderness exercised towards their men, prisoners in our hands, and regardless of the practice of civilized nations, has persisted in treating our people, prisoners to them, with every species of insult, outrage, and cruelty. Officers and men are indiscriminately thrown into the holds of prison-ships, and into loathsome dungeons, and there deprived of fuel and the common necessities of life; by which means many of the citizens of those states have been compelled to enter into their service, to avoid those distresses which a conduct so contrary to the law of nations had brought upon them. Our seamen taken upon the American coasts have been sent to Great Britain, or other parts beyond the seas, to prevent their being exchanged, or to force them to take arms against their country. In the opinion of the committee, an exercise of the law of retaliation was therefore become necessary, as a justice due to those citizens of America, whom the fortune of war has thrown into the hands of our enemy." In consequence of this report, orders were issued by the congress for a more rigorous treatment of British prisoners; and that the American board of admiralty should prevent the exchange of any British sea-officers or seamen,

seamen, until such seamen as had been taken upon the American coasts, and sent to Great Britain, or other parts beyond the seas, should be returned to some of the British garrisons in America.

We have seen, in the preceding volume of our work, the progress that was made by the British arms in South Carolina, in the course of the year 1780. At the beginning of the year 1781, lord Cornwallis began to make very vigorous exertions, in order to penetrate into North Carolina. On the 11th of January, his lordship's army was in motion, and advancing towards that province; but was somewhat delayed by an attempt made by the Americans, under general Morgan, to make themselves masters of the valuable district of Ninety-six. In order to prevent this, lord Cornwallis detached lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, with 300 cavalry, 300 light infantry, the 7th regiment, the first battalion of the 71st regiment, and two three-pounders, to oppose the progress of Morgan, not doubting but that he would be able to perform this service effectually. The British troops came up with the Americans under general Morgan on the 17th of January. The Americans were drawn up in an open wood, and having been lately joined by some militia, were more numerous than the British troops under lieutenant-colonel Tarleton; but the latter were so much better disciplined, that they had the utmost confidence of obtaining a speedy victory. The attack was begun by the first line of infantry, consisting of the 7th regiment, and a corps of light infantry, with a troop of cavalry placed on each flank. The first battalion of the 71st, and the remainder of the cavalry, formed the reserve. The

American line soon gave way, and their militia quitted the field; upon which the royal troops supposing the victory already gained, engaged with ardour in the pursuit, and were thereby thrown into some disorder. General Morgan's corps, who were supposed to have been routed, then immediately faced about, and threw in a heavy fire upon the king's troops, which occasioned the utmost confusion amongst them, and they were at length totally defeated by the Americans. Four hundred of the British infantry were either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners: the loss of the cavalry was much less considerable; but the two three-pounders fell into the hands of the Americans, together with the colours of the 7th regiment; and all the detachment of royal artillery were either killed or wounded in defence of their colours. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, however, made another effort; having assembled about fifty of his cavalry, with which he charged and repulsed colonel Washington's horse, retook his baggage, and killed the Americans who were appointed to guard it. He then retreated to Hamilton's ford, near the mouth of Bullock's creek, carrying with him part of his baggage, and destroying the remainder.

This defeat of the troops under Tarleton was a severe stroke to lord Cornwallis, as the loss of his light infantry was a great disadvantage to him. The day after that event, he employed in collecting the remains of Tarleton's corps, and in endeavouring to form a junction with general Leslie, who had been ordered to march towards him with a body of British troops from Wynneborough. Considerable exertions were then made, by part of the army,

army, without baggage, to retake the prisoners in the hands of the Americans, and to intercept general Morgan's corps on its retreat to the Catawba. But that American officer, after his defeat of Tarleton, had made forced marches up into the country, and crossed the Catawba the evening before a great rain, which swelled the river to such a degree, as to prevent the royal army from crossing for several days, during which time the British prisoners were got over the Yadkin, whence they proceeded to Dan river, which they also passed, and on the 14th of February had reached Courthouse in the province of Virginia.

Lord Cornwallis employed a halt of two days in collecting some flour, and in destroying superfluous baggage, and all his waggons, excepting those laden with hospital stores, salt, and ammunition, and four reserved empty in readiness for sick or wounded. Being thus freed from all unnecessary incumbrances, he marched through North Carolina with great rapidity, and penetrated to the remotest extremities of that province, on the banks of the Dan. His progress was sometimes impeded by parties of the militia, and some skirmishes ensued, but he met with no very considerable opposition. On the first of February, the king's troops crossed the Catawba at M'Cowan's ford, where general Davidson, with a party of American militia, was posted, in order to oppose their passage; but he falling by the first discharge, the royal troops made good their landing, and the militia retreated. When lord Cornwallis arrived at Hillsborough, he erected the king's standard, and invited, by proclamation, all loyal subjects to repair to it, and to stand

forth, and take an active part in assisting his lordship to restore order and government. He had been taught to believe, that the king's friends were numerous in that part of the country: but the event did not confirm the truth of the representations that had been given. The royalists were but few in number, and some of them too timid to join the king's standard. There were, indeed, about two hundred, who were proceeding to Hillsborough, under colonel Pyle, in order to avow their attachment to the royal cause; but they were met accidentally, and surrounded by a detachment from the American army, by whom a number of them are said to have been killed, when they were begging for quarter, without making the least resistance. Meanwhile general Greene was marching with great expedition with the troops under his command, in order to form a junction with other corps of American troops, that he might thereby be enabled to put some effectual stop to the progress of lord Cornwallis.

In other places some considerable advantages were obtained by the royal arms. On the 4th of January, some ships of war, with a number of transports, on board which was a large body of troops, under the command of brigadier-general Arnold, arrived at Westover about 140 miles from the capes of Virginia, where the troops immediately landed, and marched to Richmond, which they reached without opposition, the militia that was collected having retreated on their approach. Lieutenant-colonel Simcoe marched from hence with a detachment of the British troops to Westham, where they destroyed one of the finest founderies for cannon in America, and  
a large

a large quantity of stores and cannon. General Arnold, on his arrival at Richmond, found there large quantities of salt, rum, sail-cloth, tobacco, and other merchandize, and that part of these commodities which was public property he destroyed. The British troops afterwards attacked and dispersed some small parties of the Americans, took some stores, and a few pieces of cannon, and on the 20th of the same month marched into Portsmouth. On the 25th, captain Barclay, with several ships of war, and a body of troops under the command of major Craig, arrived in cape Fear river. The troops landed about nine miles from Wilmington, and on the 28th entered that town. It was understood that their having possession of that town, and being masters of cape Fear river, would be productive of very beneficial effects to lord Cornwallis's army.

General Greene, having effected a junction, about the 10th of March, with a continental regiment of what were called eighteen months men, and two large bodies of militia, belonging to Virginia and North Carolina, formed a resolution to attack the British troops under the command of Lord Cornwallis. The American army marched from the High Rock Ford on the 12th of the month, and on the 14th arrived at Guildford. Lord Cornwallis, from the information he had received of the motions of the American general, concluded what were his designs. As they approached more nearly to each other, a few skirmishes ensued between some advanced parties, in which the king's troops had the advantage. On the morning of the 15th, lord Cornwallis marched with his troops at day-break, in order to meet the

Americans, or to attack them in their encampment. About four miles from Guildford, the advanced guard of the British army, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, fell in with a corps of the Americans, consisting of lieutenant-colonel Lee's legion, some Back Mountain men, and Virginian militia, with whom he had a severe skirmish, but whom he at length obliged to retreat.

The greater part of the country, in which the action happened, is a wilderness, with a few cleared fields interspersed. The American army, which was superior to the royal in point of numbers, was posted on a rising ground, about a mile and a half from Guildford court-house. It was drawn up in three lines: the front line was composed of the North Carolinian militia, under the command of the generals Butler and Eaton; the second line of Virginian militia, commanded by the generals Stephens and Lawton, forming two brigades; the third line, consisting of two brigades, one of Virginia and one of Maryland, continental troops, commanded by general Huger and colonel Williams. Lieutenant-colonel Washington, with the dragoons of the first and third regiments, a detachment of light infantry, composed of continental troops, and a regiment of riflemen under colonel Lynch, formed a corps of observation for the security of their right flank. Lieutenant-colonel Lee, with his legion, a detachment of light infantry, and a corps of riflemen, under colonel Campbell, formed a corps of observation for the security of their left flank. The attack of the American army was directed to be made by Lord Cornwallis in the following order: on the right, the regiment of Bose, and the 7th regiment, led by

by major general Leslie, and supported by the first battalion of guards; on their left, the 23d and 33d regiments, led by lieutenant-colonel Webster, and supported by the grenadiers, and second battalion of guards, commanded by brigadier-general O'Hara; the Yagers, and light infantry of the guards remained in a wood on the left of the guns; and the cavalry in the road, ready to act as circumstances might require.

About half an hour after one in the afternoon the action commenced by a cannonade, which lasted about twenty minutes, when the British troops advanced in three columns, and attacked the North Carolinian brigades with great vigour, and soon obliged part of these troops, who behaved very ill, to quit the field; but the Virginia militia gave the British troops a warm reception, and kept up a heavy fire for a long time, till being beaten back, the action became general almost every where. The American corps under the lieutenant-colonels Washington and Lee were also warmly engaged, and did considerable execution. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton had directions to keep his cavalry compact, and not to charge without positive orders, excepting to protect any of the corps from the most evident danger of being defeated. The excessive thickness of the woods rendered the British bayonets of little use, and enabled the broken corps of Americans to make frequent stands, with an irregular fire. The second battalion of the guards first gained the clear ground near Guildford courthouse, and found a corps of continental infantry, superior in number, formed in an open field on the left of the road. Desirous of signaling themselves, they immediately

attacked, and soon defeated them, taking two six-pounders: but as they pursued the Americans into the wood with too much ardour, they were thrown into confusion by a heavy fire, and instantly charged and driven back into the field by lieutenant-colonel Washington's dragoons, with the loss of the six-pounders they had taken. But the American cavalry were afterwards repulsed, and the two six pounders again fell into the hands of the British troops. The spirited exertions of brigadier-general O'Hara, and of lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, greatly contributed to bring the action to a termination. The British troops having at length broken the second Maryland regiment, and turned the left flank of the Americans, got into the rear of the Virginian brigade, and appeared to be gaining their right, which would have encircled the whole of the continental troops, when general Greene thought it prudent to order a retreat. Many of the American militia dispersed in the woods; but the continental troops retreated in good order to the Reedy Fork river, and crossed at the ford, about three miles from the field of action, and there halted. When they had collected their stragglers, they retreated to the iron-works, ten miles distant from Guildford, where they encamped. They lost their artillery, and two waggons laden with ammunition. It was a hard-fought action, and lasted an hour and a half. Of the British troops, the loss, as stated by Lord Cornwallis, was 532, killed, wounded, and missing. General Greene, in his account of the action transmitted to the congress, stated the loss of the continental troops to amount to 329, killed, wounded, and missing: but

but he made no estimate of the loss of the militia. Lieutenant-colonel Stuart was killed in the action, and lieutenant-colonel Webster, and the captains Schutz, Maynard, and Goodriche, died of the wounds that they received in it. Brigadier-general O'Hara, brigadier-general Howard, and lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, were also wounded. Of the Americans the principal officer killed was major Anderson, of the Maryland line, and the generals Stephens and Huger were wounded. In this engagement, the victory was indeed obtained by lord Cornwallis; but it was one of those dear-bought victories from which no rational expectation could be formed, that the attempt to subjugate the Americans would be finally successful. The loss of the royal army seems to have been nearly equal to that of the Americans; and reinforcements were much more easily obtained by the latter than by the former. Whatever honour might be gained in this action by the king's troops, the great object of the war, the reduction of the revolted colonies to submission and obedience, appeared to be as distant as before.

The British troops underwent great hardships in the course of this campaign; and in a letter of lord Cornwallis's to lord George Germain, dated March 17th, he observed, that "the soldiers had been two days without bread." His lordship quitted Guilford three days after the battle which was fought in that place; and on the 7th of April arrived in the neighbourhood of Wilmington. Soon after general Greene, notwithstanding his late defeat, endeavoured to make some vigorous attempts against the king's forces in South Carolina. Lord

Rawdon had been appointed to defend the post of Camden, with about 800 British and Provincials; and on the 19th of April general Greene appeared before that place, with a large body of Continentals and militia. He found it, however, impossible to attempt to storm the town with any prospect of success; and therefore endeavoured to take such a position as should induce the British troops to fall from their works. He posted the Americans about a mile from the town, on an eminence which was covered with woods, and flanked on the left by an impassable swamp. But on the morning of the 25th, lord Rawdon marched out of Camden, and with great gallantry attacked general Greene in his camp. The Americans made a vigorous resistance, but were at last compelled to give way, and the pursuit is said to have been continued three miles. For some time after the action commenced, general Gates entertained great hopes of defeating the British troops, in which, as the Americans were superior in point of numbers, he would probably have succeeded, had not some capital military errors been committed, by one or two of the officers who served under him. On the American side colonel Washington had behaved extremely well in this action, having made upwards of two hundred of the English prisoners, with ten or twelve officers, before he perceived that the Americans were abandoning the field of battle. The loss of the English was about one hundred killed and wounded. Upwards of one hundred of the Americans were taken prisoners; and, according to the account published by general Greene, they had 126 killed and wounded. After this action, Greene retreated to Rugeley's mills,

mills, twelve miles from Camden, in order to collect his troops, and wait for reinforcements.

Notwithstanding the advantage which lord Rawdon had obtained over general Greene at Camden, that nobleman soon after found it necessary to quit that post; and the Americans made themselves masters of several other posts that were occupied by the king's troops, and the garrisons of which were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war. These troops were afterwards exchanged, under a cartel which took place between lord Cornwallis and general Greene, for the release of all prisoners of war in the southern district. After these events, general Greene laid close siege to Ninety-six, which was considered as the most commanding and important of all the posts in the back country; and on the 19th of June he attempted to storm the garrison, but was repulsed by the gallantry of the British troops, with the loss, as it is said, of 75 killed, and 150 wounded. General Greene then raised the siege, and retired with his army behind the Saluda, to a strong situation, within sixteen miles of Ninety-six.

On the 18th of April a large body of British troops, under the command of major-general Philips, and brigadier-general Arnold, embarked at Portsmouth in Virginia, in order to proceed on an expedition for the purpose of destroying some of the

American stores. A party of light-infantry were sent ten or twelve miles up the Chickahomany, where they destroyed several armed ships, sundry warehouses, and the American state ship-yards. At Petersburg, the English destroyed four thousand hogsheds of tobacco, one ship, and a number of small vessels on the stocks, and in the river. At Chesterfield court-house, they burnt a range of barracks for two thousand men, and three hundred barrels of flour. At a place called Osborn's, they made themselves masters of several vessels loaded with cordage and flour, and destroyed about two thousand hogsheds of tobacco, and sundry vessels were sunk and burnt. At Warwick, they burnt a magazine of five hundred barrels of flour, some fine mills belonging to colonel Carey, a large range of public ropewalks and store houses, tan and bark houses full of hides and bark, and great quantities of tobacco. A like destruction of stores and goods was made in other parts of Virginia. This devastation had certainly a tendency to weaken the Americans, but in no other view was beneficial to the royal cause: on the contrary, it greatly contributed to exasperate them against the parent state, and naturally rendered Arnold, who had abandoned the service of the congress, in the manner that has been before related, and who was now a prime instrument in these ravages, extremely odious to the Americans.

## CHAP. VI.

*Petitions presented to the House of Commons, from the West India Planters and Merchants, on Behalf of the Inhabitants of Jamaica and Barbadoes, who had sustained great Losses by the late dreadful Hurricanes. Relief granted by Parliament to the Sufferers in those Islands. Message from his Majesty to both Houses of Parliament on Occasion of the Commencement of Hostilities with Holland. Debate on the Royal Message in the House of Commons. Debate on the same Subject in the House of Peers.*

IN the month of October, 1780, several of the West India islands, and particularly Jamaica and Barbadoes, received great damage from some very dreadful hurricanes, which involved many of the inhabitants in such extreme distress, that it was thought necessary to make application to the British parliament for assistance and relief. Accordingly on the first day on which the house of commons assembled, after Jan. 23, 1781. the Christmas recess, a petition was presented by lord North from the planters, merchants, and other persons, interested in the island of Jamaica; in which it was stated, that the parishes of Westmoreland and Hanover in that island had been laid waste by the late hurricanes, earthquakes, and inundations, whereby most of the buildings in those parishes, together with the produce of the earth, were in a great measure destroyed, and that other districts of the island had received very considerable damage. It was added, that the losses of the several sufferers amounted to such an enormous sum, as to require the immediate aid and assistance of parliament; and the petitioners therefore solicited the house to take the case of the sufferers into consideration, and to grant them such relief as to the house should seem meet.

A petition was also presented by Mr. Estwick, agent for Barbadoes, from the planters, merchants, and others resident in England, and interested in the island of Barbadoes; in which it was stated, that the violence of the late hurricanes had extended over the whole island, affecting almost every individual, and reducing to distress the greatest part of the inhabitants. Of nearly four hundred plantations, scarcely one had escaped the general calamity: most had sustained very considerable, and many almost irreparable damages. Almost all the buildings, nearly one half of the cattle, and many slaves had been destroyed. Several towns had suffered, and the principal one in a shocking degree. From these causes the inhabitants, to the number of above twenty thousand whites, had been left almost destitute of habitations, food, and raiment. The petitioners, therefore, solicited the house, that they would afford the sufferers such speedy and effectual relief, as would not only secure them from impending want, but also assist them to erect anew their buildings, and to procure other necessities, and thereby enable them again to cultivate their estates. A petition was also presented from the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council of the city of London, recommending the distressed

distressed inhabitants of Jamaica and Barbadoes to the attention and generosity of parliament.

Lord North informed the house, that his majesty, having been acquainted with the contents of these petitions, had recommended them to the consideration of parliament. The following day the business was more particularly discussed, when his lordship observed, that if an estimate were to be made of the commercial value to this country of the two parishes, on which the hurricane fell in Jamaica, and if it were compared with the commercial value to this country of Barbadoes, perhaps those two parishes would be more than equivalent, in that scale, to the whole of that island. If, therefore, a calculation were to be made of the quantum of relief that ought to be sent to each island, from the greatness of the loss sustained by each, the greatest sum would be sent to Jamaica. But parliament would be too just to make this the rule of their charity, which should be regulated, not by the measure of their loss, but by the urgency of their wants. The hurricane had fallen on only a part of Jamaica, but had ravaged and laid waste the whole of Barbadoes. In the latter island all were sufferers. In Jamaica, the greater part of the island, though indeed the least fertile, had escaped the general visitation; whence it might be presumed, that the necessaries of life might be purchased by the poor amongst the sufferers, which, as he understood, were not very many in those two parishes, for money. Money, therefore, was the principal thing of which they would stand in need. But in Barbadoes, where the effects of the hurricane were general, the number of poor white people was great, and

they would stand in need of many of the necessaries of life, of bulky commodities, which could not be transmitted, like a credit on the bank of England, without any expence, but which would occasion a considerable deduction from the sum that should be voted for their relief, for freight, insurance, and such incidents. He had conversed on this subject with several West India merchants, and from all that he could learn on this question, to which of the islands we ought to give the most assistance, the painful preference was due to Barbadoes. The house concurred in opinion with the minister, and, after a short debate, agreed to three resolutions: one, to grant 80,000*l.* for the relief of Barbadoes; another, to grant 40,000*l.* for the relief of Jamaica; and a third, that these sums should be paid for the use of the sufferers without any deduction.

On the 25th of the same month, the minister communicated to the house of commons a message from the king, in which his majesty acquainted them, that, during the recess of parliament, he had been obliged to direct letters of marque and general reprisal to be issued against the states-general of the United Provinces, and their subjects. For the causes and motives of his conduct on that occasion, he referred to his public manifesto against that republic, which he had ordered to be laid before the house. His majesty observed, that he had been induced to take these measures with the utmost reluctance; and that he had left nothing undone to prevent, if possible, the present rupture; he was, therefore, fully persuaded, that the justice and necessity of the measures he had adopted would be acknowledged by all the world.

Several papers relative to the rupture with Holland were also, at the same time, by the king's command, laid before the house.

Mr. Burke observed, that however lightly a war might be thought of by some men, he was one of those who considered that going to war was, at all events, a very serious matter; a matter which nothing but great necessity could justify. It did not appear to him, that from the papers now laid before the house, that information could be obtained, which was necessary in order to form a decisive judgment on what the king's ministers had done. Circumstanced as we were, the prudence and the policy of the war were not less important points to be examined, than its justice. He hoped, therefore, that since the ministry had reduced the parliament to the alternative, either of supporting the war, or of becoming liable to the charge of abandoning the cause of their country, that they had ample proof to lay before the house, that the war was prudent, or that it was unavoidably necessary. It was stated in the manifesto against Holland, that a treaty was entered into between the city of Amsterdam and America: but this was a fact which lay with the ministry to make out. The treaty now laid before the house was, in the express terms of it, the plan of a treaty, or the rough draught of a compact, hereafter to be entered into between the intended contracting parties. He wished to know whether the king's servants had obtained a copy of any treaty actually entered into and executed. For the treaty now laid before the house depended entirely upon events, that were unknown and might not happen, in which case the treaty was never to be ratified. This treaty,

therefore, was no more than a speculative essay, a mere contemplative project. He reprobated the late long adjournment of the parliament, as a matter highly criminal in the ministers, who, as they must have known that a war with Holland was likely to take place, ought not to have adjourned the parliament, or but for a very short period. How that adjournment came to be for so long a time, and why so material a circumstance as a declaration of war with Holland was ventured upon by the ministry during a recess, when there was the strongest reason for the parliament to have been assembled, was a matter highly worthy of a future enquiry.

Lord North declared, that he considered the entrance into a war as at all times a matter of a very serious nature; but on the present occasion he thought it still more serious, because the war in which his majesty had thought himself obliged to enter was a war with Holland, our old and natural ally, between whom and this country there had subsisted an alliance for more than a century; an alliance which had been formed on that broad line of policy, which originally pointed out the necessity of it, and which had been a source of great benefit to both countries. It was not, therefore, as his majesty had been pleased to declare in his message, without the deepest regret, that he found himself indispensably obliged to put an end to that alliance, and to commence hostilities against the United States, who, in open violation of treaties, had not only refused to give Great Britain that assistance, which those treaties intitled her to claim when attacked by the house of Bourbon, but had also, in direct violation of the law of nations, contributed as far as they

they could to furnish France with warlike stores, and had also at length thought proper to countenance the magistracy of Amsterdam in the insult which they had offered to this country, by entering into a treaty with the rebellious colonies of Great Britain, as free and independent states. By the treaty of 1678, it was stipulated, that, in case Great Britain was attacked by the house of Bourbon, she had a right to take her choice of either calling upon the States-general to become parties in the war, and to attack the house of Bourbon within two months, or of requiring an aid of 6000 troops, and 20 ships of war, which the states were to furnish immediately after the claim was made. But though this country had always preserved her faith with Holland, yet that republic had refused to fulfil the terms of this treaty.

His lordship farther observed, that the States-general had suffered Paul Jones, a Scotchman, and a pirate, acting without legal authority from any acknowledged government, to bring British ships into their ports, and to refit there. A rebel privateer had also been saluted at the Dutch island of St. Eustatius, after she had been suffered to capture two British ships within cannon-shot of their forts and castles. A memorial was presented at the Hague, in June, 1779, on the breaking out of the war with Spain, to claim the aid we were entitled to require by the treaty of 1678; but of this not the least notice was taken on the part of the States. Two other notices had since been delivered, each of which met with the same reception. The British ministry had done all in their power to bring the States to a true sense of their interest; and when the necessity of the case compelled them to seize on Dutch ships, car-

rying stores to France, they had paid the full value for the cargoes, and returned the ships, so that neither the private merchant, the private adventurer, nor the States, had suffered. France only had felt the measure, by her being deprived of that assistance which she would have received from those cargoes.

With respect to the observation that had been made, that the treaty laid before the house, between the Dutch and the Americans, was nothing more than a contemplative project, his lordship remarked, that it was actually signed and sealed; the names of the pensionary of Amsterdam, and *Mons. de Neuville*, a merchant and burghers of that city, being subscribed to it on the part of the magistracy of Amsterdam, and the name of John Lee, as commissioner or agent for the congress of America. It should also be remembered, that when two powers stood connected together by solemn treaty and ancient alliance, as the States of Holland and Great Britain were, it made very little difference in the scale of offence and provocation, whether a treaty like that of the pensionary Van Berkel, was fully ratified and consummated, or only in progression. Indeed, the States-general had refused to pay the least attention to the requisition in his majesty's memorial, delivered by sir Joseph Yorke, that proper notice should be taken of Van Berkel and his associates; so far as such a refusal could be implied by a contemptuous silence. As to the principal magistrates of Amsterdam, they were so far from disavowing the fact, or attempting to palliate it, that they gloied in the whole transaction; and expressly declared, even to the States-general, that what they had done was what their indispensable duty required.

His lordship added, that he lamented the necessity of a war with Holland, but it appeared to him to be an unavoidable measure. He confessed the situation of this country to be truly alarming; but when he considered the powerful stand that had already been made against the most alarming confederacy that had ever been formed against Great Britain, the little success that the enemies of this country had met with in all their various attempts against it, and the spirit and resources of the nation, the public prospects appeared to him much less gloomy than some gentlemen thought proper to represent them. Our difficulties were certainly great; but he trusted that they were by no means insuperable. He was neither desirous of concealing their magnitude, nor afraid to meet them, great as they must be acknowledged; because he was convinced, that when the force of this country was fully exerted, it was equal to the contest; and that the only means of obtaining an honourable and a just peace, was to shew ourselves capable of carrying on the war with spirit and with vigour. He concluded with moving, that an address should be presented to his majesty, assuring him, that the house would, with a firm and determined resolution, support the just and necessary war against Holland, for the maintenance of the honour of his crown, and of the rights and interests of his people.

The motion was seconded by lord Lewisham; who observed, that every gentleman present knew, that the most wanton wars against Holland had taken place in those periods, when the interests of the crown and of the people had been distinct and different. Hence, in the infamous reign of Charles the Second, they had not been more fre-

quently than unjustly commenced. But after the Revolution, when king William the Third swayed the sceptre of these realms, a very different line of conduct was adopted. That prince seeing, what every person must see, who has a just sense of the true interests of Holland and of Great Britain, that they are one and the same, cultivated a friendship between the two countries. His ministers did the same; the example was followed by the Whig ministers in the glorious part of the next reign, that of queen Anne, and it had continued all the two subsequent reigns; during the whole of which time the States of Holland had reaped the greatest advantages from the alliance. It was not therefore without astonishment that he now saw, what he had scarcely thought possible; namely, that a French party could have gained so much prevalence in Holland, as to make her lose sight of all policy, forget how intimately her welfare was blended with that of Great Britain, how much she owed to this country in the reign of Elizabeth, how much she was indebted to the services of that brave and successful commander, and no less wise and judicious negotiator, John duke of Marlborough, and also how much her interests had been promoted by the services of our other generals, in the continental wars in which we were engaged in the later end of the reign of king William, and the beginning of the reign of queen Anne. But it was apparent, from the conduct of the States-general since the commencement of the American war, that they had forgotten all the benefits and services which they had received from Great Britain, and were regardless of those alliances into which they had entered with this country.

In the reign of his present majesty,

jeſty, his lordſhip proceeded to obſerve, the intereſt of the king and people were the ſame, the national proſperity or miſfortune was equally ſhared in both, and neither could have a wiſh that did not point to the ſame end, becauſe the advantage of the one muſt be the advantage of the other. He was fully perſuaded, that the preſent war was neither wanton nor unjuſtifiable; indeed, ſo far otherwiſe, that although no man more ſincerely lamented, that, attacked on all ſides as Great Britain was, occaſion ſhould ariſe for her coming to a rupture with her old and her natural ally, the States-general; yet, from a full view of the caſe, from a knowledge of the repeated provocations given by Holland, and of the unexampled patience and forbearance ſhewn by Great Britain, he was firmly of opinion, that the war commenced againſt the States-general was a war of indiſpenſable neceſſity. It had been proved, to the conviction of every man, that the Dutch had been long employed in aſſiſting France with warlike ſtores; and it had for ſome time been ſuſpected, that they were inclined rather to give aid to the revolted colonies of America, than to comply with the faith of treaties, and perform what Holland had ſolemnly pledged herſelf to perform, whenever her ancient ally was attacked by the houſe of Bourbon. Nothing, he conceived, could have induced the States-general to act the part they had lately exhibited, but the baneful influence of French gold, which had been ſo prevalent as to make the Dutch act in the treacherous manner they had done by us. He concluded with obſerving, that he thought his majeſty entitled to the moſt loyal profeſſions of zeal and attachment from that houſe,

as well as to an immediate aſſurance of their determination to ſupport the vigorous meaſures his majeſty had reſolved to purſue, ſince every man muſt agree, that it was much better to have an open enemy, than a treacherous friend: and from theſe conſiderations he was led to ſecond the motion that had been made by the miniſter.

Mr. Thomas Townſhend expreſſed his diſſatisfaction at the late long adjournment of the parliament. But the fact, he ſaid, was, that the miniſtry had work upon their hands, which they did not chooſe to do in the face of parliament. It had, indeed, been their frequent practice, to ſettle matters of the firſt importance during the holidays; and when the houſe met, after the reſeſs, to call upon parliament to ſupport them under all the conſequences of their ill conduct. In this manner had the houſe been led into the American war, that fatal ſource of all our calamities; in this manner had the miniſters announced the French reſcript, and afterwards the Spaniſh reſcript; and now they came to declare that they had commenced war againſt Holland, our old and our natural ally. Year after year had the miniſter acquainted the houſe with a new enemy; but, from the commencement of the American war, he had never brought down the welcome news of a new ally. Much had been ſaid to juſtify the war with Holland; but he aſked whether Great Britain had given no provocation to that republic? The inſolence of the Britiſh memorial, preſented to the States in 1777, had contributed beyond any thing elſe to the prevalence of the French faction in Holland. In that memorial, the miniſtry had held a language to the States of Holland, the only reſpectable

respectable ally of Great Britain, which it would not be decent or justifiable to hold to the most petty state of Europe. The Dutch had complained of the arrogance of this memorial, and declared, that it contained a sort of language, which one independent state had no right to hold to another. The French had availed themselves of this circumstance, and it had given them a plausible opportunity of increasing the indignation of the Dutch against us.

It had been stated to be a great offence on the part of the States-general, that they had not complied with the memorials presented by sir Joseph Yorke, and furnished the assistance required by the treaty of 1678. But, perhaps, Holland had abundant reasons for her refusal, or rather her neglect to comply with the treaty. If she had complied with it, this country must have been a loser upon the whole. All that we had a right to expect was 6000 troops, and 20 ships of war. The instant they had been furnished, the territories of the States would have been attacked, and then, in compliance with the treaty so often mentioned, we must have sent a large army into Holland, and supported her with a great naval force. It should also be remembered, that a war with Holland was not like challenging a single foe: for as an armed neutrality had been established, the war with Holland would probably bring upon us the other neutral maritime powers of Europe. A war with Holland could produce no national advantage. If it continued, no other maritime mercantile state could be found, which was capable of carrying our various manufactures to all quarters of the globe, as the Dutch had done for above a century. The reigns of William III.

and of queen Anne had been mentioned in the course of the debate; but there was no parallel between those reigns and the present. In those reigns, as in the time of all Whig ministries, great alliances were sought and obtained. This country had not then the madness to hazard a war with all the world without a single ally. This country, at the time which had been referred to, when the duke of Marlborough acted both as a negociator and a general, was in the full career of victory, and of glory. We had then no American war, no obstinate perseverance in a fatal error, to create calamity, and to multiply misfortune. If the Dutch, at the present period, had changed their political system respecting this country, it was owing to the criminal conduct of our administration. The ministry had precipitated this country into a war with America, from whence it was, and from their miserable conduct of that war, that all our misfortunes had arisen. They had lost all our trade with America, and when other powers were invited to partake of it, that the Dutch, who were a mercantile people, should accept of a share of it, was certainly no subject of surprize. It was owing to the same cause, that all the powers of Europe had abandoned us, and that those who had not already joined France, Spain, and America, were ready to do it, it being apparent to them all, that under such a wretched administration Great Britain had no chance of recovering her importance and her power, and that whoever became her ally, would only share in her disgrace and her misfortunes.

Mr. Wraxall, member for Hindon, a gentleman who had distinguished himself by some literary publica-

tions, made a speech of considerable length, which more particularly excited the attention of the house, on account of its being the first time of his delivering his sentiments in that assembly. He remarked, that at the conclusion of the last peace, in 1762, this country had been in a situation truly glorious, and that period had been followed by some succeeding years of splendour, during all which time we were not only the envy of the modern world, but our greatness far surpassed the greatness of ancient Rome at its brightest æra. He followed this eulogy with observing, that we had since experienced an alarming gradation of misfortunes, which he traced regularly from their commencement down to the present unfortunate moment. He wondered not, he said, after the campaign of 1778, which he represented as peculiarly unfortunate, that Spain, though slow, yet true to the interests of the elder branch of the house of Bourbon, should at the commencement of the year 1779, join France in the confederacy; but it was reserved for our astonishment and indignation, at the close of the year 1780, to see the tardy Dutchman, long engaged in the silent arts of commerce, and a stranger to war for near half a century; to see a nation which owed its origin, its progress, and its protection, to the fostering hand of England, now join the standard of the house of Bourbon against its only natural ally. He then drew a comparison between the wars in which Great Britain was now engaged, and those in which Lewis XIV. had been engaged, in order to shew that they were extremely dissimilar. The wars of Lewis XIV. had been almost all of them wars of intention, of system, of premedita-

tion; wars that were planned in the closet; wars debated, settled, and decided upon in the cabinet of Versailles: whereas the wars Great Britain now had upon her hands, were wars into which she had unwillingly entered; wars of compulsion, wars that she was obliged to undertake, or resign her just rights, and with them publicly forfeit and abandon all claims to honour, to dignity, and to power, as a free and independent maritime state. But notwithstanding this, such extraordinary circumstances had attended the affairs of Great Britain, that it was admitted on all hands, that we were in a state of increasing danger, and labouring under the greatest national distress. A great part of our present misfortunes, he conceived, had their source in a new species of policy which this country had lately adopted, and a blind bigotry to a political tenet, which had no foundation in reason or in truth. The tenet or maxim to which he alluded, and which the men who maintained it appeared not to understand, was, "That continental connexions were incompatible with the true interests of Great Britain." If the truth or falshood of any maxim was to be judged of by a recourse to long experience, the best test of all maxims, civil, religious, or political, we had every reason in the world to deny the new policy, and adhere to the old. If the wars of king William. of queen Anne, and of 1741, and 1756, were adverted to, it would appear, from the incontestable evidence of established facts, that this country, in all those wars, had deduced most essential advantages from our having continental connexions.

He then proceeded to shew the absolute necessity there was, that Great Britain should immediately procure

procure an ally upon the continent: and in order to determine what power it was whose alliance would be most beneficial at the present time, he made some general observations relative to several European potentates, and their different views and interests. Of Denmark, he remarked, that it was now sunk into a situation, which left little either to hope or to fear from her enmity or her friendship. Since the middle of the last century, when the politics of Europe assumed their modern form, Denmark had been almost uniformly friendly to this country; but, by one of those singular fatalities which seemed now to oppress this nation, Denmark was become inimical to England. This was, however, of the less consequence, because Denmark had at present a feeble and incapable government, a wretched army, and a very trifling navy. Of Sweden, Mr. Wraxall observed, that it was governed by a king rendered absolute by French money in 1772. Indeed, ever since the time of Gustavus Adolphus and Christina, Sweden had been uniformly the ally of France. French counsels, and French connexions, had ever preserved their ascendancy in the court of Stockholm, which, from every principle, and every motive, was hostile to the interests of this country. But Sweden, like her sister Denmark, was now far declined in splendour and in force. Her fleets and her armies were confined to the limits of the frozen Baltick. Modern Sweden was no longer able, as under Charles the Twelfth, to march armies into Saxony and Bohemia, and strike terror into Vienna and Versailles. But whatever the force of Sweden might be, there were no hopes of any assistance to Great Britain from that quarter. The empress of Russia,

he proceeded to observe, was some years since much attached to Great Britain, and disposed to assist us. But that moment, he said, was past and gone; we had lost it by our own want of exertion, and the empress was no longer friendly. She neither was willing, nor, if she had it in her inclination, was it in her power to afford us effectual and decisive assistance. The junction of a Russian squadron was not now to be hoped for; nor, if such a circumstance took place, would it ensure a certain superiority over the united navies of France, Spain, and Holland. It was not, therefore, from Sweden, Denmark, or Russia, that we were to derive assistance; and as to Poland, Sardinia, Naples, and Portugal, they were only kingdoms in name, and in the empty honours of the diadem, and therefore of little consideration in an inquiry from whence an efficacious alliance could be procured. After thus characterizing these states, he proceeded to observe, that the only remaining powers, from which there could be any prospect of obtaining assistance, were Prussia and Austria. The Prussian army, he said, amounted to 208,000 troops; but nearly one half of these were Poles, French, or composed of every nation of Europe, enlisted in that service. As to the Prussian monarch, he affirmed, that he was no longer that great prince, and great general, which he had with truth been believed to be some years ago. He was now infirm, far declined in years, in corporeal and intellectual vigour, and perhaps sunk in reputation. He had retired from his people, and lived like a recluse, shut up in the gloomy apartments of Potsdam, scarcely seen by his subjects. In short, he was no longer the hero who fought at Lissa,

at Rosbach, at Prague, at Torgau, and at Lowositz, and who carried victory wherever he appeared. It was also well known, that the king of Prussia had much enmity against Great Britain, and a great predilection for France, and was incensed on account of the subsidy which yet remained due to him from this country. We could therefore form no expectation of a beneficial connexion with Prussia; but with Austria, he thought, an alliance might be made, which would be highly advantageous to this country.

The imperial forces, Mr. Wraxall remarked, amounted at that time to 243,000 men, mostly drawn from the hereditary kingdoms and provinces of that extensive monarchy; and they could be with ease augmented to 320,000, as was actually the case, previously to the treaty of Teschen, in the month of April, 1779. The present emperor possessed courage, activity, and eminent abilities; and had a perfect knowledge, not only of his own dominions, but of France, and of various parts of Europe. From the time of the emperor Adrian, who, bareheaded and barefooted, had traversed, at the head of his legions, the vast provinces of the Roman empire, no prince had so accurately and so minutely visited his territories, as Joseph the Second. He was ambitious of glory, and solicitous to open the commerce of India, and of the world, to his subjects. He entertained a dislike, and a jealousy of France; both of which were rather confirmed, than removed, by his late journey to Paris. On the contrary, he had a sincere regard for the English nation, a regard which we might improve greatly to our advantage: for the emperor had an enlarged mind, and was superior

to all religious prejudices, or to the influence of mere family connexions. He had shewn himself to be capable of great exertion in every department of state, and his present situation was such as would give every possible facility to negotiation. His high station among the potentates of Europe naturally gave him great weight and influence; and his conduct during the short war of 1778, and the ascendancy which his troops then gained over Prussia, proved at once his ability as a general, and his power as a prince. He was idolized by his troops, who were all anxious to shew their zeal and attachment to him, and had even expressed some mortification, when their royal master sacrificed his martial ardour to the pacific disposition of his late parent. It should likewise be remembered, that we had some claim to the emperor's friendship, in consequence of our having supported his grandfather's pretensions to the crown of Spain, and established the tottering throne of his mother, the late empress. He was the descendant of Leopold, whom we had sustained against the arms of Lewis XIV. the nephew of Joseph I. and the grandson of Charles VI. for whom our ancestors had fought and bled in Spain, in Flanders, and in every quarter of the earth; and the son of Maria Theresa, whom we had rescued from the oppression of the house of Bourbon.

Mr. Wraxall then proceeded to recommend to the consideration of the house three great leading propositions, concerning which a negotiation should be opened with the emperor, and which might lead to a treaty highly beneficial to Great Britain. These three propositions were, first, by a vote of a million to enable him to take the field; secondly,

secondly, to open Antwerp as a free port; and thirdly, to offer him in India, Malacca, Ceylon, Cochin, or even Negapatnam. He urged various arguments in support of these propositions; and having explained his ideas of the means and terms of the negociation which he had recommended with the court of Vienna, he went into a consideration of its consequences. If such a treaty took place, the emperor, he said, must march towards the Rhine, as prince Charles of Lorrain did in the year 1744; he must demand his patrimony of Lorrain, torn from him in 1737, and he must re-demand Alsace, as depending on the empire. It could not be questioned he said, but that the emperor would be able to force a passage across the Rhine, and the whole of the scheme was very practicable: for the king of Prussia was incapable of preventing the emperor from sending an army of 50,000 men towards the Rhine, as the emperor could increase his army at pleasure, and the necessary marches might be performed with such rapidity, that the Austrian army might be at the gates of Strasbourg by the 1st of June next. What would be the result of this? France must defend herself; and the moment France was compelled to march 50,000 men fifty miles from her own frontiers, from Metz, Thionville, Strasbourg, and Brisac, or from her garrisons in Flanders, down would fall her boasted navy, her finances would instantly be alienated, and no more money could be sent to Brest, Rochfort, or Toulon. Madrid and the Hague would also instantly be shaken, their navies would crumble away, and could not be recruited, or money found for their equipment. The object of Great Britain would be obtained.

He, therefore, earnestly recommended, that no time should be lost in vain and idle deliberation, but that a negociation should be instantly opened with the emperor. The destruction of France was incontestable, if the emperor joined us, and marched towards the Rhine. England would be saved, restored to her ancient glories, and capacitated to destroy the marine of France and Spain. He concluded with paying some compliments to the abilities of his majesty's ministers; he had no doubt, he said, of their extensive capacities, and great qualifications; but he begged leave to recommend to them vigour, firmness, celerity, and dispatch; on all of which, combined, the national safety depended.

Though this gentleman's speech gained the attention of the house for some time, its extreme length by degrees caused a general weariness; and it was considered, both within and without doors, as the effort of a young politician, who was desirous of bringing himself into notice, but whose notions were not sufficiently matured and digested; and who had exhausted all the powers of his eloquence in the recommendation of a scheme, in which there could have been very little prospect of success, the whole plan appearing extremely visionary, if not totally impracticable.

Mr. Fox contended, that all the troubles which fell upon this country had originated in a change of the political system. For had true Whig principles prevailed, as in the days of king William and queen Anne, at least in the first part of her reign, and in the two subsequent reigns, America would now have been fighting by the side of Great Britain; or rather, the liberties

liberties of America not having been invaded, the occasion of all the quarrels that now subsist would have been prevented. But the interest of the prince, that is, of the ministry, was now conceived to be different from that of the people; the honour of the crown was to be maintained at the expence of the ruin of the people; and provided they governed, the condition of those who obeyed was a matter of indifference. The reign of Charles II. had been called an infamous reign: but not one of the Stuarts had done so much mischief to this country as the present ministry. The mischiefs done in the reign of the Stuarts were retrieved by a revolution in political principles; but the ills that happened in the present reign were irreparable. The empress of Russia, and his present majesty, had mounted the thrones of their respective empires much about the same time. But how great was the difference in the two reigns! Great Britain had declined with a suddenness equal to the rapidity with which Russia had risen to her present eminence. It was not want of capacity with which he charged the present ministry: they had capacity; but it was all exhausted, not in foreign politics, for that was the business of the nation, but in managing that house, and in other similar transactions, wherein their own interest only was concerned. The present war with Holland, which was a most unhappy event, he considered as entirely the result of the misconduct of the ministry; and if they had been removed before, when their demerits were sufficiently apparent, he firmly believed that this event would not have taken place.

Several other gentlemen spoke in this debate, on both sides of the ques-

tion, and amendments to the address proposed were moved for by lord John Cavendish and lord Mahon: but the address as originally proposed was at length carried, by a majority of 180 to 101.

The same message from his majesty, and the same papers, relative to the rupture with Holland, were also communicated to the house of peers on that day by lord Stormont. After the titles of these papers were read, before any motion was made for an address to his majesty in answer to the royal message, the duke of Richmond rose, and asked if the papers now read contained all the information that the noble viscount proposed to lay before the house. Until he was satisfied on that head, it was impossible for him to know how to conduct himself. His majesty now made a communication to the house, of a measure which he thought fit to adopt during the parliamentary recess. He had ordered certain papers to accompany that communication, which, however necessary in themselves, were imperfect. Before the house proceeded any farther, he therefore wished to know, whether those papers contained the whole of what was intended to be communicated. Lord Stormont remained silent; and, after some farther observations from the duke of Richmond, the chancellor interposed, and remarked, that it was not to be expected that the noble viscount could give an answer. His majesty had charged him with the delivery of the message, and of the several papers that accompanied it, which was the information intended to be given. They were sufficient, in his opinion, though there were no other document. The manifesto against Holland, which was included in the papers

papers now laid before the house, fully justified the measure. It stated, among other things, a treaty expressly entered into between an ancient ally and our own rebellious subjects, and a copy of which treaty was among the papers now exhibited. It would have been criminal and perfidious in any power in a state of common amity with us; it was doubly so coming from an ally; and what, if possible, aggravated the conduct of the States-general, it was secretly carried on, at a time when we were in a state of actual alliance and professed friendship. The chancellor added, that it would be improper, or rather informal, to enter on any other question or consideration, till his majesty's message should be first disposed of. The duke of Richmond again rose, and said, that he had hoped, at the outset of the business, that every paper or communication necessary, for the full information of their lordships, would be laid before the house. But, from what had already passed, he was convinced, that nothing was more vain and idle than such an expectation. The ministry had previously determined otherwise, and in that the house would be complaisant enough to acquiesce. He could not, however, but express his dissatisfaction, that the decision of that day must be taken from a few partial extracts from the instructions given to the British minister at the Hague, the manifesto formed upon those extracts, and a project or pretended treaty between Van Berkel and Mr. Lee: and he should give the most public testimony of his disapprobation of a war, which, for aught that yet appeared, had been wantonly commenced, and might be productive of the most fatal consequences.

Lord Stormont maintained that the measure of issuing letters of marque and reprisals against Holland, was not only justifiable, but was founded in necessity and sound policy. The States-general had behaved basely and treacherously. We were connected with them by the most solemn alliances; united by ties the most sacred and indissoluble, and bound by common interest; and could therefore have nothing apparently to fear from them. On the contrary, we had every thing to expect, which affection, cemented by mutual interest and advantage, could promise, and which honour and fidelity could exact. But in all these expectations we had been basely deceived, and miserably disappointed. The States-general had violated their most sacred engagements; they had acted as secret enemies; and, what was worse, they had carried on those secret machinations under the colour of friendship. They had entered into a conspiracy with our natural enemies, and rebellious subjects, to dismember the British empire, and to parcel out our dominions. This would be base and unworthy even from a neutral power; but when it came from a pretended ally, and an avowed friend, it deserved public execration. It stamped the nation who could be guilty of it with infamy and ignominy, and called aloud for the most exemplary chastisement. It was true, that, by the treaty of 1674, the States-general were permitted to carry indiscriminately all goods, commodities, and merchandize whatever to our enemies, as well as friends and neutrals; but by the two subsequent treaties of 1678, and 1716, it was specially provided, that when either power should be attacked in any of their dominions, that the other, upon the

*casus*

*casus fœderis*, should assist with a certain number of troops and ships. Hence it was plain, that the subsequent treaty, at a certain period at least, superseded the treaty of 1674; that is, after the requisition made by the party attacked to his ally, and the assistance given in consequence of that requisition, which the treaty provided should be at the end of two months from the date of the demand. This demand had been made by the British ambassador, but it was disregarded by the States-general; and the Dutch not only continued to supply our enemies with naval stores, but also entered into a treaty with a part of our subjects in open rebellion, and thereby called in question our undoubted rights and sovereign dominion over a part of our own territories. This was in reality making war upon this country, it being a species of aggression every way correspondent in its nature to an avowed act of hostility. The States-general had also either trifled with our minister, treated his remonstrances with neglect, or evaded giving any satisfaction by studied plausibilities, pretended impediments, and artful delays, originating from a fixed system of procrastination. Indeed, their councils, unhappily for the body of the Dutch nation, were influenced by faction, and by partial interest. They were under the dominion of a Gallo-American faction, and the people were seduced and led away from their real interests, through the arts and machinations of selfish and ambitious men.

The duke of Richmond remarked, that there was one capital mistake which pervaded the noble viscount's speech, and which yet seemed to be the only ground on which the manifesto against Holland could stand. This was, considering the rough

draught of a project or plan to be agreed to by the Seven United Provinces, as an original paper binding upon the respective parties. It was clear, that the treaty so much talked of was a mere project. Van Berkel and Mr. Lee, the subjects of two distinct states, sketch out a plan of a future treaty to be acceded to by those states. To give this plan effect, the consent of both those states must be procured; but, after a period of more than two years, so far from there being any ratification of this ideal treaty, there was not a scrap of paper, nor a single proof of any kind whatever, that either of the presumed principals in this transaction ever heard a syllable relative to the negociation or pretended treaty, much less that they had approved of it; yet this was made the principal ground of justification of those who advised the manifesto against Holland, and the royal message which was now under discussion. His grace also observed, that the noble secretary of state had thrown out several things respecting the conduct and motives of the States-general, of which no evidence whatever was produced to the house. If his lordship had any information on the subject concerning which he had spoken with so much confidence, he must have gathered it either from common report, or through the channel of office. If the former, it would be indecent to argue upon it in the character of a confidential servant of the crown; if the latter, it was his duty to lay his information, and the authority whence he derived it, before their lordships.

Lord Stormont replied, that the noble duke sought a species of information which was publicly known. The Dutch gazettes were full of the motives which directed the

the conduct of the States-general. After the most pressing entreaties, and repeated condescensions on our part, when the paper which the noble duke so warmly contended ought not to be considered as an act of the republic, was laid by our ambassador before the States-general, instead of disavowing it, they only disclaimed having any knowledge of it in general terms; and when an opening was given to them to disclaim the act, they declined to avail themselves of it, and came to a determination to refuse any satisfaction, and disposed of it *ad referendum*, to be taken up, or not, at some future opportunity. If this was not an avowal of the treaty, or project, it was little short of it; and he could scarcely see any difference between a public act of the state, and a private act of a hostile nature committed by a subject, when the governing part of that state denied satisfaction, or refused to punish the offender. After some farther observations, he moved an address to his majesty, assuring him, that the house, with the warmest and most dutiful zeal, would give every support to those vigorous measures, which his majesty had been obliged to take against the republic of Holland.

The chancellor observed, that the noble duke, who had opposed the motion for an address to his majesty, laid great stress on the circumstance, that the treaty which had been mentioned was no more than a project. There would be some weight in this argument, if an opportunity had not been given to the States-general to retract or disavow it. Instead of that, their conduct amounted nearly, if not entirely, to an avowal, or approbation of its contents; they postponed it *ad*

*referendum*, and by so doing, they disclaimed it in form, but acknowledged it in substance: for though he would allow, for argument's sake, that they were not prepared immediately to punish the offender, Van Berkel, they might have satisfied the British court, by reprobating it in an abstract resolution, or opinion, expressing in general terms their total disapprobation, and declaring the impropriety or criminality of any of the subjects of the republic entering into a treaty with the rebellious subjects of another state, in amity and alliance with them.

The duke of Richmond rose again, and observed, that it was well known, that the forms of deliberation and proceeding in Holland, and the nature of the Dutch constitution, were tedious and intricate. The latter was composed of various movements, and though he did not pretend to speak with accuracy or precision on the subject, it was more than probable, that the States-general were by no means empowered to give an explicit or precise answer on a subject, of which all, or infinitely the greater part of their constituents, must have been ignorant. It was doubtful, whether a power of punishment was even vested in the States-general: but if such a power was vested in them, their wonted caution and deliberate mode of proceeding fully justified their conduct; and he would appeal to every noble lord who heard him, if there were not innumerable possible cases in which a subject of this country might offend against the law of nations, notwithstanding which his punishment, instead of being taken up by the sovereign power of the state, must be delegated to our judicial or criminal tribunals; and yet it would be deemed absurd, that  
a refusal

a refusal on our part to violate the laws, by with-holding instant and exemplary punishment, should be deemed an aggression sufficient to justify hostilities against us by the complaining party. As to what was called a treaty between the States-general of the United Provinces and the United States of America, his grace still contended, that it never could be considered as such with the least reason or propriety. It was at most no more than a plan, or project, conditional in its frame, and, as experience had since proved, nugatory in its consequences. It never was a treaty; it never was authenticated even as a project or treaty in embryo, within the knowledge and consent of the respective principals: nor had since, so long as from September, 1778, to that day, been confirmed or recognized. He lamented, in very warm terms, the alarming and perilous situation of this country, which was driven into a contest with the three most formidable maritime powers of Europe. The ministry seemed determined to risque all; they were grown desperate; and, by driving every thing to extremity, vainly imagined, that, in the midst of surrounding calamity, and national distress, their crimes or ignorance would be forgotten, or overlooked. They had the modesty to preach up unanimity, and to claim confidence, when almost every succeeding day afforded some fresh instance of their fatal ignorance and mischievous incapacity.

His grace farther remarked, that the noble secretary of state, though he refused to give any information to their lordships, excepting what they might derive from the partial extracts laid before the house, acknowledged the existence of another species of information. He had refer-

red their lordships to the Dutch gazettes. This was a language he never before heard used in parliament. It was, indeed, treating their lordships with a degree of haughtiness or contempt almost intolerable. He ventured to say, that there were some of their lordships who never read a Dutch gazette, and many who did, attended very little to the contents. However that might be, he never expected to hear it gravely recommended to the great council of the nation, by a minister in high office, and in great trust and confidence with his sovereign, that they should peruse the Dutch gazettes, as the only document necessary to enable them to advise their sovereign, when called upon by him at a most critical and important period. The noble viscount referred their lordships to a source of information, to which he probably never resorted himself: for it might be presumed, that he was like his noble uncle, the chief justice of the king's bench, who, as it was well known, from his own declaration, never read a news-paper. His grace added, that he had not heard a single argument advanced, which did not convince him, that the whole of the correspondence between the British cabinet and the States-general ought to be laid before that house, in order to enable their lordships to come to such a decision upon the subject before them, as should be founded in justice and good policy. He, therefore, moved, that instead of the address moved for by the noble secretary of state, which at least ought to be postponed, "an humble address should be presented to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to give orders, that there should be forthwith laid before that house copies of all the treaties lately substi-

ing between Great Britain and the states of the Seven United Provinces, and also of the correspondence between his majesty's ministers, and his late ambassador at the Hague, and of all memorials, requisitions, manifestoes, answers, and other papers which have passed between the two courts, as far as they relate in any respect to the present rupture, or to any misunderstanding, or complaints, which have existed between the two nations since the commencement of hostilities between Great Britain and the provinces of North America.

The duke of Chandos, after pronouncing a very high eulogium on the public and private virtues of his majesty, and declaring his good opinion of the laudable intentions of his ministers, though they had not always been attended with success, said, that he most heartily approved of the spirit and vigour which manifestly dictated the measures against Holland. He made no doubt, that it would be productive of more than one salutary effect. Besides disarming a pretended friend, but concealed enemy, from carrying their faithless and destructive schemes into execution, it would convince our open foes of the fixed determination and magnanimity of this country, though surrounded by a host of foes, and contending for her rightful dominion over so great a body of her own unnatural and rebellious subjects. He acknowledged, that our situation was critical and perilous, and that opportunities might have been lost: but it was too late to take a retrospect; and nothing now remained to be done, but to call forth the whole resources and strength of the country, and employ them effectually against our enemies. Having entertained these sentiments, he must of course

give his negative to the motion made by the noble duke, and his hearty affirmative to the address originally moved in answer to his majesty's message.

The earl of Shelburne arraigned, in very strong terms, the whole conduct of administration respecting Holland; and observed, that it was not in the power of the States-general to give a clear and specific answer to sir Joseph Yorke's memorial; nor even to give a promise to punish or redress any grievance which might have been occasioned by the conduct of a person or persons amenable to the provincial states of Holland only, and exclusively answerable to the local tribunals within that particular jurisdiction. In the reign of king William, when that prince was at war with France, though he was king of England, and stadtholder of the United Provinces, he was repeatedly informed, that several of the subjects of Holland corresponded with his enemies, and supplied France secretly with military stores for carrying on the war. He complained, in his double capacity, as king and stadtholder, but was obliged to sit down contented, without obtaining redress. Nay more, he once got a packet into his hands directed to some of the principal traitors, who were burgomasters, and was obliged, in his magistratical character, to lay it unopened before the States-general, who, after the fullest evidence of the fact, suffered the whole to pass away unnoticed, without even censure, much less punishment, or public disavowal. But the British ministry seemed to be totally ignorant, of what was known to all the world besides, that Holland was a state composed of merchants, whose great view was to promote and extend their commerce;

and

and that acts, which in other countries would be deemed of a very heinous and punishable nature, were considered in Holland as venial offences. Sovereign states were often extremely ignorant of the municipal laws and internal regulations which prevailed in other governments; and it should be remembered, that the government of Holland in particular was one of the most intricate and complicated in its movements that ever existed. His lordship farther remarked, that it had been the policy of the most able and honest statesmen of which this country ever boasted, to cultivate not only alliances, and to form connections with Holland, but also the most intimate confidence and friendship. But far different had been the conduct of the present administration. In a time of the most profound peace between the two states, allied by treaty, friendship, and common interest, without any hostile appearance or preparation on the part of Holland, the British cabinet had resolved to seize all Dutch ships, whether of private or public property, and immediately to confiscate them; and what was worse than all, a commandment was given to render the municipal tribunals the instruments of legalizing an act, which was equally repugnant to every law now existing in the written codes, current, or of authority, throughout Europe. We had wantonly engaged in a war with Holland, without sufficiently considering how formidable an enemy that republic might probably become. The Dutch, though a commercial, were nevertheless a determined and courageous people. They had ever opposed tyranny, in every shape in which it had shewn itself; and, perhaps, in their first struggles against Spanish cruelty,

and Spanish oppression, they manifested proofs of magnanimity, courage, and heroism, not furnished, if equall'd, by the most celebrated and renowned nations of antiquity, or of modern times. The Dutch had already acceded to the armed neutrality in due form, by their ministers sent to the court of Peterburgh for that purpose; and the empress in due form had accepted of their accession. So that besides France, Spain, America, and Holland, we might probably have Russia, and in due time all the other members of the armed neutrality, to contend with. Even Portugal began to shew a disposition extremely unfavourable to our interests, and there was reason to believe that she would, in the end, prove as inimical as the rest: which would bring us into a predicament hitherto unexampled, that of not having a single port open to us from Gibraltar to the North Pole. As to the pretended treaty between Holland and America, which was urged as the principal reason for commencing hostilities against Holland, it was no more than a project to be hereafter entered into, and was besides conditional, or contingent. It was only to have effect upon a future event: namely, if the confederated states of America should hereafter be declared independent by the powers of Europe. But even if it had been authenticated and confirmed by the States-general of the United Provinces, it could not in any light be considered as an aggression, at least not such an aggression as would justify the commencement of hostilities on our part. In every view, the conduct of the ministry had been as repugnant to justice as to sound policy, and was only calculated to bring calamity and ruin on the nation.

The chancellor contended, that the only question before the house was, whether the motion made by the noble secretary of state, being a proposed address in answer to his majesty's message, or the motion made by the noble duke for additional information to be laid before the house, should first receive the approbation of their lordships. Now in point of precedent, he believed that there was not a single instance in the records of parliament, in which any other matter was permitted to be introduced between the answer to a royal message and the determination of the house upon its contents. It appeared, as far as he could learn, that no precedent existed to the contrary, but that the custom or usage of parliament had at all times, and upon every occasion, given this decided preference to intimations, messages, and communications from the throne. It had been said, that the documents, now laid before the house, were not such as justified the measures against Holland; consequently, that either other papers ought to be laid before the house, to satisfy their lordships that the real facts and transactions justified the measure; or, that the message, upon the documents submitted to the house, was not such as entitled it to the concurrence of their lordships. It was supposed, that the papers being deficient, the whole matter would ultimately be decided upon, should their lordships now consent to agree to the address; and that those noble lords who disapproved of the measures against Holland, as grounded upon the papers now laid before them, would hereafter be for ever precluded, or barred from giving any opinion upon the subject, being bound by the forms of parliament to the approbation of the present measure, though

not justified by the documents now laid before them. But the supposition was not well grounded: for every noble lord who thought the information now laid before the house defective or incomplete, would be as much at liberty to move for farther information, as if he had never given a vote on the subject. He would neither be precluded, nor bound by his vote of that day; but might, as soon as the present question was disposed of, or at any future, or more fit and convenient time, rise and move for any papers he thought proper. On the ground, therefore, of established usage, and uninterrupted precedent, the chancellor said, he should oppose concurring in the motion made by the noble duke, or giving it a preference to an address moved in answer to a royal message. It was a respect due to the crown which had never been refused. If the noble duke's question were carried, it would imply, that it was the sense of that house, that his majesty had exercised his prerogative of declaring war without just cause; or, if he had a just cause, had declined to inform their lordships of his real motives; either of which, in his opinion, would be extremely indecent and improper. But, independently of these considerations, he endeavoured to prove, that the papers laid before the house afforded sufficient evidence of the propriety of the measures taken against Holland, and that the whole proceedings of administration in that respect were perfectly justifiable. In the course of his speech the chancellor lamented the indiscriminate censures, and the many reflections, which it was now become customary to throw out in that house against the administration, which tended to involve government in a general odium, and of

course to add embarrassments to those which naturally attend every government in time of war, and this in particular, now labouring under peculiar circumstances of difficulty and distress, such perhaps as were never before experienced by any other nation.

Lord Camden remarked, that the chancellor, under the idea of bringing the question within a narrow compass, had reduced it to a mere question of order, out of which he had endeavoured entirely to exclude the formal, as well as substantial merits of the subject matter of debate. The whole business, it seemed, was merely a point relative to the regularity of the proceedings of their lordships, whether the address moved by the noble secretary of state should be adopted, or a negative be put upon the motion moved by the noble duke. This was a curious method of coming to a decision upon any question, and upon every question: the most important national objects which could come under the discussion of their lordships, were to be disregarded, and to be kept out of sight, that they might employ themselves in dull, tedious, and sophistical debates on the regularity, or pretended regularity, of their proceedings. But he begged their lordships to look a little farther, and to turn their attention from mere words to things. His majesty's ministers had advised a declaration of war; or, which was in substance the same thing, a manifesto, accompanied with orders for issuing letters of marque and reprisals: they farther advised his majesty to communicate this to his parliament; but for what purpose was this done? They were not to deliberate, or to seek any farther information. They were implicitly,

without hesitation, doubt, or inquiry, to echo back the very words of the message, in almost *totidem verbis*, and containing in all its parts, the most full and unreserved approbation of the measure, thus communicated. To do otherwise, they were informed, would be indecent, and disrespectful to the sovereign. But, in his opinion, the highest insult was offered to their lordships, when they were required to render this implicit assent to the conduct of administration, and to give a formal approbation of measures which they were told it was indecent to discuss. But they were acquainted, as some kind of consolation to them, that, after the address should be agreed to, they might then controvert the justice and expediency of what they had before approved of, for form's sake. Could any thing be more absurd? War had been denounced against the republic of Holland during the recess of parliament; and if parliament, upon being made acquainted with it, approved of the measure, they consequently bound themselves, and the people of Great Britain, to all the consequences of a state of hostility with a powerful nation.

As to what was called the treaty between Holland and the United States of America, his lordship remarked, that nothing had been urged, either in the shape of fact or argument, which tended to shew, that any one step had been taken by the governing or any subordinate power in Holland, which betrayed, either directly or indirectly, any intention in the States-general of an hostile nature; that they knew any thing of the intrigues of Van Berkel; much less had determined to ratify and confirm, as an act of the sovereign,

sovereign, what had probably been the mere unauthorized act of Van Berkel himself, supported by some of the magistrates of the city of Amsterdam, who were well known to be in the French interest. But supposing, so far as the treaty went, that it was a complete one; before any conclusion was drawn, he thought it behoved those who were persuaded of its completion, to point out how far it did operate, and the persons whom it was supposed to bind, or could bind. Did it bind the state, or republic? He believed no person would venture to affirm that it did. Did it even bind the province of Holland? That yet remained to be proved. Who then did it bind? For aught that he could learn, from any thing that appeared to the contrary, it neither did or could bind any other persons, but merely the contracting parties whose names were signed to the instrument.

His lordship then proceeded to remark, how different the conduct of the late earl of Chatham had been from that of the present administration. In the very zenith of his power, in the flush of victory, that great statesman had many and strong pretences, if not real provocations, for employing the then irresistible force of this country against the property and possessions of the Seven United Provinces. But he was too wise and magnanimous. He judiciously qualified the claims of this country, as well as set limits to the unreasonable demands of that republic. He acted with moderation, resolution, firmness, and justice. He had not only Holland to manage, but the northern kingdoms, who were at the time, independently of the extreme jealousy of the naval power of Great Britain, rather ini-

mically inclined towards us, particularly Russia and Sweden; yet, amidst a variety of difficulties, many adverse views, and contending interests, lord Chatham, by his address and abilities, always avoided a rupture with those powers, or with Holland. But the present ministry never took any proper methods to be upon good terms with that republic. On the contrary, before the commencement of hostilities with France or Spain, they ordered our ambassador at the Hague to present a most insolent memorial to the States-general, containing threats of a most unprecedented nature, when addressed to an independent state of any description; but when addressed to an ally, to the last degree provoking, arrogant, and indecent. It was to this memorial, more than to any other circumstance whatever, that all the subsequent conduct of the republic might be attributed. If there was a Gallo-American faction in Holland, that faction owed its very existence to the conduct of the British administration. It was their arrogance and insolence which had supplied food for discontent, and furnished arguments to the secret and open friends of France in the republic, to inflame the minds of their fellow-subjects against the government and people of Great Britain, and to aggravate any part of our conduct, so as to persuade the Hollanders, that the insults and affronts daily put upon them, tended to establish an universal dominion on the ocean, and to lead to restrictions upon commerce, suited to the interests and well known ambition of the English nation, who could bear no rival in trade, and who would, should she prevail in her present contest with America, derive such an accumulation of naval force, as to enable her

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to give law to the whole world on that element. His lordship added, that, upon considering the provocations given on our part to Holland, and the conduct of that republic under those repeated insults, and the nature of the connexion between this country and the Seven United Provinces, together with the ruinous consequences that might be the result of a war between them, he was of opinion, that the manifesto against Holland ought not to receive the sanction of their lordships, till stronger evidence were produced of the necessity, justice, and policy of that measure; and that if no better grounds of hostility should be the result of a more particular inquiry, that parliament would be bound to order immediate reparation and satisfaction to be given for the injury already sustained by Holland, and of course that an end should be put to the farther prosecution of hostilities.

Lord Bathurst threw out some severe reflections on the conduct and motives of the lords in opposition to administration; and was answered by the duke of Richmond in a very pointed and sarcastic manner. After some farther debate, his grace's motion was rejected by a majority of 84 to 19; and the address to his majesty, moved for by lord Stormont, was agreed to by the house. Two protests were entered in the journals, signed by the principal lords in op-

position, in which the precipitation, injustice, and total want of policy, which appeared in the proceedings against Holland, were strongly and severely censured.

On the 1st of February, a motion was made in the house of commons by Mr. Fox, that it should be resolved by that house, "that the appointment of sir Hugh Palliser to be governor of Greenwich Hospital, after he had been declared guilty of having preferred a malicious and ill-grounded accusation against his commanding officer, by the sentence of a court-martial, was a measure totally subversive of the discipline, and derogatory to the honour of the navy." In the course of the debate which took place on this occasion, it was contended, that the appointment complained of was an insult to the navy, and calculated to introduce mutiny and disorder into the fleet; and it was remarked of the court-martial on sir Hugh Palliser's own trial, and by which he was acquitted, that one of the members of it was his nephew, and that three of the other members were officers of the Blue Squadron, and, if there had been guilt found, would have been implicated in that guilt. Lord North vindicated the promotion of sir Hugh Palliser, and the latter endeavoured to vindicate his own conduct. The motion was rejected by a majority of 214 to 149.

## C H A P. VII.

*East India affairs. Discontents occasioned in India by the Establishment of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Calcutta, and by the extensive Jurisdiction assumed by the Judges of that Court. The Directors of the East India Company exhibit a Complaint against the Conduct of the Judges to the Secretary of State. A Petition against that Court, from a Number of the British Inhabitants of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, presented to the House of Commons. A Petition presented to that House from the Governor-general and some of the Council of Bengal, complaining of the Conduct of the Judges of the Supreme Court, stating that they had been obliged to resist the Proceedings of the Judges by a military Force, and soliciting that an Act of Parliament might be passed to indemnify them against all the legal Consequences of their Resistance to that Court. Remarkable Decisions of the Supreme Court. Case of Nundoomar. Patna Cause. Extraordinary Proceedings of the Officers of the Supreme Court, in attempting to extend its Jurisdiction. Petition from the Natives of Bengal to his Maje'y against the Supreme Court. Debate in the House of Commons on a Motion made by General Smith, to appoint a Select Committee to take into Consideration the Petitions against the Supreme Court in India.*

**I**T is now necessary that we should turn the attention of our readers to some events in the East Indies, which were of such a nature as to be very important in their consequences to the interests of the English East India company, and which by degrees became a frequent subject of discussion in the British parliament. But in order to throw some light upon these transactions, it will be proper to mention several events, which happened before that period which is the more immediate object of our history. It was a singular and extraordinary circumstance, that, in the year 1765, the East India company, a body of English merchants, became masters of the territorial revenues and possessions of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, three of the richest provinces of the Mogul's empire, and which are supposed to contain more than ten millions of inhabitants. The important

trust of governing these great and newly acquired dominions was committed to the company's servants who were upon the spot, some of whom were rash and inconsiderate, and others of them profligate and rapacious. Many enormities were therefore committed, and the inhabitants of these provinces had abundant reason to complain of injustice and oppression. Some, however, of the East India company's servants behaved in a very different manner, and displayed great integrity and humanity. Regulations were adopted for the better government of these provinces, and councils of revenue were established in the different districts. The ablest of the company's servants were selected to preside jointly in matters of revenue; and each in rotation, assisted by the cauzees, or cadies, and musties, the ancient established magistrates of the country, were appointed to dispense justice

justice to the natives. Mr. Hastings, who was at that time president, and who had a high reputation for abilities and integrity, and for his knowledge of the customs and manners of the country, drew up a set of regulations for these two important departments. By degrees many abuses were removed, and greater order and tranquillity appeared in the country. But the iniquities that had been practised by many individuals in India, and the immense fortunes which had been acquired by injustice and rapacity, had now excited the attention of the people of England, and it was thought necessary that parliament should interfere. Accordingly in 1773, an act was passed, "for establishing certain rules and orders for the future management of the affairs of the East India company, as well in India as in Europe." In this act, among other regulations, it was enacted, that the mayor's court of Calcutta, which had been originally established by the authority of the East India company, should for the future be confined to small mercantile causes; and that a new court should be established, consisting of a chief justice, and three puisne judges; and that these judges should be appointed by the crown. It was also enacted, that a superiority should be given to the presidency of Bengal over the other presidencies in India. The salaries of the judges were fixed, at 8000*l.* per annum to the chief justice, and 6000*l.* to each of the other three. In consequence of this act, sir Elijah Impey, as chief justice, who was knighted upon the occasion, and three other judges, set sail for India in the year 1774. They were invested with great powers; they had the title of his majesty's supreme court of judicature in that

country; they had civil law, common law, ecclesiastical, admiralty, and criminal jurisdiction; they were empowered to try Europeans on personal actions, and to assess damages without a jury; and, to prevent any Europeans from eluding justice, under colour of employing natives in the commission of their crimes, every native, directly or indirectly in their service, or in that of the company, was to be made subject to the jurisdiction of this court likewise.

Great expectations were formed of the benefits which would result from the establishment of this court of judicature. But those who were most acquainted with the country, and its inhabitants, were from the first of a contrary opinion; and it appeared in the event that their opinion was the best founded. The views with which this court was established were, to preserve the commerce and revenues of the company from depredation, by subjecting its servants to the controul of the court; to relieve the subject from oppression, by facilitating the means of redress; and finally, to establish a fixed, lasting, and regular course of justice for the permanent security of liberty and property. But instead of framing a new code of laws for this institution, the English laws were introduced in their full extent, and with all their consequences, without any restriction or modification whatever, to accommodate them to the climate and manners of Asia; without any regard to religious institutions, or local habits, or to the influence of other laws handed down from the remotest antiquity, and fixed in the hearts of the people. The English laws were transplanted entire into the opposite quarter of the globe,

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to be administered by judges educated under them, and wholly unacquainted with the religion, character, or manners of the people over whom they were appointed to preside.

From the first arrival of the judges in Bengal, they were engaged in frequent contests with the majority of the council, and appear to have laboured to extend their jurisdiction far beyond what was intended by the British parliament. Complaints of their conduct were frequently transmitted to England from the servants of the East India company; and in consequence of these representations, on the 19th of November, 1777, the directors of the company sent a letter to lord Weymouth, secretary of state for the southern department, in which they stated, that the supreme court in India had extended its jurisdiction to persons whom it did not appear to have been the intention of the king or parliament to submit to its authority; that it had taken cognizance of matters, both originally and pending the suit, the exclusive cognizance of which, they conceived it to have been the intention of the king and parliament to leave to other courts; that the judges considered the criminal law of England as in force, and binding, upon the natives of Bengal, though utterly repugnant to the laws and customs by which they had formerly been governed; that the jurisdiction exercised by the supreme court was incompatible with the powers given by parliament to the governor-general and council, obstructed the administration of government, and tended to alienate the minds of the natives; and, as it was feared, would prevent the establishment of the government of that country on any settled or permanent foundation.

The British judges were attended

to India by a number of adventurers, who were allured by the hope of enriching themselves under the new establishment. Some of them were of the lowest sort of people, and persons whose vices or extravagance had rendered it very inconvenient for them to live in England, and who could find no refuge from distress but in a flight to the other end of the globe. Many of them were enrolled among the domestics of the judges, or became their immediate dependents; and, upon their arrival in Bengal, were permitted to assume the characters of attorneys, court officers, under sheriffs, and bailiffs. One of these, who been clerk to one of the puisne judges, was afterwards made attorney, proctor, master extraordinary in chancery, and under-sheriff; and acted in this four-fold capacity at one and the same time in *Dacca*. These inferior practisers of the law found it for their interest to promote suits in the supreme court as much as possible, and with that view operated upon the ignorance and credulity of the natives with great industry, and some of them with great address.

The conduct of the supreme court continued to increase the discontents both of the British subjects, and of the natives; and, indeed, some remarkable decisions of sir Elijah Impey, and his brother judges, have sufficiently shewn, that, if they were not actuated by any arbitrary, or other improper views, they were under the influence of very narrow prejudices; that their professional bigotry was carried to the utmost extremity; and that they were totally destitute of those liberal and enlarged views, which might have been expected from men appointed, by high authority, to administer justice in so remote a quarter of the globe.

On the 4th of December, 1780, a petition against the supreme court from a number of the British inhabitants of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, was presented to the house of commons. The petitioners complained of the indiscriminate manner in which the judges of the supreme court attempted to exercise the English laws in that country, at the same time that these very judges refused to British subjects the benefit of trial by jury in civil cases. They appealed to the humanity of the British parliament, and besought them 'to reflect on the innumerable hardships which must ensue, and the universal confusion which must be occasioned, as well to personal rights as to private and public property, by giving to the voluminous and intricate laws of England a boundless retrospective power in the midst of Asia, and by an application of those laws, made for the freest and most enlightened people on earth, the principle of whose constitution was founded on virtue and liberty, to transactions with the natives of India, who had from time immemorial lived under a despotic government, established on fear and restraint." And they earnestly called upon the parliament to consider, "what must be the fears, what must be the terrors of individuals, to find their titles to property, their transactions and engagements with the natives, previous to the establishment of the court of judicature, tried by the standard of English law, and by men educated under its forms, and unavoidably imbibing its prejudices; when no such laws could be known to, or practised by, natives or Europeans then residing in the country; and at a time too when few or no persons

of legal knowledge were in the country to assist or advise them."

The petitioners farther declared, "that they conceived, that no tyranny could be more dreadful in its operations, or more fatal in its consequences, than that a court established by law, with all the authority of one of the first courts in England, should also possess undefined powers and jurisdiction, of which the judges of it were the sole interpreters, and under no controul but at the immense distance of the mother country. Yet such was the situation of the British subjects in Bengal: they were placed within the reach of this two-edged weapon, surrounded with the toils and pitfalls of the law, in a country where perjury was almost a profession, unknowing where they might rest in safety: for the judges of the supreme court could at pleasure determine on the denomination of a civil jury, the degree of its criminality, by what statutes it should be tried, what penalties should be inflicted, and who were, and who were not, amenable to the jurisdiction of the court."

It was also observed by the petitioners, "that the judges of the supreme court at Calcutta were empowered to sit also as a court of chancery, and in that capacity to revise, correct, rescind, or confirm, decisions passed by themselves whilst acting as judges in a court of law; and by another part of their institution, they possessed the power, and they alone, of staying execution in criminal cases till his majesty's pleasure was known; though there was a natural principle in human nature which inevitably impressed a bias upon the mind in favour of its own decisions, and which, as experience has decided, reason  
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and philosophy are too weak to restrain." They likewise remarked, that they conceived, "there must be some fundamental error in that institution, which required a more than ordinary degree of temper, ability, and integrity, to carry its purposes into execution; and they did not hesitate to declare, that to administer the powers appertaining to the institution of the supreme court, without extensive public detriment, and partial acts of private severity and injustice, (if it were possible at all,) required more equity, moderation, discernment, and enlightened abilities, than they could hope to find in any men." They complained, they said, not only of the exercise of the powers committed to sir Elijah Impey, and his brother judges, but of the jurisdiction of the court itself; "of the uncontrouled and unlimited power, with which the court was vested, and with the execution of which no men were to be trusted." They concluded with earnestly soliciting the parliament, that a trial by jury might be granted to the British subjects in Bengal, in all cases where it was by law established in England; that the retrospective powers of the supreme court might be limited to the time of its establishment in Bengal; that it should be defined, beyond the power of discretionary distinction, who the persons were that were amenable to the jurisdiction of the court, and who were not amenable; that it should be expressly declared what statutes should, and what should not, be in force in Bengal; that distinct and separate judges, for the law and equity sides of the court, should be appointed; and that a power of staying executions in criminal cases, till his ma-

jesty's pleasure was known, should be lodged in the governor-general and council.

A petition was also afterwards presented to the house of commons from Warren Hastings, esq. governor-general, and Philip Francis, and Edward Wheeler, esqrs. counsellors for the government of the presidency of Fort William in Bengal, in which they represented, that though the jurisdiction of the supreme court of judicature at Calcutta, and the privileges and immunities granted to the governor-general and council, were clearly limited by parliament and the king's letters patent, yet the chief justice and judges of that court had exercised authority over persons not legally within their jurisdiction, and had irregularly and improperly advised and admitted suits against the governor-general and council; that they had attempted to execute their writs upon persons of high rank in Bengal, natives of the country, and over whom the supreme court had no just pretence to exercise any jurisdiction whatever; so that the governor-general and council had found themselves reduced to the necessity of opposing the proceedings of the supreme court; of asserting their own civil and military rights; and of guarding the property of the East India company, and eventually that of the British nation, in those provinces, from impending danger; and of yielding their protection to the country and people which were placed under the government of the governor-general and council, from the controul of a foreign law, and the terrors of a new and usurped dominion. They had been obliged to employ a military force to resist the proceedings of the judges and their

their officers; and they declared, that no other conduct could have saved those provinces, and the interests of the East India company, and of the British nation, which were inseparably connected with them, from the danger of utter ruin. They declared themselves to be of opinion, "that the attempt to extend to the inhabitants of those provinces the jurisdiction of the supreme court of judicature, and the authority of the English law, and of the forms and fictions of that law, which were yet more intolerable, because less capable of being understood, would be such a constraint on the minds of the people of those provinces, by the difference of such laws and forms from their laws, habits, manners, and religious principles, which under every successive constitution of the former governments had been respected and supported, as might inflame them, notwithstanding the known mildness and patience which constitute their general character, to an open rebellion." As they had therefore been under a necessity of opposing the proceedings of the supreme court by force, they now solicited, that they, the governor general and council, and all others under their authority, might be indemnified against all the legal consequences of their resistance to that court.

Though the conduct of the supreme court occasioned many complaints to be transmitted to England by the British subjects in India, it caused still greater terror and alarm among the natives, and many of them chose rather to relinquish their country, than to live under its jurisdiction. Two or three of the decisions of sir Elijah Impey, and his brother judges, which were the most remarkable, which excited the

most general indignation, and which may throw some light on the subject, we shall lay before our readers.

Nundcomar, a bramin of the first rank, and who had been prime minister to the nabob of Bengal, was tried for a forgery in the supreme court. He was indicted on a statute passed in the reign of George II. of which the natives of that country had never heard, and forgery was not a capital offence by any of their laws. The forgery had been committed many years before, and it was an express clause in the act, which was made with a particular reference to the state of credit in England, that it should not extend even to Scotland: yet this act was now extended to Bengal, a country which was not in possession of the English till nearly forty years after the act passed. Nundcomar's counsel objected to the jurisdiction of the court, and urged the injustice of trying a native of India on a statute with which the people of that country were entirely unacquainted. He was, however, found guilty, and executed, the judges even refusing to respite his execution till his majesty's pleasure should be known. Nundcomar was not a man of good character; but his execution excited such alarm among the natives in India, that many of them even ran into the river from their terror at seeing a bramin put to death in so ignominious a manner. The affair had also a worse appearance among the natives, because, at the very time that the charge of forgery was brought against Nundcomar, he was employed in exhibiting an accusation against the governor-general of Bengal; and Nundcomar's countrymen, from the circumstances of the case, formed a conclusion, which was not very unnatural, namely, that

that he was hanged, not for the forgery, but for daring to prefer a complaint against an English governor.

Another decision of the supreme court, which excited great alarm in Bengal, was that which related to what was called the Patna cause, the particulars of which are as follows. Shahbaz Beg Cawn came from Cabool, in Persia, his native country, to Bengal, to seek his fortune; and having entered into the service of the company, rose to the command of a body of horse. In the course of his services, he obtained from the Great Mogul a grant of free lands, called an *ultumghaw*, in the province of Bahar; and having acquired a competent fortune, retired from the army, and settled at Patna. About this time, being advanced in years, he married a woman of low rank, named Nadara Begum, by whom he had no children. His brother, Allum Beg, came to Patna; and, after residing some time with him, on his return to Cabool, either left or sent Behader Beg, one of his sons, to live with Shahbaz Beg Cawn. Behader Beg remained accordingly in his family, from that time to the old man's death, which happened several years after, in November 1776. Shahbaz Beg Cawn having died without issue, his widow, Nadara Begum, and his nephew, Behader Beg, disputed his inheritance; the widow claiming under some deeds, alleged to have been executed by the deceased; and the nephew as his adopted son and heir. The widow, however, took possession of the whole property of her late husband, and of the deeds and papers belonging thereto: upon which the nephew presented a petition to the provincial council at Patna, on the 2d of January, 1777, setting forth his claim;

and after stating, that the widow was removing and secreting the effects, concluded with a prayer, that orders should be given to prevent the removal of the goods, and to recover such as had already been carried away; and that the *cawzee*, or *cadi*, should be directed to ascertain his right, and acquaint the council therewith. As the parties were Mahometans, and the point in question depended on their laws of inheritance, the provincial council, as was usual in such cases, referred the examination of the cause to the chief officers of the Mahometan law, namely, the *cadi*, and two *muftees*, who had long been established as a court of judicature in that province, to examine it and report thereon to them. The *cadi* and *muftees* having examined the cause in the manner customary to themselves, reported to the council, that the deeds produced by the widow appeared to them to be forged, and to have been executed after the death of Shahbaz Beg; that if the execution of the deeds in the life-time of Shahbaz Beg had been proved, they were still informal, on a point of Mahometan law, which requires, that to make deeds of gift valid, possession should be given at the time of executing or delivering them over; and that, as no proof of giving possession had been offered, the deeds ought to be deemed invalid, and the estate divided according to the Mahometan law; namely, one fourth to the wife, and three fourths to the nephew, as the representative of his father Allum Beg, who was considered as the more immediate heir of the deceased. The council of Patna passed a decree, confirming this report and decision of the *cadi* and *muftees*, with a single exception in favour of the widow, that the heir at law should pay her

her one fourth of the rents of the ultumghaw, or royal grant, for her maintenance and support during her life. The widow, however, was extremely refractory, and refused to abide by this decision, or to deliver up the effects of her late husband. In consequence of this behaviour in Nadara Begum, those methods of force which are used in such cases in that country, were necessarily employed, in order to carry the decree of the court into execution.

In this state of things, the widow, by the assistance of some English lawyers, brought an action of trespass against the nephew, and against the *cadi* and two *muftees*, to whom the cause had been referred by the provincial council at Patna. The force that had been employed against her to oblige her to submit to the determination of the court was termed an assault and battery, and for this, and for the seizure of her late husband's effects, she laid her damages at about 66,000*l.* The provincial council were so much convinced of the injustice of this prosecution against the *cadi* and two *muftees*, who had only acted at their request, and under their authority, that they immediately bailed them in the enormous sum of four lacks of rupees, or about 40,000*l.* sterling, which was the bail required by the supreme court. In the course of the trial before the supreme court, it does not appear that the merits of the cause were entered into; but a decision was given by the judges against the nephew, the *cadi*, and the two *muftees*, on a supposed defect of form in the proceedings of the council at Patna, and on a point of English law, never before heard of in India, and not universal even in England, that *Delegatus non potest delegare*; and that the council of Patna ought to

have tried the cause themselves, and not have admitted the report of the doctors of the Mahometan law as the sole rule of their decisions. The property which the *cadi*, and the two *muftees*, had decided upon, as judges of the Patna court, was made the measure of damages assessed against them, as individuals, amounting to the sum of 30,000*l.* sterling, no part of which property ever came into their hands. As these unfortunate men had no other income but the salaries of their offices, the sentence was equivalent to perpetual imprisonment. Their houses and effects were seized by the sheriff's officers, and publicly put up to sale; the *cadi*, who was upwards of sixty years of age, who had been many years in his office, and who was much esteemed and beloved at Patna, died on his road to the common gaol at Calcutta, to which prison the nephew and the two *muftees* were conveyed, a distance of 400 miles from Patna, in consequence of the decision of the supreme court.

This determination was universally and justly exclaimed against, because no evidence whatever appeared that these Mahometan magistrates had been influenced by any improper views, or corrupt motives. It was proved in the supreme court, that the *cadi* and *muftees* were officers of the Patna council, acting officially by their directions; that in this cause they acted by their directions; and that it was usual to refer causes to their inquiry, and to decide upon their report; and that in this case they appear to have determined, and acted, according to the rules of Mahometan law, the only law with which they were supposed to be acquainted.

A bill of indictment against the widow, and some persons charged with

with being her agents, for forging the deeds, under which she claimed the whole of her late husband's effects, was found by the English grand jury; but the indictment was quashed by the court, for some informality, before trial.

A suit was commenced in the supreme court, at the instigation of an English attorney, against Jaggernaut, the principal public officer of a Mahometan court at Dacca, called the Nizamut, from its being the court of the Nazim, the supreme magistrate of the Mogul empire. The action was brought on behalf of Khyru, a servant or messenger, who had been fined and imprisoned in that court for a misdemeanour, in which decision Jaggernaut had concurred in virtue of his office. The officers of the English sheriff endeavoured to arrest Jaggernaut, whilst he was sitting in his official capacity in the Mahometan court. This was considered as a very extraordinary attempt in that country, and occasioned great disturbance. Jaggernaut, and the other officers of the same court, denied the authority of the supreme court over officers of the Nizamut, and refused compliance with the writ. The sheriff's officers then proceeded to force, which the others resisting, a scuffle ensued, and Jaggernaut was dragged out of the court. The soldiers on guard seeing this, immediately interfered to preserve the peace, and one of them was wounded in the scuffle; during which Jaggernaut made his escape. Syed Ally Cawn, the provincial phousdar, or criminal magistrate, having vindicated Jaggernaut, and endeavoured to prevent his arrest, the English under-sheriff forcibly entered his house, by breaking down the gate, accompanied by a large number of

attendants. A fray arising thereupon in the court of the magistrate's house, the father of the magistrate was wounded on the head with a sword by one of the under-sheriff's attendants, and the brother-in-law of the magistrate was very dangerously wounded in the body by the under-sheriff himself with a pistol-shot. The immediate consequence of this outrage upon the Mahometan court of justice, and its officers, was a total cessation of criminal justice throughout the province. In a few days after the arrest of Jaggernaut, four persons were murdered in a shocking manner by some slaves; but no intreaties could prevail upon the judge to take cognizance of the crime, or to give orders for the prosecution of the murderers. The council at Dacca, in their letter to the governor and council at Calcutta, declared "that all criminal justice was at a stand."

An attempt was afterwards made by the supreme court to extend its jurisdiction over the hereditary zemindars of Bengal, and it was this which occasioned a military force to be employed by the governor-general and council to resist the proceedings of the supreme court. These zemindars are a species of tributary lords, or great land-holders, who are answerable to the company for the revenues, or rents of their districts; and, excepting the circumstance of remitting their revenues to the company, they have not the least connection with the English government, language, or laws. A writ, upon an action of debt, was issued out to arrest one of these zemindars, the Rajah of Cossijurah, at his palace. Timely notice was given of this by one of the company's collectors to the governor and council, and application was made

made to protect the zemindar, who had absconded to prevent the disgrace of an arrest. The governor and council being clearly of opinion, that the zemindar was not within the jurisdiction of the supreme court, gave him notice to pay no regard to the writ. The court, however, proceeded to enforce their process, by a writ of sequestration; upon which the natives, who are devotedly attached to their zemindars, rose in his defence, and insulted the sheriff's officers. A reinforcement was held necessary by the sheriff; and eighty-fix men, armed with bludgeons, cutlasses, and muskets, repaired, by his order, to Cossijurah, entered the rajah's house or palace, broke open the women's apartments, which are ever held sacred in that country, profaned his temple, thrust the image which was the object of his worship into a basket, and deposited it, with mixed lumber, under the seal of the court. Such acts are accounted instances of the grossest violation and sacrilege, according to the principles and persuasions of the inhabitants of these provinces, and have never been known to be authorized, with impunity, by the most despotic of their Mahometan rulers. The governor-general and council, from a full conviction of the ruinous tendency of these proceedings to the interests of the East India company, now thought it incumbent upon them to interfere, and to put a stop to these violences. They accordingly sent a military force to apprehend the sheriff's people; and they were all conducted by the company's troops to Calcutta as prisoners. Sir Elijah Impey, and his brother judges, ordered attachments to be issued against the military officer who commanded these troops, and against two other servants of the company. The

governor-general and council immediately transmitted to England an account of this extraordinary situation of things in Bengal.

There were many circumstances which evinced, that the attempts to introduce the laws of Great-Britain into Hindostan would be extremely disagreeable to the natives, and must be finally unsuccessful. The most striking general characteristic of the natives of this country, is an invincible attachment to their usages and customs, which have continued through ages. A prompt and simple mode of judicature has also ever prevailed amongst them, far different from the practice of English courts, and the intricacy of English laws, which they cannot be brought to comprehend. To be committed to gaol upon an action for debt, in default of giving security for more than the amount of the sum sued for, appears to them unjust, cruel, and tyrannical, as conviction before trial is presupposed in the punishment. To be compelled to have their causes tried by rules and orders they do not understand, and in an unknown language; to be prohibited pleading their own causes, and to give themselves up to the guidance of an attorney, a trifling mistake on whose part as to form, or other matters equally unknown to them, may reduce them to beggary; the length of time required for bringing every suit to trial, and the great expences attending every suit; these are only some of the circumstances of which they complain. Matters indeed were so ordered by the English practitioners in Bengal, that suits were three times as expensive there as in England; so that in the Patna cause, the plaintiff's attorney's bill, some time before the conclusion of the cause, amounted to about

four thousand five hundred pounds. But, independently of these considerations, the laws of England are totally incompatible with the customs, manners, sentiments, and religion of the natives of Bengal, and especially of the Gentoos, who constitute eight tenths of the inhabitants, and who are said to be more attached to their manners and customs than any other people upon the face of the earth. Mr. Verelst, who was twenty-one years in India, and who had been governor of Bengal, declared to a committee of the house of commons, "That from every knowledge he had of the Gentoos, he was persuaded, that the Mahometans, who have usually carried their conquests by the edge of the sword, on all former occasions, when they arrived in Hindostan, found it absolutely necessary to sheathe the sword, from a thorough conviction, that they would deluge the country with blood before they could convert one Gentoo to their laws and religion; and that they therefore wisely became the guardians and protectors of the Hindoo religion." He added, "that the Hindoo religion tends to keep its followers in a state of separation from strangers; for it admits of no converts, and consists of more than ninety separate sects, or casts as they are called; that they would suffer death rather than any indignity to their cast; and that the religious rites and institutions, of which they are so tenacious, are not confined to their places of worship, but extended to every occurrence of life."

In a petition which was presented to his Britannic majesty from the native inhabitants of the province of Patna, and which was originally drawn up in the Persian language, are the following passages, strongly

expressive of their aversion to the supreme court, and its proceedings: "When the ordinances of this court of judicature were issued, as they were all contrary to the customs, modes, usages, and institutions of this country, they occasioned terror in us; and day by day, as the powers of this court have become more established, our ruin, uneasiness, dishonour, and discredit have accumulated; till at last we are reduced to such a situation, that we even consider death to us as infinitely preferable to the dread we entertain of the court; for from this court no credit or character is left to us, and we are now driven to the last extremity. Several, who possessed means and ability, deeming flight as their only security, have banished themselves from the country; but bound as we are by poverty and inability, and fettered by the dearest ties of consanguinity, we do not all of us possess the means of flight, nor have we power to abide the oppression of this court."—"If, which God forbid, it should so happen, that this our petition should not be accepted, and should be rejected at the chamber of audience, those amongst us who have power and ability, discarding all affection for our families, will fly to any quarter we can, whilst the remainder, who have no means or ability, giving themselves up with pious resignation to their fate, will sit down in expectation of their death. After this let the soil of this country remain, and the court of justice! Let the court of justice remain upon the earth, or the earth cover it!"

On the 12th of February, 1781, a motion was made in the House of Commons by general Smith, that the petitions from the British inhabitants in Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa,

and

and from the governor-general and council of Bengal, should be referred to a select committee, which should consist of fifteen members, to be chosen by ballot. He introduced this motion by a speech, in which he observed, that the petitions before the house complained of an extension of the jurisdiction of the supreme court of legislature in Bengal, beyond what it was empowered to exercise by act of parliament, or by the royal charter; and he was fully convinced, that this complaint was just, and that it never was the intention of parliament, when the act was passed, to subject the native inhabitants of Bengal to the British laws. It was the extension of their jurisdiction by the judges, which had occasioned all those disputes, which had at length arisen to such a height, that the governor-general and council had thought it necessary to interfere, and forcibly to oppose the proceedings of the court, and then to appeal to parliament by petition for an act of indemnity. He took notice of the severity and injustice which had been exercised by the supreme court in the case of the rajah Nundcomar, who was condemned and executed for an act committed many years before the establishment of the supreme court, and indicted upon an act that could with no reason or justice be construed to extend to the East Indies. He stated also some of the particulars of the Patna cause, and pointed out the extreme injustice and cruelty of that decision. He remarked, that in consequence of the violent proceedings of the supreme court in the case of the rajah of Cossijurah, the utmost anarchy now prevailed in Bengal. The governor-general and council had found themselves reduced to the indispensable necessity

of employing military force, to restrain the jurisdiction assumed by the judges of the supreme court, the authority of which was founded on a British act of parliament. In this extraordinary state of things, no officer in Bengal could know the exact line of his duty. Contrary orders were sent to him by the court of judicature, and by the governor-general and council. He was commanded, by a clause in the royal charter, to be aiding and assisting, and in all things to be obedient to the authority of the supreme court, as he would answer at his peril. He was ordered by the governor-general and council, from whom he received his commission, and who were appointed by parliament to govern the provinces, not to permit the writs of the supreme court to be executed. Disobedience to the one might be construed into a capital crime; and disobedience to the other might subject the officer to the severest sentence of a general court-martial. From every view that could be taken of the state of affairs in Bengal, it was manifest, that they required the immediate attention and consideration of parliament.

Mr. Boughton Rous seconded the motion, and observed, that the vast importance of the subject now before the house must strike every man who reflected, that the British parliament were now about to decide upon the good government of a country, which was 150,000 square miles in extent, and inhabited by various races and tribes of men; diversified in their religion, usages, manners, and modes of thinking; nations, who were enlightened by science and legislation, long before our ancestors had emerged from barbarism. Every generous feeling of the members of that house would be excited, when

they reflected, that the happiness of ten millions of their fellow-creatures now lay at stake before them. The native inhabitants of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, complained of the intolerable violation of their customs and religious observances, occasioned by the jurisdiction of the English court of judicature lately instituted amongst them, such as was never made by any former conquerors, and they prayed for the continuance of their ancient laws. A very large and respectable body of British subjects residing in those countries had also complained of the oppressions of the same court; and the governor-general and council of Bengal, acting under the sanction of parliamentary appointment, had represented to that house, that they had been driven to the necessity of employing a military force to oppose the violent proceedings of the judges, and praying to have an indemnity for the measures which they had been obliged to adopt, in order to secure those dominions which were entrusted to their government. All these distractions had arisen from an act passed in the 13th year of the reign of his present majesty. But had the powers given to the judges by that act been exercised with temper and moderation, had the jurisdiction of the court not been improperly extended, and had violence been avoided where the law was dubious, much good might have resulted. At least, his majesty's court might have been less obnoxious to the East India company, to those whom the legislature had entrusted with the administration of its affairs, and to those who live under its protection.

At the time when the act passed, by which the supreme court was established in India, it was the

expectation of many good men, that an English court of law with superior powers would completely rescue the native inhabitants of Bengal from oppression, and excite the gratitude of that people. But the consequences had been far different. The introduction of English law had occasioned a scene of universal discord, and families had been torn asunder by the proceedings of its practitioners. The actions and dealings of men between one another, formerly done under those ideas of good faith and honour, which for ages had regulated their conduct, were now to be tried by a new test of rectitude. The ignorant natives of India were now informed, that law was one thing, and that equity was another; a distinction which no linguist could interpret in any language of that country. English bailiffs were scattered like locusts over India, and its inhabitants were dragged down to a distance of 500 miles from their friends and families; their customs were disregarded; their ancient distinctions, civil and religious, annihilated; the prince reduced to the level of his slaves; their houses disgraced; the apartments of their women invaded by ruffians, armed with the warrants of the supreme court; their temples polluted; and such outrages committed against them, as never disgraced the government even of their Mahometan conquerors. Processes had also been issued against the zemindars, the hereditary nobility, and landholders of the country; and it had been imagined, by the judges of the supreme court, and their officers, that men, whose ancestors had led forth armies from their own lands, who had exercised a civil and criminal jurisdiction, and who possessed a tract of ten or twelve thousand

thousand square miles, would quietly submit to a destruction of all the honours and dignities, which were vested in them by the constitution of the Mogul empire. But so great was the devotion of the inhabitants to the zemindars, many of whom might more properly be termed tributary princes than proprietors of land, that a general discontent among them, and even a revolt, might be the natural consequence of the conduct of the English judges.

Mr. Rous then made some observations upon the manner in which the ancient Romans had governed the nations whom they conquered. In all subjection of territory contiguous to her own, Rome gave her own laws, if the people wished to receive them, or she allured them by immunities and honourable distinctions. Thus she assimilated all the petty states of Italy to her laws and manners, till the whole peninsula became one nation. But in her distant conquests, she pursued a very different policy. In these she was satisfied to hold the supreme government, to possess the revenues and the military power, leaving the inhabitants to conduct their internal police by their own native magistrates and laws, and avoiding any insult to the religion or prejudices of the vanquished. It would be much better for Great Britain to imitate in this respect the conduct of the ancient Romans, than to persist in rash and injudicious attempts to impose the laws of England upon the natives of India.

We need not, Mr. Rous proceeded to observe, communicate our laws to the inhabitants of Hindostan, from any apprehension that they were without laws of their own. They were possessed of laws, and voluminous comments upon them.

They had laws, and even written laws, before our ancestors became known in the annals of history. Their laws were certainly very dissimilar from our's, but they were suitable to their climate and disposition, and blended in all their intercourse and concerns of life, and they had been handed down to them from immemorial usage. As the contingency of events had rendered those people subject to our dominion, we should strive to enjoy the benefits of it, with the smallest possible regret to them. What was it that we wanted from the inhabitants of India? We wanted to enjoy their trade, to maintain possession of their country, and to remain masters of its revenue. We also wanted the fidelity and affection of the people, to supply our armies with recruits, and to strengthen us against the efforts of our rival powers in Europe. All these we might obtain, if we would only allow the natives of India to go on in the track of their forefathers, with an undiminished preservation of all their ancient practices and distinctions. But if it were even expedient to introduce the British laws into India, the difficulty and danger of the attempt might reasonably deter us. There were now about five thousand British subjects in Bengal. The natives were formerly estimated by lord Clive at fifteen millions: but ten millions seemed to be a computation nearer to the truth. Could it then be rational to suppose, that five thousand men would be able to force a system upon ten millions, which they were disinclined to receive? or that the native troops would assist in committing such a violence upon the feelings of their countrymen and relations? It was not to be expected: and it was therefore absolutely necessary,

cessary, that the British parliament should immediately endeavour to redress the grievances of the people of that country, as the only probable means of securing our possessions there.

Lord North concurred in opinion, that the petitions, which were the present subject of debate, well deserved the serious attention of the house. He also admitted, that if the fact were true, that the judicial and political powers were in arms against each other in India, the house should take measures to put an end to so dangerous a contest as soon as possible. At the same time he thought it highly incumbent on the house to consider, that the enquiry, on which they were about to enter, was of a most delicate nature. The conduct of the judges of the supreme court of judicature, and the constitution of the court, were so intimately connected, that it was hardly possible to separate them entirely. The one, as it were, ran into the other; and both were so mixed and blended, that it would be a very difficult matter to pronounce upon the constitution of the court, without in some measure adverting to the conduct of the judges. It behoved the house therefore to steer as cautiously as possible between these two objects. To ascertain facts, tending to prove, that the jurisdiction itself ought either to be abolished entirely, put under new restrictions, or better defined than it already was, might be both expedient and necessary. But it would be unjust in the extreme to go into a crimination, much more to a condemnation, of the judges; who, from the nature of the case, could not already have been heard, as to the facts which might come out in the course of the enquiry, nor could they be heard

now. His lordship said, that he had himself had the honour of bringing the act into parliament, by which the supreme court of judicature in Bengal was established; but it certainly was not, at the time when it was under the consideration of the house, either his idea, or that of the house, that this court of judicature should become the source of misery, injustice, or oppression. Much less was it meant to extend the British laws in their unintelligible state throughout that vast continent; for unintelligible they must appear to the natives of a country in which they had never been promulgated. Neither was it designed, that the supreme court should swallow up all other jurisdiction, or take away the power of those courts, to which the persons resident in the country had for years been accustomed to resort; and which had been proved, from long experience, fully competent to a substantial administration of justice, in those cases wherein their interference had usually been desired. The sole view of that house had been to establish a court that would hold out equal justice to the native, and to the European; a court which was much wanted at the time, and in the constitution of which the house had been to a man unanimous; on the idea that it was politic, humane, and just, that a court so constituted should exist. His lordship concluded with assenting to the motion made by general Smith. But an objection, rather curious, was started by sir Richard Sutton. He said, that the petitions criminated the judges, and that they were sent over without the consent of the judges, which of itself had a very suspicious appearance, and ought to excite the jealousy of the house, as to the fairness

fairness of the statement of the facts alleged.

Mr. Wrexall expressed his high approbation of the motion introduced by general Smith; and wished to see the attention of government turned more to India than it had been. He said, that to whatever part of the empire he directed his view, excepting India, nothing but scenes of calamity, distress, and civil commotion, presented themselves, under a thousand various and accumulating forms. But in India, victory, glory, commerce, wealth, and all the resources of a great nation, were visible. He contrasted the splendour of our arms in that part of the world, with our losses and disgraces in America. But, he remarked, that under this flattering and dazzling exterior, lurked a thousand hidden seeds of political disease and death. He expatiated on the critical and dangerous situation of our affairs in Bengal; and expressed his disapprobation of the principles on which the English court of judicature was originally erected in that country. The most fatal consequences, he said, would incontestably result from it, if it were not timely suppressed, or at least limited and restricted in its powers. He remarked on the folly and absurdity of an island, situated as England was, in the 50th degree of northern latitude, and on the verge of the Atlantic ocean, whose inhabitants, the descendants of Saxons, Danes, and Normans, had scarcely yet, in a course of ages, been able to refine their barbarous jurisprudence, and to adapt it to their own country; on such a people, in the insolence of conquest, or the ignorance of misinformation, transplanting their courts of justice, and their acts of parliament, to a

country situated under the tropic and the equator, at the distance of five thousand miles; to a country totally dissimilar in religion, in laws, in customs, and in feelings of every nature, and which had been so from the remotest antiquity. This was a conduct which had no precedent in the annals of Rome, or of any nation of antiquity, renowned for policy and wisdom. Rome opened her generous arms to all the conquered nations; she adopted, with a masculine and conciliating policy, all the customs; religious or civil, of the vanquished provinces; she respected even their prejudices; and she consequently was beloved, and revered, on the banks of the Euphrates, as much as on the banks of the Arno, or the Tyber.

He proceeded to observe, that every consequence of popular tumult and insurrection was now to be dreaded in Bengal; so that, unless some speedy and effectual remedy were applied, that country would become a scene of massacre. Nor was it only in Bengal that we were menaced with convulsions and insurrections; Madras, he said, called aloud for some immediate reform. The avowed factions of the nabob, and the rajah of Tanjore, distracted and divided that presidency. Bombay, which, after a century of sloth and inactivity, had effected some important conquests, was menaced by the Mahrattas, who overhung the island, and might severely revenge the losses they had lately sustained on that side of India. Besides these particular evils, other dangers menaced India in general. The vast extent of coast, from cape Comorin to the Jagrenaut Pagodas, was inadequately guarded by the military establishment of Madras, which could not possibly defend a coast of a thousand miles

miles in length, if it should ever be attacked. The Mahrattas, he said, were very powerful, and much to be dreaded. Hyder Ally, who had driven our troops before him in 1769, and compelled us to sign an ignominious peace at the gates of Madras, was the friend of France, and was still terrible in arms, though declined in years. The French had a large force in the island of Mauritius. The Dutch were strong in Ceylon, and stronger in Java and at Batavia. The Spaniards occupied

the Philippine islands, and could annoy all the trade of Canton, and to China. Matters being thus circumstanced in the East Indies, it was absolutely necessary, that parliament should immediately interfere in the affairs of that country; which, if proper regulations were adopted there, might still be rendered a great source of riches and glory to Great Britain. After some farther debate, the motion of general Smith was agreed to by the house.

#### C H A P. VIII.

*Motion made in the House of Commons by Mr. Burke, for Leave to bring in again his Bill for the better Regulation of his Majesty's civil Establishment, and for the Promotion of public Oeconomy, which had been rejected by the preceding Parliament. The Motion agreed to. The Bill read the first time. Debate on the second Reading. The Bill rejected by the House.*

WE have seen, in the preceding volume of our work, that a plan of reform in the constitution of several parts of the public œconomy, which was communicated to parliament by a gentleman of distinguished abilities, and uncommon powers of eloquence, and which was highly and deservedly applauded, was, notwithstanding, after much debate, rejected by the house. That gentleman, however, as a new parliament was now assembled, resolved to make another effort in favour of national œconomy. Accordingly, on the 15th of February, Mr. Burke moved, “That leave be given to bring in a bill, for the better regulation of his majesty's civil establishment, and of certain public offices; for the limitation of pensions, and the suppression of certain useless, expensive, and inconvenient places: and for applying the monies saved there-

by to the public service.” In the speech by which he introduced this motion, Mr. Burke observed, that he had been encouraged again to propose his plan of œconomy to the house, in consequence of the votes passed on the 6th of April, 1780, by which it was declared, that the influence of the crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished: that it was competent to that house to examine and correct abuses in the expenditure of the civil list revenues, as well as in every other branch of the public revenue, whenever it should appear expedient to the wisdom of the house so to do; and that it was the duty of that house to provide, as far as might be, an immediate and effectual redress of the abuses complained of in the petitions presented to that house from the different countries, cities, and towns of the kingdom.

dom. He considered these resolutions, which had been made in the last session of the last parliament, as a valuable legacy bequeathed to the public, and an atonement for the criminal fervility which had marked and stigmatized their previous conduct. The people of this country had a right to expect from their present representatives that which was declared to be necessary by their predecessors. The people, from every part of the country, had declared, that retrenchment and public œconomy were requisite to the existence of the state, and that the influence of the crown was become dangerous and alarming in its extent. The last object was of the most serious importance; for it was by means of this influence that profusion and extravagance were increased. It was the creating and created power; influence and profusion were mutually dependant on each other, and by their joint force and assistance were supported and increased. The people had declared the necessity of diminishing that influence, which had rendered the two houses of parliament accessory to the power of the crown, instead of being a balance against it. It was the duty of a wise legislature to listen to the applications and the complaints of the people. Like a skilful physician, they were to feel the pulse of the patient, and having discovered the seat and the nature of the disorder, they were to apply the remedy. They were not to withhold it, because the people were patient under suffering, or because they were clamorous. They were to study the temper, to look into the constitution, and the state of the governed; and, watching their motions, they were to apply the remedy at the proper season. When the petitions were presented to the

house, in the last parliament, there were general meetings of the people in every county and city of the kingdom: they were legal and grave in their deportment; they were peaceable and loyal. Some men in that house had, indeed, pretended to charge them with illegality in their proceedings, and had urged that these public meetings tended to disorder, and were unfit to be suffered. Without entering into any refutation of a charge which he considered as ill-founded and ridiculous, he would only say, that whether they were so or not, it became a wise and prudent legislature to attend to the reality and the body of the complaint, and not to the form or the irregularity in which it was made.

He proceeded to observe, that the plan of œconomy which he had before proposed, and which he was now again desirous of offering to the consideration of parliament, was in perfect conformity with the general wishes of the people. It was a plan by which there would arise a saving to the public of at least two hundred thousand pounds a year. But what he valued more than all this saving, was, the destruction of an undue influence over the minds of fifty members of parliament in both houses. The plan had been received by the minister in the last parliament with apparent approbation. He paid compliments to the principle, but he opposed it by detail. At first, crowded houses were seen in every stage of the business, and there was an appearance of conviction on the minds of men. They had no objection to the abstract and general propositions, but when they came down to specific reform, they left him and his cause. The squeamishness of the house was such, that after swallowing those parts of the plan against which

which something might plausibly have been urged, in respect to the use, the shew, or the antiquity of the offices to be abolished, they objected to other parts, for which the most ingenious advocate could not advance an argument. They first dwindled off from one question, and then silently stole away from another, till at last the whole was permitted to moulder and shrink imperceptibly from the view, and he was obliged, after much fatigue, and no success, to give it up, with the mortifying reflection, that his own labours, and those of the house, had produced no benefit to his country.

Mr. Burke afterwards observed, that it had been formerly advanced, in favour of that court influence which it was the object of his bill to diminish, "That such a principle was necessary for the support of government; and that it was the aim of our constitution to give in influence what was lost in prerogative." He was very willing so far to admit that doctrine, as to allow that no minister would be uniformly supported without some kind of influence: for such was the diversity of human opinion, that no abilities could always convince and guide without some bias in favour of the speaker. But there were different kinds of influence; one kind of influence, for instance, was that derived from superior wisdom and virtue, which never failed to inspire reverence and respect, and by the exercise of which any minister might command support. Another kind was derived from the power of distributing honours and emoluments; and this might be employed with equal success in any hands, good or bad. The former of these influences he readily admitted to be necessary to the support of government, but the

latter he must ever deny to be either necessary or justifiable: for the influence of wisdom and virtue would always lead to wise and virtuous measures, but that of corruption to corrupt ones. The last was the influence of bribery, and deserved to be called by no other name. The power of distributing places, pensions, and honours, having been always in the hands of government, was confounded by many with the idea of government itself; and it was thought that the one could not subsist without the other; and consequently, that the power of the state was weakened by a diminution of such instruments. They mistook the emoluments of government for government itself, and considered it as a mere cabinet, containing a chest of drawers filled with sweet things. To be influenced by an admiration of wisdom and virtue, was to possess these qualities; but the influence of bribery he considered to be as pernicious to freedom as open force. It was a common remark, that all free countries were corrupted by bribery. When virtue, which was the spirit of commonwealths and of all free states, was gone, liberty could not long survive. A few were bought to impose slavery on their fellow-subjects, and the price paid for their services was the only difference between a state possessing the forms of freedom, and one openly despotic. An undue influence preyed on the very vitals of a constitution, and eat up the entrails, while the outward parts remained. Nothing could be more opposite to good government, than a government by court influence. Government was intended for the promotion of the interest of the empire at large, and not for the advantage of the rulers. Government was as different from  
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places, as services were different from salaries. It was the nature of influence to produce a supine negligence in government. Influence threw government asleep, and it sometimes awoke by fits and starts, after it had relaxed the steady reins of virtue, into acts of the greatest cruelty and ferocity. It led to anarchy and confusion. By influence and anarchy together, a mortification was always produced, which was at last cut away by the sharp knife of despotic power.

Sundry other arguments were urged by Mr. Burke in favour of his motion : he maintained, that if the members of that house considered themselves as the representatives and agents of the people, they were bound by every tie of honour, and of virtue, to promote a plan of national œconomy, and especially in the time of a dangerous and expensive war, when one foreign enemy succeeded to another, and when the guilty rashness of ministers had leagued contending states against us. If the members of that house considered themselves as the mere creatures of the crown, constituted, fed, and dependent on the court, it would still be their duty, and ought to be their inclination, to advise the sovereign to œconomy and retrenchment. A plan of œconomy would advance the real interests even of the prince : it would enable him to make his war a war of exertion, that his peace might be honourable and secure ; and if he divested himself of profusion, he would be the better able to retain his power, and to make a splendid provision for his numerous offspring. He hoped that the house, if they meant to give countenance and attention to his plan of œconomy,

would do it with fairness and candour, and not, with insidious respect in its outset, tempt it to a death of slow and lingering torture. He solicited the minister, if he meant ultimately to give a death-stroke to his plan, to save him and the house much fatigue, and the nation much anxiety and disappointment, by strangling it in its birth, and to be, at least for one day in his life, a decisive minister.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Duncombe ; after which Lord North rose, and said, that he would very candidly declare, that his opinion on the subject was not at all altered from what he entertained the last year, and that though he did not disapprove of the plan *in toto*, yet the parts which appeared to him to be proper to be adopted, bore so small a comparison with the whole of the very comprehensive scheme, that he should be obliged to oppose it in some future stage of the bill. But he did not think it would be decent or candid for him, upon his own private opinion, to set his face against the bill in its first stage, by opposing its introduction, since there were many new members in the house, who, though they might have a general knowledge of the subject, could not be properly informed upon it, to determine what line of conduct to pursue, until the first reading of the bill, when he presumed that the honourable gentleman with whom it originated, would move the house to order it to be printed, by which means the members would be put in possession of all the necessary information ; and then his lordship added, it would become his duty to suggest such objections and observations to the house, as might occur to him. The house  
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then resolved, that leave be given to bring in the bill on the 19th of that month.

On the same day the duke of Bolton moved, in the house of peers, that the lords should be summoned, on a future day, to take into consideration the causes of the capture of the East and West India fleets in the preceding August; but, after some debate, his grace's motion was withdrawn.

On the 19th of the month, Mr. Burke's bill was read the first time; but on the 26th, when a motion was made for its being read the second time, it was opposed by Mr. De Grey, who observed, that he viewed it as a bill the principle of which would be more injurious than the object would be beneficial. If œconomy were the only purpose of the bill, it would be impertinent in him, or in any man, to say a word against it. The necessity was evident; œconomy was at all times useful and proper; but in the present situation of this country, involved in a most expensive and calamitous war, it was peculiarly and essentially necessary. But œconomy was not to be purchased at the expense of principle; it was not to be procured by the violation of sacred rights; he was not willing to commit outrage to find resource, nor to destroy the constitution to save the country. It was on this ground that he must oppose it; he disapproved of the means by which the end was to be procured. The bill pointed out and connected the objects of the reform, as well as the manner of carrying the plan into execution, so far as the plan extended; the whole system therefore was before the house; and being thus enabled to compare the principle with the object, the means with

the end, he considered the one as charged with much more injury, than the other could be productive of benefit. The bill coupled two objects, which, in his opinion, ought to have been kept separate and distinct; the resumption of a part of the civil list, and the regulation of the public offices. With regard to the first of these objects, he should speak of it with the utmost delicacy, because he thought that nothing-but the last stage of political necessity could justify the house in applying to a remedy so sacred. That the house was competent to inquire into, and correct all abuses in the public expenditure, and in the management of the money granted by parliament for the services of the state, was beyond a doubt. It was an inherent, fundamental right, vested by the constitution in the legislature. But that the civil list revenue was to be ranked under that head, and to be included under the same power, was a question which yet remained to be tried: a question on which he trusted the house would not be over anxious to determine. The civil list revenue of the crown was granted by parliament in the most solemn and substantial form, and granted at the same time for purposes constitutional and necessary. To resume that grant could not be done, in his opinion, without the violation of a solemn engagement; an engagement which had been made with the best of motives, after the most serious deliberation. The house had not at any time interfered with the privy purse. Even the secret committee of 1741 had held it sacred. The act for establishing the king's civil list passed in the first year of every reign, and was granted to him for life: 800,000*l.* per annum had been granted

## FOREIGN HISTORY.

granted to his present majesty at the commencement of his reign; and an augmentation of 100,000*l.* a year had since been made, also granted for life. Such was the bargain made with his majesty in lieu of the crown lands. The fit time to have agitated such a question as the present, was, when this additional sum was desired; but while the words "for life" stood in these acts, he should never consider the civil list in any other point of view, than that of sacred private property; as much so as the estate of any private gentleman. A pension bill had been proposed to the house, and rejected, because it tended to break the engagements of parliament; because it tended to resume that which had been granted, under solemn faith, for a certain time. The dignity of the crown was connected with its independence; but by the resumption required by the bill, the parliament rendered the crown dependent upon that house; a situation at once humiliating and unconstitutional. The object of resumption should at least be adequate to the injury; but in this case it was not so. The saving proposed by the reduction of offices and of places was immaterial, when considered as a public object, and when compared with the expenditure and the necessities of the state. At a time when we were obliged, by political necessities, to go into great, and indeed enormous expences, it was a trifling consideration, that by the reduction of a great number of places and pensions, a saving should be made of 200,000*l.* a year. This was not a sufficient reason for violating the property of individuals, which had been rendered sacred by acts of parliament, and considered by themselves, and by the world, to be

as secure and permanent as freehold estates. When pensions or places were bestowed on individuals, as rewards for meritorious services, or tributes due to extraordinary talents, he could not but consider them as sacred property, not incident to resumption, nor within the controul of parliament; until they had first declared and provided by a special statute, that their grants of places and pensions for life meant to continue in force no longer than the parliament should please. It was a resumption which the house could not make either with decency or justice.

Mr. De Grey then proceeded to observe, that the influence of the crown had been spoken of, as too formidable for the liberties of the people: but this was said without being proved. It should also be remembered, that a sum very little inferior to that with which the crown was now invested, was granted at the time of the Revolution; and which, without doubt, after the most mature deliberation, was esteemed to be no more than equal to the power of prerogative which had been abolished. Seven hundred thousand pounds were granted at that time; and at two different periods since, parliament had recognized the grant, and added two hundred thousand pounds to the original sum. This was confirming the idea of the independence of the crown; and it took away, in his opinion, the power of resumption. It might be considered, as a question not of power, nor of right, but a question of propriety. The house should inquire, whether the object was adequate to the end; whether the resumption was a thing which would produce valuable retrenchments,  
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without giving a shock to the constitution; whether the diminution of the respect, the grandeur, and the pomp of the sovereign, was not an injury to the nation much more material than the revenue which could possibly arise from such a measure. If all these things were duly considered, he was of opinion, that the bill would be rejected by the house.

The hon. John Townshend then rose, and said, that he should give his most hearty assent to a bill, that had for its object consequences of such great national importance as the saving of public money, the applications of that saving to the use of the public, and a reduction of the increased and increasing influence of the crown. But though these were great objects, the bill had another, if possible, still more important object in view. For when the bill had received the royal assent, it would prove to that house, and to the world, that the crown really felt for the distresses of the kingdom; that it was unwilling to avail itself of too liberal an augmentation of revenue; that it was desirous to remit to distress what might be supposed to have flowed from prosperity. It would be the bond to connect together more firmly the affections of his Majesty and his people. It would prove, that we have all one common union, one common happiness, and one common fortune: that his Majesty could not wish to plunge the country into wars contrary to its interest, since the crown meant to sink its own revenue in proportion to the diminution of the property of the subject. The bill was objected to on the principle of its being a resumption on the crown; but he had always understood, that parliamen-

tary resumptions were no new proceedings. Undoubtedly it was an ungracious task: it was irksome and painful to that house, to be obliged to resort to the revenue of the crown for assistance, even in a time of extreme need. But though it was painful, it was proper. It was strictly conformable, not only to the inherent virtue and authority of the house, but also to the example of precedent and custom. Resumptions had been common and frequent in former periods of our history. From the time of Henry VI. to Henry VIII. not a reign passed without parliamentary resumptions; and these were not merely resumptions of grants made by preceding sovereigns, but of grants made by the king himself for the time being. In the reign of Henry VIII. an act of parliament passed for the abolition of sundry needless offices and unnecessary pensions, in order to enable that prince to defray the expenses of a war against the Scots. At the present crisis, if the people were reduced to the necessity of applying to the crown for a retrenchment of expence, it was a task imposed upon them by the king's ministers, whose misconduct and extravagance had reduced the nation to a situation which had rendered œconomy necessary. It was from these ministers that the application had sprung, who had madly involved us in impolitic wars, first with our own subjects, and afterwards with the half of Europe. Besides the advantage of œconomy, the bill had also a tendency to reduce the influence of the crown, which was a very important consideration. He would not weary the patience of the house by any attempt to prove the existence of improper influence. The journals  
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of the house had recorded the fact ; and, if they had not done so, yet every serious mind now yielded an honest confession of the truth of it. It was necessary to the reputation of the house, that they should on that occasion assert the right, and convince the world that they would do the duty of parliament. The nation had been loud in their clamours against them. It was said, that they were shamefully corrupt ; that they were the creatures of the minister ; and instead of being the constitutional guardians of the people, were their worst enemies ; and that they were at once the creators, and the creatures of influence. It was exceedingly becoming the House of Commons, and every national assembly, to attend to the suspicions that were formed of their conduct, and to endeavour to crush them, by removing the cause. It was their duty to set a virtuous and an honourable example of retrenchment ; by which public spirit would be fortified, and the nation be united in one common idea of common interest. It was their duty to point out this conduct to their sovereign, since it was necessary to his true dignity and grandeur, that he should teach by example, how to sacrifice private enjoyments to public welfare ; that he should shew his subjects, that he took an interest in their sufferings ; that he called upon them for no exertion to which he was not anxious to contribute, and that he would participate in their sufferings as well as in their success. Such conduct would be the means of general conciliation : it would restore character to parliament, and would unite the sovereign with his subjects ; and such conduct it was their duty and their interest to adopt.

Mr. Percival maintained, that it was highly unbecoming, as well as unjust, in that house, to attempt to seize on the civil list revenue of the crown, and reduce the sovereign to a state of humiliating dependency. It derogated from the dignity of the crown, and was a measure that would betray the weakness more than the policy of the country. He would never consent to outrage the sovereign with a requisition of his fortune. If retrenchments were to be made in the royal household, they ought to be left to the voluntary surrender of the crown. If such measures were proper, they ought to originate with the crown itself. That house ought not to prevent the exercise of royal benevolence. It was at once ungracious and improper, to enter into the royal apartments, and new-model the arrangements of state. The civil list revenue had been granted by parliament for an adequate consideration, and upon an honourable and advantageous bargain. To resume it would be a breach of fidelity, as well as a flagrant attack upon the crown.

Lord Nugent declared himself to be a warm and zealous friend to public economy, without which, he was fully persuaded, this country could not be saved. Economy, in our public expenditure, was as necessary as firmness and wisdom in our councils, or as valour and conduct in our expeditions and enterprises. But it did not follow, that parliament should embrace every economical project that was offered, however plausibly introduced, however respectable the quarter from which it came. He had a very high esteem for the honourable gentleman by whom the bill was introduced ; he was convinced of his integrity, and of his love of his country ;

country; and that his abilities, great as they were, were not superior to his virtue. But he did not approve of his bill. The object of the bill was to introduce an unconstitutional innovation; and to resume from the crown what had been solemnly granted to his Majesty for life. Would that house consent to degrade the sovereign, diminish the lustre of the crown, and reduce his Majesty to a worse situation than that of any private gentleman in the kingdom? Would they deprive him of the management of his income, and put him into the situation of a minor, by obliging him to submit to the tutelage of parliament? The bill interfered with the privy purse, and took away the independency of the crown. To admit it to pass, would be to reduce his Majesty to the condition of a mere titular monarch, a king without power, a king but in name, like the king of Poland; or a sovereign like the doge of Venice, altogether dependent on others, and subject to their capricious controul. Such a measure would essentially wound and injure the constitution; for each branch of the legislature, each of the three estates, ought to have its share of independency; and surely the first estate, that which was clothed with the supreme executive power, should never be rendered less glorious, less independent, than the other two. The real beauty and excellence of our constitution, so much admired and envied, was its nice equipoise, that equal balance, which gave it stability, and at once secured the crown in its legal rights, and the people in their freedom and immunities. But the present bill went directly to move the balance, and to destroy the equipoise.

Mr. William Pitt, son to the late celebrated earl of Chatham, and who appears to inherit not only the name, but the genius of his father; now rose, for the first time, and delighted the house with an eloquent speech in favour of the bill, delivered in a very graceful manner, and with uncommon energy. He began with declaring, that when a subject of so much importance was under discussion in that house, he thought it the duty of every member of parliament to speak his sentiments upon it; that his constituents might be able to form a judgment how far he was likely to prove a faithful representative, and whether he avowed himself a true friend to the liberties of the people, or meant to uphold the influence of the crown, in its present increased and dangerous extent. He observed, that he perfectly approved of a sentiment which had been thrown out, by a gentleman who opposed the bill, that such a plan of œconomy as that proposed by the bill should have originated with the crown itself. It ought to have come from his Majesty's ministers. It would have come with more grace, it would have come with more benefit to the public service, if it had sprung from the royal breast. His Majesty's ministers ought to have come forward, and proposed a reduction in the civil list, and thereby given the people the consolation of knowing, that their sovereign participated in the sufferings of the empire, and presented an honourable example of retrenchment in an hour of general difficulty. They ought to have consulted the glory of their royal master, and seated him in the hearts of his people, by abating from magnificence what was due to necessity. Instead of waiting for the slow re-

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quest of a burthened people, they should have courted popularity by a voluntary surrender of useless revenue. Far more agreeable would it have been to that house to accede, than to propose ; much more pleasing to have observed the free exercise of royal bounty, than to make the appeal, and point out what was right, or what was necessary. But if the ministry failed to do this ; if they interfered between the benignity of the sovereign, and the distresses of his people, and stopped the tide of royal sympathy, was that a reason why the house of Commons, his Majesty's public counsellors, should desist from a measure so congenial to the paternal feelings of the sovereign, so applicable to the wants and distresses of the people ? The natural beneficence of the royal heart would be gratified by the seasonable remittance ; and it was surely no reason, that because the ministry failed to do their duty, the house should cease to attend to theirs. It had been agreed on all hands, that the burthens under which the people groaned, burthens that were more likely to be increased than diminished, were of a degree of pressure that was scarcely tolerable ; and that every man, who pointed out a practicable mode of relief, would deserve well of his country. The bill now before the house met this idea completely ; its effect would be salutary ; its operation easy. What was it that it aimed at ? Not the taking from the crown any one necessary part of its expence ; not the abridgment of what was useful, or what was honourable ; not the smallest degradation of its glory ; but a mere curtailment of useless pageantry, of empty shew, and idle pomp. It was undoubtedly an un-

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pleasant thing for that house to take any step, that tended to lessen the income of his Majesty. Attached to the person of the sovereign, by principles of the truest loyalty, and the purest affection, they could not, with sensations of comfort and ease, proceed with a bill of such a nature as that which was now before the house. But then it should be remembered, that their constituents were paying enormous taxes, that the national distress was generally felt, and that the extreme necessity of the times called upon the crown to take its share in the public misfortunes, and to contribute something at least towards the public expence. He had ever considered it to be the duty of a member of parliament, to watch over and guard the liberties of the people with a jealous, and an unabating attention and assiduity ; but the first of all the duties of a member of that house, was the duty of watching over and guarding the property of his constituents. Would they then shew themselves worthy of the confidence of the people, if they readily acceded to every new impost that was proposed by the minister, without taking one step at least to convince them, that at the same time that they thought themselves bound to consent to farther additions to the national burthens, they took especial care, that the crown should participate in the expences of the war, and that the royal income should suffer in some proportion to the diminution of income daily experienced by his Majesty's subjects. Exclusively of the general claim upon the house, to adopt the bill on the ground of justice to their constituents, the petitions, that had been presented last year, pointed the measure out as immediately agreeable

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ble to the sentiments of the people ; and surely no man would be hardy enough to assert, that when the people petitioned parliament in a peaceable and constitutional manner, it became that house to disregard their prayers. One great object of all the petitions which had been presented, was, a recommendation of œconomy in the public expenditure ; and one great object of the present bill was, to carry into effect the wishes of the people, by introducing a substantial system of œconomy. Besides the benefits which would result from the bill in this respect, it had another object still more important, and that was, the reduction of the influence of the crown ; an influence, which was the more to be dreaded, because more secret in its attacks, and more concealed in its operations, than the power of prerogative.

Mr. Pitt then adverted to the objection that had been made to the bill, that the saving proposed by it was a matter of trifling consideration, when measured by the necessities, or the expences of the time. It proposed to bring no more than 200,000*l.* a year into the public coffers, and that sum was insignificant, in the public account, when compared with the millions we spend. This was surely the most singular and unaccountable species of reasoning that ever was attempted in any assembly. The calamities of the crisis were too great to be benefited by œconomy ; our expences were so enormous, that it was ridiculous to attend to little matters of account. We have spent so many millions, that thousands are beneath our consideration. We were obliged to spend so much, that it was foolish to think of saving

any. By such strange language as this, had the excellent bill now before the house been opposed. But it had also been said, that the king's civil list was an irrefuseable parliamentary grant, and it had even been compared to a private freehold. The weakness of such arguments was their best refutation. It was true, that parliament had made the grant of the civil list revenue specially for his Majesty's life. But for what purpose was this ? Was it merely for his Majesty's private use ? No man, he was confident, would venture to assert any such thing. The civil list revenue was granted to his Majesty as the executive part of the state, to support the government, to pay the judges, to pay the other great officers, and to maintain the grandeur, the dignity, and the lustre of the crown, in which every one of his subjects had an interest. His Majesty, in fact, was the trustee of the public, subject to parliamentary supervision ; and though *tutelage* was a harsh term, surely no man would say, that it was any degradation to a British prince to be under the *guardianship* of a British parliament. The parliament had made the grant, and undoubtedly had a right to rescind it, when the necessity of affairs rendered such a resumption so necessary as it was at present. It would be an unpleasant task to investigate the great difference that there was between the wealth of the empire when that revenue was granted, and the wealth at the present time. It would serve, however, to shew, that the sum of revenue which was necessary to the support of the common dignity of crown and people at that time, ought now to be reduced, as the public

public necessities had increased. The people who granted that revenue, under the circumstances of the occasion, were justified in resuming a part of it, under the pressing demand of an altered situation. Upon the whole, he entirely approved of the present bill; he felt himself, as a citizen of this country, and a member of that house, highly indebted to the author of it; and as he considered it as essential to the being and the independence of his country, he would give it the most determined support.

Mr. Wraxall opposed the bill, and laboured to prove, that the influence of the crown ought not to be diminished. He maintained, that at the Revolution prerogative was abrogated; and he considered the influence of the crown as being very properly introduced in its stead. He declaimed on the great danger of popular encroachments, and democratic violence; and said, that those who loved the English people, and their liberties, must assemble round the throne. They must defend it from all attacks, as well from innovating projects of dangerous, but well-meaning theorists, as from the open assaults of its avowed enemies, or otherwise the constitution itself would fall; for the stability of the throne and the security of the people were inseparable.

Lord Maitland complimented Mr. Burke, and his bill, in high terms, and said, that he was, perhaps, the only man in the country whose powers were equal to so systematic and generous a reform. He had connected liberality with interest. He had made it policy to be generous. It was no little, narrow, wretched scheme of retrenchment, breaking

in upon the dignity of the crown, or the honour of the nation; but a great and beautiful arrangement of office, calculated to ornament the court, instead of degrading it. It destroyed the underwood of grandeur, the bushes under which the serpent of influence lurked, and from which, unseen, it stung and tainted the dignity of the constitution. It cut away the contaminating excrescences, and by this means it fructified, instead of injuring the tree itself. It gave stability to power, by relieving it from the burthens by which it was oppressed. It was calculated to strip off the poisonous shirt with which the Hercules of the constitution was invested, and in which he laboured in all the agonies of death. Economy was the remedy to which we must apply. It was the sovereign specific, by which we might yet avert the consequences of consumptive decline. Those who objected to the present bill did in fact declare, that economy was not necessary, or not proper, and that corrupt influence ought to be maintained. It was idle and absurd to dispute the existence of undue influence, which could not be seriously doubted of, by any man in that house. It had been the infamous task of the ministers to bribe those men whom they could not persuade. The mad and ruinous American war had exhausted our resources; but the insinuating powers of corruption were still employed to induce parliament to consent to a continuance of that war. Those men, who had acted without system in the operations of government, had been both ingenious and successful in the management of parliament. Such was now the state of corruption, that no man could live and think in this country, without

such irrefragable proofs pressing on his feelings every moment, as must necessarily convince him, however incredulous, of this truth, that the influence of the crown had enormously increased; and that man must be under an extraordinary delusion, who could really suppose, that it ought not to be diminished. As to the present bill, though it was calculated to remove corrupt influence, it had no tendency to lessen the honourable power of the crown. If the sovereign possessed

the confidence, and the love of his people; if he and they were bound together by the bonds of sympathetic regard and affection, then the crown would be more splendid, and possess more lustre than it could possibly derive from parade and pageantry.

Several other gentlemen spoke on both sides of the question, and Mr. Burke himself made another speech in support of his bill. But, after a long debate, it was rejected by a majority of 233 to 190.

#### C H A P. IX.

*Debate in the House of Commons, on Motions made by Mr. Sheridan, relative to the Employment of the Military in the Suppression of Riots, without Authority from the Civil Magistrate, and to the Police of the City of Westminster. A Requisition made by the Minister, for upwards of Twenty-one Millions for the Service of the current Year. The Requisition complied with. Opposition made in both Houses to the Terms of the Minister's Loan. Pretest against it in the House of Peers.*

**H**OWEVER necessary might be the interference of the military, in the suppression of those daring outrages which took place in the metropolis in the year 1780, there were many who considered the exertion of that power, without any authority from the civil magistrate, as a very dangerous precedent; and who were solicitous to prevent any ill consequences resulting from it in future. It was from such views as these, that, on the 1st of March, the three following motions were made in the House of Commons by Mr. Sheridan.

1. That the military force entrusted to his majesty by parliament, cannot justifiably be applied to the dispersing illegal and tumultuous assemblies of the people, without waiting for directions from the civil

magistrates, but where the outrages have broken forth with such violence, that all civil authority is over-borne, and the immediate subversion of all legal government directly threatened.

2. That the necessity of issuing that unprecedented order to the military, on the 7th of June last, to act without waiting for directions from the civil magistrates, affords a strong presumption of the defective state of the magistracy of Westminster, where the riots began.

3. That a committee be appointed to inquire into the conduct of the magistracy and civil power of the city of Westminster, with respect to the riots in June, 1780, and to examine and report to this house, the present state of the magistracy and government of the said city.

In the speech by which he introduced these propositions, Mr. Sheridan remarked, that the police of every country was an object of importance. In a despotic country, where the laws were regulated by the will of the sovereign, the purpose of the police was to give comfort and security to the subject, and, perhaps, to furnish secret information to the rulers. But in a constitution of liberty, like that of England, it was the duty and the object of the people to prefer the essentials of freedom to the comforts of ease; and they were not to purchase internal protection at the expence of slavery. It was not a dead and slavish quiet; it was not a passive calm and submission that were the ultimate objects of police in such a state; but as much good order as was consistent with the active, busy, and bustling genius of liberty. They were not to be awed into submission by a military force, dependent on the will of one man, to whom they delegated their power; nor to constitute a police, which only could derive maintenance and effect by the intervention of arms. It was for this purpose that the legislature of Great Britain prudently and wisely established a military power only for the duration of one year, or rather they suspended the illegality of the military power for a year. It was for this that they would intrust no permanent and durable military force in the hands of the crown, but preserved to themselves the security of escape, whenever that force should be misapplied to objects for which it was not designed. As to the police of Westminster, its wretched state was too well known to require any particular description. Its weakness and inefficacy were too severely felt, at a late dreadful period, to be depended on in future. To that we

were to ascribe the riots and the outrages that had broken forth in the preceding June, and which had raged without controul for many days. To that we were to ascribe the order which had been issued to the military, to act without waiting for orders from the civil power. To that we were to ascribe the establishment of military power in this country for four months, and its being extended to every part of the country. It was the police of Westminster that had given rise to all these calamities and alarms; and yet not one measure had been taken, nor one attempt made, to correct the police, or to prevent a repetition of the same dangers. He was aware, that it might be said, that if the negligence and incapacity of the civil power of Westminster had contributed so much to these evils, the same imputation ought to be thrown upon the magistracy of the city of London; since the tumults had reigned with equal impunity in that city, and with equal consequences. To this he could only say, that he could not forget, for a moment, that the tumults began in the city of Westminster; that there they had their small beginnings, and that there they might have been checked with less exertion, than in the subsequent progress of their accumulating force. But the success of the riots in the city of London had been ascribed to the want of conduct and courage in the chief magistrate. It was to him, and not to the civil power in general of the city, that the blame was given. But however censurable might have been the behaviour of the lord-mayor of London, the lord-lieutenant of the county of Middlesex must have been at least equally criminal. He was invested with the important trust of appointing and regulating the civil power of the coun-

ty, and it was his duty to see that the magistrates and the officers, whom he had put into the commission, did their duty to their country; and if they did not, he ought to have collected them together, to have appointed them their stations, and to have put them into active employment. But without farther investigating that matter, it was proper to inquire, why, after the melancholy experience that we had had of the wretched state of the police, no measures had been adopted to put it on a more respectable footing? Had no attempt been made to establish some more effectual system of police, in order that we might still depend on the remedy of the bayonet; and that the military power might be called in to the aid of contrived weakness, and deliberate inattention? It might, perhaps, be the wish of some, that the subject might be familiarized to the employment of the military in the suppression of riots; and that, upon occasions less alarming than the last, they might resort again to the same remedy.

It might be urged, he farther observed, in justification of government for the orders which they had lately issued, that they believed the substitution of the military to be a safe, easy, and constitutional measure, in all cases of tumult and riot. He would not attempt to go into any serious investigation of this argument, but only assert, that if it were true, that, in cases of extreme danger, such a remedy might be safe, easy, and constitutional, still it would be improper to be acknowledged by parliament; for what might be legally done, would be done oftener. He wished to see a bill of indemnity pass, by which the question would be established on

its proper basis, and the people would have the confidence of knowing, that though the late interference was salutary, it was unconstitutional. If he wanted any additional reason to convince him of the danger of leaving such a power in the hands of the crown, a circumstance which occurred in the other house, at the opening of the session, would give him the most convincing proof of the necessity of deciding on the doctrine. This was, that his majesty was praised and exalted for not having acted, in that hour of horror and confusion, like the king of Sweden, in directing his arms against the liberties of the country. This was an expression so alarming in its nature, so threatening, and so formidable, that he could not help thinking it incumbent on the house to rescue the country from a suspicion so dreadful. What! was it in his majesty's power, at that moment, to have trampled on the liberties of the country, and to have introduced military government in the place of the present constitution? Was that the crisis, when this might have been established, when the minds of the people were lost in terror and confusion? No; that was not the moment of danger; the crisis was, when, after the interference of the military power, the chief justice of England said that it was legal, and asserted, that the military acted not as soldiers but as citizens; and when this declaration was not objected to by a specific resolution of parliament, but bore the testimony of general acquiescence. That was the moment when the liberties of the people were in danger; and if it did give the opportunity to the crown, the opportunity still existed. The power claimed, of employing the military without the

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concurrence of the civil power, had been asserted, in some instances at least, without a cause. The danger was confined to the metropolis; why then was the order extended to every part of the kingdom? Or granting that it was necessary to extend it, why continue it for four months? If this doctrine were to be laid down, that the crown could give orders to the military to interfere, where, when, and for what length of time it pleased, then we might bid farewell to freedom. If this were the law, we should then be reduced to a military government of the very worst species, in which we should have all the evils of a despotic state, without its discipline, or security. But we were given to understand, that we had the best protection against this evil in the virtue, the moderation, and the constitutional principles of the sovereign. However highly he might think of the virtues and moderation of the king, he trusted that this was a species of liberty which would never disgrace an English soil. The liberty that rested on the virtuous inclinations of any one man, was but suspended despotism: the sword was not indeed upon their necks, but it hung by the small brittle thread of human will.

The motions made by Mr. Sheridan were seconded by Mr. Fitzpatrick, who observed, that himself, as well as the military profession in general, to which he had the honour to belong, would thank the honourable gentleman for bringing on the business, and clearing up a doctrine, which gave them much pain and uneasiness. They were anxious to have the question brought to a decision, that it might remain no longer in doubt and perplexity.

If the military were to be employed against their fellow-citizens, without waiting for the orders of the civil power, he should no longer wish to belong to a profession so dangerous and fatal to the liberties of his country. At the same time, he said, the justices of Middlesex were too eager to call in the military power. On every little occasion they resorted to this desperate remedy; and found, in the assistance of the military, a ready excuse for the want of their own exertion and activity. He expressed his indignation at the expressions which had been made use of in the other house, in which the sovereign was applauded for his moderation in not having employed the military to enslave the nation. To suppose that the military would assist in overturning the constitution, if the monarch required it, was a libel on the profession. Could he believe such an opinion well founded, he would think his character as an officer disgraceful, and would hold it no longer. He earnestly recommended to the house the consideration of the business, and trusted that some mode would be established, to put the police of Westminster on so respectable a footing, as to render the interference of the military, in cases of riot, unnecessary.

Mr. Mansfield, the solicitor-general, opposed the motions; and said, that he thought it quite unnecessary to touch upon such questions as those decided on in the first resolution proposed, because he could not recollect one instance wherein the legislature had by name introduced the military into any civil regulations; the power of suppressing commotions was left entirely to the magistracy, without any express provision for military assistance;

and therefore it was best not to form abstract opinions into resolutions of the house, but to leave the vindication of ministers, for calling in the soldiery, to rest as it had hitherto done, on the necessity of the case. He thought the complaint, which had been urged against the measure in question, peculiarly unreasonable, because the behaviour of the military had been meritorious in the extreme. No instance of cruelty or insolence had been or could be produced, nor had they abused the power committed to them in a single instance. On the contrary, if their behaviour had been in any respect exceptionable, it was in being too passive at first, and waiting too tenaciously for the authority of the civil magistrate to direct them. Their interference he should entirely consider as that of citizens, anxious for the preservation of public order; and in that character the employing them was surely unexceptionable. This doctrine had been brought in dispute, he thought, very absurdly, since nothing in his opinion could be more clear and distinct, than that every man in this country, soldier as well as citizen, was bound, by his obligations to the community, to protect the property and the lives of his neighbours against violence and outrage. Therefore, when they saw any act of felony committing or committed, they were called upon to assist the oppressed; and if they could not prevent the felony without making use of force, they were bound by their allegiance to resort to that force. There was no distinction between citizen and soldier in this respect; their duties in this view were the same, and their justification would also be equal: it

would depend entirely on the necessity of the case.

Mr. Thomas Townshend declared himself to be firmly and fully of opinion, that on account of the late extraordinary interposition of the military, an indemnity bill was necessary to the character of the minister, as well as to the security of the subject. After the riot about the gin act, there was an indemnity act passed; and it had always been thought by constitutional men to be necessary, in order that the illegality of employing the military might be recognized by parliament. With respect to the first of the motions now before the house, he observed that some gentlemen were of opinion, that it was imprudent, and might be dangerous, to bring any great constitutional question into agitation in the present times. There was certainly much ground for this opinion; and every real friend to the rights of the people would rather wish to have many resolutions, on subjects most sacred to liberty, and to the preservation of the constitution, left as they were framed and supported by our ancestors, than bring them into agitation now, when they might receive much injury, but could hardly obtain any new accession of strength. However, as the honourable gentleman, who had given rise to the present debate, had stated a proposition to the house, highly proper in itself, and perfectly constitutional, he hoped the house would adopt it, and not by a rejection give the colour for an assertion, that they thought the proposition wrong, or that they were of a different opinion.

Lord North then rose, and said, that the ministers had several reasons for entertaining no idea or intention

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of applying to parliament for an act of indemnity, on account of the use that had been made of the military in the suppression of the late riots. In the first place, an act of indemnity, in his conception, was only necessary where one individual was liable to a prosecution from having done another an injury, by an act which had nevertheless been productive of the greatest public utility. It sometimes happened, that in the accidental consequences of those great political measures, which, from the emergency of the particular crisis, were necessarily to be adopted, without the knowledge or consent of parliament, some particular citizen might sustain considerable injury; and as the minister had exceeded law in the execution of the measure which had produced this injury, the suffering man could have a legal action against the minister, and might recover damages in a court of justice. In such instances, therefore, it was necessary for the author of such a measure to have recourse to parliament, to secure him against the stigma and inconveniencies which would attend a conviction in a court of justice; and it had been the uniform practice of parliament to grant these indemnifications with alacrity and pleasure: but, in the present instance, what individual was there who could pretend to have sustained an injury? In protecting the lives, and securing the property of his majesty's subjects, he felt no apprehension of a prosecution. If any such instance should occur, then, and not till then, would he apply to parliament; for it was never too late to supplicate their patronage; and to shield himself against the effects of such assault. Another reason why he had yet solicited no indemnity

was this, that so long as parliament were quiet as to his conduct, he required none. They had it in their power to impeach him; if they did not, that was his indemnity; and he was perfectly content with the tacit implication of protection which they had hitherto, by their forbearance, afforded him, and he doubted not would continue to afford him. There was still another circumstance which had prevented his application to parliament on this subject, and that was, a full and perfect consciousness that he had done his duty, and no more than his duty; that he therefore had no occasion for an indemnification; for the proper execution of duty required none. Necessity superseded all law, and constituted law. Where that existed, illegality was nonsense: there could be no illegality then, properly considered; for the first of all laws inhered in such instances, and justified what it produced. Would any man seriously contend, that the dreadful tumults in June last had not constituted a necessity? If they had, the remedy that was applied, however illegal under different circumstances, and under different circumstances he admitted it to be so, ceased to deserve that appellation, and became as perfectly constitutional, as any act could be under any possible supposition or situation whatever. The principal object of the first motion now before the house, appeared to be, to regulate and define the circumstances under which, and which only, it should be proper and legal to recur to the military power. An attempt of this nature was, in his estimation, perfectly impracticable. There could be no definition comprehensive enough to include all the possible variety of cases which might occur;

occur; and what would be the consequence, if an instance should happen not embraced in the description, but this, that there would be an unavoidable timidity in the executive power, and the effects of any tumult might extend to a degree fatal to the constitution and existence of the country. But where would gentlemen choose to have the power reposed, of preventing improper applications of the military? Surely not in better hands than it now was; for this power was in the possession of parliament. Nothing could justify the introduction of this power, but necessity; and the parliament always had the right of enquiring into the nature and degree of that necessity. If it was made a false plea, then they could punish the authors of it; if not, nothing illegal had been committed, and the liberties and constitution of the people remained untouched and un-infringed.

Sir George Savile particularly opposed the doctrines that had been advanced by the solicitor-general. He considered them, he said, as highly dangerous to the constitution, because their tendency was to disguise that great source of danger, that constant object of terror, to every man who valued constitutional liberty, a standing army. Soldiers, we were told, were to be considered as citizens in common with other subjects; three or four of them were formed into a file, to these others were added, and they were then lengthened and deepened into columns and battalions; but they were still to be considered merely as citizens, perfectly harmless to the constitution. No danger whatever, we were informed, was to be apprehended from employing them in services, in which the voice

of the ancient law, and the policy of our most virtuous ancestors, had guarded most anxiously against their being employed. Admitting the quibble for a moment, he said, that such doctrine might be law, with respect to the interposition of one single individual, would the learned gentleman, who had that day maintained this opinion in the house, farther contend, that there was no difference between one man's interfering, admitting that one man to be a foldier, and a regular body being called upon by the king to act, under the command of his officers, and to execute his purposes? The learned gentleman knew this to be an unconditional doctrine; and, therefore, when he advanced it there, he must be presumed to have had recourse to some such personal bisection as was referred to in his doctrine, respecting the same men being considered both as citizens and soldiers; and accordingly he had given this opinion, not as a lawyer, but as a member of parliament only. Sir George doubted whether it had been prudent, as matters now stood, to introduce the present business into parliament; but as it was fairly before the house, the ministry ought to be very cautious how they proceeded concerning it: they ought to be the more wary, because if they negatived the proposition which had been made to them, they would in all probability excite suspicions and opinions very injurious to the liberties of their country, and to the preservation of the constitution. After some farther debate, Mr. Sheridan withdrew his first motion: his second was rejected, upon a division, by a majority of 171 to 94; and his third was negatived without a division.

On the 7th of the month, the  
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house having resolved itself into a committee of ways and means, the minister expressed his concern, that the very great deficiency of the state had rendered it necessary to launch out into expenses so far exceeding the ordinary revenue of the kingdom, as those which had already been voted, and still remained to be voted for the service of the current year. He was sorry to add, that a very considerable sum, included in the present supply, arose from a deficiency in the taxes for the last and preceding year. Yet he was glad that he had it in his power to inform the house, that he should provide such taxes for the payment of the new loan, as would spare him the disagreeable task of taking hereafter from the sinking fund. But he deferred, for a few days, stating the new taxes to the house. His lordship moved, "That towards the supply granted to his majesty, the sum of twelve millions should be raised by a loan, and 480,000*l.* by way of lottery." He explained to the house the terms of his loan, which he admitted to be a very hard bargain for the public; but said, that the necessity of borrowing on such disadvantageous terms, arose from the low state of our public funds. He computed that the army extraordinary would amount to about 3,400,000*l.* The whole sum required for the service of the year would be upwards of twenty-one millions. By exchequer bills he proposed to raise 3,500,000*l.* which, with the land and malt taxes, sinking fund, and a loan of twelve millions, would make a considerable sum more than was requisite for the necessary supplies, and from that overplus he proposed to pay off a part of the navy debt.

Mr. Fox objected to the terms of

the loan, which he considered as so disadvantageous to the public, that the minister was highly reprehensible for complying with them. But, independently of the strong objections he felt to the loan, as a question of finance, and a matter of œconomy, he felt it to be still more important when considered in a political view. The profit on the proposed loan, in every way that he had been able to take it, and subject to every probable contingency, was nine hundred thousand pounds; and this large sum was in the hands of the minister, to be granted in douceurs to the members of that house as compensations for the expence of an election, or for any other purpose of corrupt influence which might suit his views. Mr. Fox also objected to the lottery that was proposed; and observed, that of all the different species of gaming, that of lotteries was the most dangerous and destructive to the people at large. He therefore moved, that the latter part of the minister's motion respecting the lottery, should be omitted.

Mr. Pulteney declared it to be his opinion, that the terms of the loan were extremely bad, and the douceur extravagantly high. It amounted, he said, to upwards of nine per cent. which must have a very ill effect on the price of the funds, and encourage very extravagant expectations on future loans. The lottery was also opposed by lord Mahon, Mr. Hussy, and Mr. Byng; but the motion, as originally proposed by the minister, was carried by a majority of 169 to 111. The report of the committee was afterwards agreed to by the house, though not without some farther opposition, particularly from Sir George Savile, who spoke very strongly against the lottery, and warmly

warmly reprehended the whole transaction, respecting the loan, as shameful and profligate. In the house of peers, when a motion was made for the third reading of the loan-bill, the marquis of Rockingham maintained, that the loan to which their lordships were going to give a sanction, by passing that bill, was one of the most corrupt in its formation, the most shameful in its progress, and as far as the consequences could be supposed to extend, the most injurious to the public that could possibly be conceived. He asserted, that, according to the minister's terms, and which were now to be ratified by parliament, the profit given to the subscribers for the loan of twelve millions amounted to the enormous sum of nearly ten per cent. or one million two hundred thousand pounds premium, besides an usurious interest of five and a half per cent. in perpetuity. His lordship added, that he did not doubt but this measure originated in necessity: he meant ministerial necessity; for notwithstanding the numerous places, pensions, contracts, and every other species of influence, in the gift or disposal of the minister, notwithstanding the last effect of a weak and unpopular administration, he meant the lavish hand with which honours were conferred,

upon all sizes and descriptions of persons; yet such was the folly, such the madness, nay, he might add, such was the wickedness of the measures of government, that the minister found himself compelled to resort to this shameful waste of public money, to bring to his standard the corruptible part of his opponents, and to fix and persuade the wavering and doubtful among his friends. He concluded with observing, that he thought it an act of duty to testify his total disapprobation of a loan, which, at a time of such public calamity as the present, when the utmost œconomy became necessary, wantonly and corruptly lavished at least a million sterling; and that, in his apprehension, merely for the purpose of influencing or bribing the representatives of the nation, in parliament, to give their countenance and support to the continuance of a most wicked, impolitic, and ruinous war. No reply was made to this charge by the lords in administration: the bill, however, passed; but a vigorous protest against the loan, as improvident in its terms, corrupt in its operation, and partial in its distribution, was entered in the journals of the house, signed by the marquis of Rockingham, the duke of Portland, and several other peers.

## C H A P. X.

*Debate in the House of Peers on the Increase of Popery. Debate in the House of Commons on the Contractors Bill. The Bill rejected, on a Division. Debate on the Bill for restraining Revenue Officers from voting at the Elections of Members of Parliament. The Bill rejected. Debate on a Motion of Mr. Minchin, relative to the State of the Navy. Debate on a Motion of Sir George Savile, that a select Committee should be appointed, in order to inquire into the Circumstances of the Loan.*

THE apprehensions which had been entertained by some persons in the kingdom relative to the increase of popery, and which gave rise to the establishment of the Protestant association in the preceding year, were not entirely confined to the lower orders of the people: for on the 19th of March, Earl Ferrers stood up in his place, in the house of peers, and made several observations on the increase of Roman Catholics in England, which he represented to be alarming. That they were increased, he endeavoured to prove, from the comparison of three different computations made at three different periods. In 1717, he said, the number of papists in the diocese of Chester, upon a fair calculation, was 10,000; in 1767, upon a similar estimate, they had arisen to 25,000; and according to the late computation, made by the direction of parliament, they amounted to upwards of 27,000. His lordship thought, that it was fair to argue from this particular district to the kingdom in general, and therefore concluded, that the number of Roman Catholics, upon the whole, must have been increased more than double within the period mentioned. He considered this as so dangerous to the religious establishment, and domestic security of this country, that, with the permission

of their lordships, he would bring in a bill for stopping the increase of so growing an evil, and particularly for imposing some severe penalties upon any attempts on the part of papists to make converts to their faith; and likewise strictly to prohibit their teaching in schools of any denomination. If the sense of the house was with him, he meant to move, that their lordships should be summoned on a future day, for the purpose of resolving the house into a committee, to consider of certain propositions, calculated to restrain the farther growth of popery within this kingdom. He trusted, that their lordships would give him the credit he deserved, when he assured them, that his motives were not founded in a false zeal, or intolerant spirit; in any inclination to oppress or to persecute. So far from it, that he was clearly of opinion, that many of the laws now in being were both cruel and impolitic; and, indeed, this was the reason that the whole code was become a dead letter. It was in order to strike out a middle path, that he presumed to give their lordships the intended trouble: he designed to propose revising those laws, or rather repealing all the penal statutes now in being against popery, and passing a general law in their stead, which should have two special

cial objects in view ; the protection of the people, professing the Romish religion, in the free exercise of it, and of their civil liberties, and property ; the other, by providing such wholesome restrictions as might promise to prevent the farther growth of popery. He would wish to have such a law established as would not clash with the rules of humanity and justice, and yet such a law as would be effective, as would defeat every attempt to propagate a religion, which, from its principles and tenets, held out strong temptations to the weak, the credulous, and the ignorant. He would wish to see less rigour and more efficacy introduced into the laws for preventing the growth of popery : for though he was not apt to be alarmed by bug-bears, he could easily foresee, from the documents to which he had before referred, that an evil, trifling and comparatively small in its first appearance, might increase, and gain strength sufficient to produce, in its progress, consequences of a very serious nature. Should none of their lordships oppose his intentions, he intended to move, that they should be summoned to attend, for the purpose of taking the subject into consideration that he had now stated to the house.

The bishop of Chester observed, that he had no intention to oppose the noble lord's design of introducing a bill for checking the growth of popery ; but as the diocese of Chester had been particularly alluded to, he thought himself under some necessity to explain to their lordships the true source of the increase mentioned. He had made calculations, as well as the noble lord, and acknowledged, that,

as to the general result, his accounts very nearly corresponded with those which had just been stated ; but though he had every reason to depend upon that calculation which was made in the year 1767, and also on that subsequently formed in 1780, yet he had various reasons for disputing the accuracy, or authenticity, of the first estimation made in 1717, which he believed to be very vague and uncertain. If there were no other argument than this, against the conclusion which had been drawn, that the number was increased more than double, yet that would be of considerable validity, as it would shew the house, that though this conclusion was not necessarily false, yet it was probably not true ; and being upon the whole by no means to be confided in, nothing could be fairly inferred from it. The circumstance, however, to which he principally referred, was this, and a very simple though cogent one it was ; the immense increase of population which had lately taken place within the diocese of Chester. This increase, since the year 1717, was such as exceeded all belief, and of itself constituted a sufficient explanation of the alarming proposition stated by the noble lord. If the number of inhabitants in general had been so considerably increased, it must be supposed, that the Roman Catholics had increased in a proportionate degree ; and consequently, any arguments built upon a partial increase of the Roman Catholics within the diocese of Chester, unless accompanied with stating in general the progress of population, must be founded in error. As to bringing in a bill for preventing the conversion of persons to popery, that, in  
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his opinion, was unnecessary, as the severest penalties were already denounced, by the law of the land, against any man who should make such an attempt; it being even a capital offence in a father to conspire with a popish priest in producing such a conversion. With respect to the schools, he was of opinion, that the penalties against them were sufficiently severe. No Roman Catholic was permitted to teach a protestant child; and as for their teaching the children of persons of the same persuasion, he should never concur in depriving them of that liberty, as he considered it to be totally inconsistent with justice, humanity, and perhaps policy, to impose such a restriction. He should, however, make no objection to such a bill being brought in as that proposed by the noble lord; though he would just take the liberty of suggesting, that at the present period, when the religious ferment which had been recently excited in the kingdom was hardly quieted, it might not, perhaps, be quite politic to revive the subject. He wished the noble lord, before he ventured to commit himself upon the subject, to inform himself perfectly of the state of facts, lest it should be found, that the very argument which he had stated, might make against his conclusion; for if after numbering the Protestant inhabitants, as well as the Roman Catholics, it should be found, that the increase of the latter was not proportionably rapid with the former, it would amount to a demonstration, that the present penal statutes, though become a dead letter from the lenient temper of government, had effected the only purpose for which such laws could be passed, the preventing the growth of Po-

pery. He wished likewise to acquaint the noble earl, that although he was far from desiring to see those laws rigorously executed, because they were repugnant to the first principles of humanity, and to the tolerant spirit of the Protestant church established in this kingdom, yet he was not prepared to say, that he would assent to a total and indiscriminate repeal of them; for if penal statutes could be defended upon any ground, it must be that of preventing greater evils; and he believed that the penal statutes in question had in a great degree removed the evils they were intended to prevent; but he could not yet see the propriety of repealing them.

Lord Ferrers rose again, and replied, that he was as much averse to making experiments, or from wishing to persecute, as the right reverend prelate himself. He had only risen to throw out a proposition to the house for its opinion, and particularly that of the right reverend bench, whose advice and assistance, upon a subject of so much importance, he made no doubt but he should be able to obtain. By what had now fallen from the learned prelate, he was given to understand what the temper of that bench was; and upon that ground, more than from any persuasion or conviction brought home to his mind by what had been said by his lordship, he was willing to acquiesce in his sentiments. Besides this, some other reasons now occurred to him, which induced him to change his intention of troubling their lordships. It was, however, a subject well worthy of their attention; and though he should not take any step in it during the course of the present session, he had heard no objection started against such

such a law, as that which he had ventured to suggest, which was sufficient to prevent him from taking the affair up at some more fit and convenient opportunity.

A few days after, the bishop of Chester again addressed the house on the same subject. He observed, that since their last debate relative to the increase of popery, he had made it his business to inquire more minutely into the facts, and was well pleased to find all his former arguments much strengthened, and in a great degree confirmed, upon a full and comprehensive investigation of the particular and total numbers. He then read several computations of the rapid increase of buildings and inhabitants within certain parts and districts of his diocese, within certain periods, beginning early in the present century, and so up to the latest accounts or returns he was able to procure, or which had appeared in printed books. In some places the inhabitants had increased a fourth, in others a third, in others a half; and in others again the numbers had increased four, five, six fold, or more; but he mentioned two in particular, which proved, beyond question, the rapid progress that population had made in some parts of the county of Lancaster. One was of Liverpool, which, in the year 1700, contained but 5000 inhabitants; and, in 1770, contained 35,000, and a considerable fraction. The other was of a quarter of the town of Manchester, called Saltport, which contained only a few hundreds in the year 1719, and by the last return was found to contain 11,000 souls. After mentioning many particulars of a similar nature, he informed their lordships, that he had taken much pains to collect the most accurate

accounts, some from printed books, and others from the clergy within his own diocese; and had been tolerably successful in his inquiries relative to that part of it which was called the Archdeaconry, where he found the inhabitants had, within half a century, increased 40,000; and from such other parts of his diocese whence he had received returns, but which did not include the whole, the remainder amounted to 15,000. As far, therefore, as his inquiries had reached, he was able to speak with precision, that within the period he had described, the inhabitants were increased 55,000; and, when the remainder of the returns came in, he doubted not but they would be found to be many more. It had been stated by the noble earl, who had originally introduced the present subject of debate into the house, that the Roman Catholics had increased, within the diocese of Chester, to the amount of 2000, between the years 1767 and 1780. If, however, it was considered, that this arose from a generally increased population, during that period, within that diocese, a very contrary conclusion might be drawn from that of the noble lord; and it would in fact appear, that though the papists had increased, they had not increased in proportion to the protestant inhabitants. Besides, tho' the Roman Catholic inhabitants had increased in the diocese of Chester, he had it from such authority as he could safely depend on, that, within the period mentioned by the noble lord, the increase of catholics throughout England was no more than 1500. He was of opinion, therefore, that there was an actual decrease of the people of that persuasion throughout England, in proportion

proportion to the rest of the inhabitants, if the generally increased population of the kingdom was taken into account.

Lord Ferrers replied, that he had taken his information from papers laid on the table of that house, and consequently, if he had mistated any thing, the error was not imputable to him, but to the species of information laid before their lordships. He was, however, extremely glad to hear many things that had fallen from the right reverend prelate; and he was perfectly satisfied of the truth of what the learned bishop had advanced, being now fully convinced, that the apprehensions of the increasing growth of Popery, which he had expressed on a former day, were in a great measure groundless, or so far unfounded, as to render such a measure, as that he wished to submit to the wisdom of the legislature, unnecessary for the present.

On the 21st of the same month, a motion being made, in the house of commons, for the commitment of the bill for excluding contractors from sitting in that house, excepting when their contracts were publicly disposed of to the best bidder, a debate ensued, and the bill was strongly opposed. It was urged against it, that though this bill had received the approbation of a former house of commons, that circumstance could not preclude its being opposed in the present. Many different motives might have actuated the members of the last parliament, in the votes that they gave on the subject of this bill, which did not now subsist, or ought not to operate. In the ardour of reformation which was then prevalent, many important propositions were before the house, and the people were very urgent in

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their complaints. It might possibly then have been judged right to embrace the smallest innovation proposed; or, perhaps, it was a piece of delicacy, not to dismise, in that house, a bill, by which its own independency was professedly supported, but to leave it to be rejected in the other. But whether these, or any other reasons, occasioned the concurrence of the last house of commons in this measure, the conduct of one parliament ought not to govern any succeeding one. It was an objection to the principle of the bill, that it presupposed a degree of corruption and delinquency in the government, as well as amongst individuals, which, without proper evidence, could not fairly be affirmed. It was absurd to infer, from the corruption of a single contractor, that every man of the same description was incapable of serving his country with integrity. Why should government be precluded from intrusting the business of contracts to members of parliament, when perhaps among them might be found persons the best entitled to public confidence? It should be considered how essential it was, that this department of office should be faithfully discharged. What great and irretrievable mischiefs might result from the incapacity or inability of a contractor! In the contract for remittances, for instance, and those for victualling our fleets and armies, how easily might negligence be the ruin of our forces! It was therefore incumbent on the minister, to give contracts only to gentlemen of undoubted responsibility, wherever they were to be found. It was also an objection to the bill, that it excluded not only contractors themselves from the house, but all those who were employed or interested in

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the contract. Now this clause might by construction render many gentlemen ineligible, whose rights were not intended to be invaded, as most men of landed property had coals, copper, or timber, on their estates, all of which might be sold to contractors, and consequently involve the owner in the restriction of this bill.

It was alleged in support of the bill, that it was absolutely necessary to restrain the ministry in the making of contracts, the extravagance and the corruption of their transactions in this particular having been long considered as a great grievance, and a just subject of public complaint. Contracts were more dangerous means of influence than almost any other in the hands of government. They were attended with such great profit, that they were calculated to increase the corruption of parliament in a very high degree. Nor could any contract be equitably made, when the service of the contractor in parliament was understood to be a part of the agreement. A distinction ought certainly to be made between the fair and respectable merchant, who made his contracts at a public bidding, and executed them in an open and responsible manner, and the man who made parliamentary interest the ladder to preference, and who was protected in every speculation for the same cause. It was very desirable that merchants should sit in that house, and they ought to be considered as amongst the most respectable members, when they came there as independent men, and with the virtuous intention of guarding the commercial welfare of the kingdom. But it could be no hardship upon them to be told by an act, that if they preferred a secret to an

open contract, they must give up their eligibility of sitting in that house. They knew the terms, and it was a voluntary surrender of their right on their own part, not a violent disfranchisement by parliament. As to its being supposed, that the members of that house were to be prevented by the bill from selling to government the produce of their estates, no such idea had ever been entertained: but if a member of that house went into the closet of a first lord of the treasury, and there made a secret bargain, by which he received three times the sum for his timber, his iron, or his copper, that it was worth, the bill interfered, and discharged that member from his seat in that house, because it was evident that he had an interest in maintaining the war in which we were so unfortunately engaged, and that his interests and those of his constituents were different. The bill was at length rejected, upon a division, by a majority of 120 to 100.

The same day a motion was made for the second reading of a bill, brought in by Mr. Crewe, for restraining revenue officers from voting at elections of members of the house of commons. A debate ensued, in which it was urged, in opposition to the bill, that it was not justifiable in that house to disqualify a great body of their constituents, merely because they were useful and necessary servants of the crown, and valuable members of society. It was an illiberal sentiment to believe, that because they received a small emolument for their services, that therefore they would prostitute their franchises, and give up their opinion to the disposal of others. Such innovations as that proposed by this bill, were dangerous and nugatory,

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and there was little reason to believe that it could answer any valuable purpose: but it seemed to be the object of the modern systems of reform to give the right of voting to those who had it not, and to take it from those who had.

It was maintained, on the other side, that the bill would establish a very just and necessary measure of reform, by which the freedom of election would in a great measure be restored. Nor could there be either cruelty or injustice in taking from excisemen their right of voting at elections. It was a disfranchisement only upon certain conditions, and which conditions were fairly pointed out and specified. If the freeholder of any county, or the burgesses of any corporation, chose to accept the office of exciseman, under the condition of surrendering, while he held it, his franchise of voting, it was a matter of election, and depended totally on himself. If he considered his franchise as superior in value to the office, he would reject the one, and preserve the other. As it was a matter of choice, a mere condition annexed to a valuable consideration, it could not be either unjust or severe. On the contrary, it would be a kindness to excisemen to take from them this painful franchise, in the exercise of which they were obliged to sacrifice friendship often, and opinion almost always. In some boroughs, in consequence of the overbearing influence of the crown, and its absolute controul over excise-officers, government had it in their power to appoint what gentlemen they pleased for members, without consulting the inclinations of the electors, or even taking the decent trouble of informing them, who it was that was meant to be im-

posed upon them. By this means it frequently happened, that so far from giving a preference to the court candidate, from their opinion of his abilities, his integrity, or his zeal for their interests, the voters knew not even his person, and never heard his name till it was declared from the hustings. This was an evil of great magnitude, and ought to be remedied. It advanced to an enormous weight of influence, and the disgraceful consequences of it brought obloquy on that house, as well as ruin on the country. Notwithstanding these arguments in support of the bill, it was rejected, upon a division, by a majority of 133 to 86.

The day following a motion was made by Mr. Minchin, "That leave be given to bring in a bill for the better and more effectual making up and laying before parliament the accounts of the sums expended for building, re-building, and repairs of his Majesty's ships of war, in his Majesty's dock-yards, and other dock-yards in Great Britain." This gave rise to a debate, in which various observations were thrown out relative to the state of the navy. It was remarked, that the greatness, commerce, and trade of this country, entirely depended upon her navy, not even such a navy as could defend her coasts, or such as might stand a comparison with any foreign power, but a marine force superior to that of the whole house of Bourbon. When the naval superiority of this country came to be seriously disputed with us, it was time to look about, and to be alarmed, and to make the most vigorous and spirited exertions in order to turn the balance in our favour. But the fact was, that the navy of Great Britain had been shamefully neglected, and was

now so mutilated and depressed, that the sovereignty of the ocean was lost and overthrown, without a struggle, and even without striking a blow. It was, therefore, the duty of parliament to examine into the state of the navy; it was the business of that house to inquire into the expenditure of the money, which they granted for the navy with so liberal a hand, and to demand a distinct and satisfactory account of its application. During the late peace, for a series of years, the building of ships, re-building, &c. had never exceeded 400,000 l.; but for several years past they amounted to upwards of 600,000 l. In the former period we had built five ships of war at an average annually, and in the present period of war not more than three ships, though our navy debt was upwards of ten millions. The reason was evident. Sums of money had been granted, year after year, for the purpose of building and repairing the ships of war, and estimates were given into the house, on which the money was granted; but there were no checks, no vouchers of the application of that money, and parliament did not know that it was employed as directed. No accounts whatever were laid before the house, to shew that the money had been fairly and fully expended in the service for which it was voted; but, on the contrary, there were circumstances of proof, on the annual estimates, that the money was not applied, that the commissioners of the admiralty did not keep their promise with the public, and that ships remained from year to year unfinished, for which great sums were granted, and of which no account whatever was given. Few gentlemen had any exact idea of the enor-

mous expences of the navy; but the fact was, that nearly 30,000 l. a day was expended upon the navy, though it was at present in a state so much inferior to what might justly be expected.

It was contended, on the part of administration, that the navy had not been neglected; that all the dock-yards were filled with vast quantities of naval stores, and that the number of our shipwrights had been considerably increased; but that dissensions, and a spirit of mutiny among the workmen, had greatly impeded our naval equipments. With respect to the complaint, that the naval estimates of one year did not agree with the accounts of the succeeding year, if this was an evil, it was an evil that could not be prevented. The estimates only related to the probable expenditures, and those which became necessary must by a thousand causes be often widely different; nor could it be the intention of parliament, that every sum granted should be invariably applied to the specific purpose for which it was demanded. If sums of money had been allowed by that house, under the description of its being wanted to forward the building of any particular ship, and unavoidable circumstances prevented that building being carried on, there could be no impropriety in appropriating that money to uses more immediately necessary for the services of the state, such as repairing old ships, which enabled government to send out a naval force more speedily than if they were to employ men on new bottoms. The fact was, that when any pressing service arose suddenly, the attention of the dock-yards were turned from their regular work to that particular duty; and, in that case, the sums voted

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for other purposes were applied to the particular necessity, and parliament was referred to again for another provision for the subject of the former estimate. Mr. Minchin's motion was at length rejected, upon a division, by a majority of 147 to 45.

On the 2<sup>th</sup> of the same month, a motion was made by sir George Saville, "That a select committee should be appointed to inquire into the circumstances of the last loan, to make an estimate of its terms, and report the same to the house." In the speech by which he introduced this motion, he observed, that though it was too late to prevent or alter the bargain made by the minister under all its improvident and corrupt extravagance, yet it was not too late to censure the minister for making that bargain, nor even to impeach and punish him; by which at least this good consequence would arise, that future ministers would be taught not to sport with the public in a matter of so serious a nature, and not to entertain the presumptuous idea, that parliament would not assert the right and authority which it possessed, to check or controul him in the bargain which he made. To say that because the bargain was made, and the business finally concluded, the house ought not, or could not, inquire into and censure that transaction, would be a doctrine, which, he trusted, no man would venture to advance. It would be a doctrine pregnant with the most unconstitutional spirit, and alarming consequences. The constitution had vested ministers with very ample powers, but it also vested that house with a full and complete right to inquire how those powers had been exercised, and consequently a retrospect into the conduct of ministers was the constitution-

onal appendage of parliament. If it were once wrested from it, it were better that the government should assume openly the form of despotism, than that it should be carried on and maintained by despotism under the appearance of the law. If this inherent and necessary right were taken from the parliament, the constitution would be cut up by the roots: and the people would be more completely duped, cheated, and abused, with this show and mockery of parliament, than if the constitution were totally overthrown, and they were dependant on the mere will of a king or of a minister. As to the loan, of which he complained, the terms of it were so unaccountably extravagant, that at the first view they furnished a sufficient cause for drawing the attention of the house, and exciting them to a very minute and careful examination. If not less than between eight and nine hundred thousand pounds were lost to the public in the first year by the extravagance of that loan, it was a sufficient reason for enquiry, and as sufficient a reason for censure. The garblings which had been used in the distribution of the loan, and the injustice with which it had been divided, were also facts in the knowledge of the house: for from the face of the bill which lay upon the table, it appeared, that great and immense sums were in the names of persons who could have no title to them from responsibility, or from having subscribed to former loans. It was manifest, that the clerks of the bankers had sums which could only be sold for other people, and that they were in fact held in this manner for members of parliament, who were assured themselves of avowing what they had the

meanness to act. On the other side it was seen, that the most opulent and respectable names in the city, the men who had constantly subscribed, and sometimes suffered by former loans, had been altogether rejected, or had been treated with such injustice, that the most criminal partiality was discoverable on the face of it. This then afforded new grounds for inquiry, and especially as it was but too plain, that all the injustice, and all the partiality, and all the extravagance had been committed for the purpose of corrupting parliament, and adding to the influence of the minister. The members of that house were suspected to have participated in the benefits of the loan, to the injury of their constituents, whose property they were appointed to guard and protect. It, therefore, became the house, by a full and free inquiry into this business, to rescue their characters from so ignominious an imputation, as that of profiting by a bargain, sanctified by their concurrence, but which defrauded and impoverished their constituents. Sir George's motion was seconded by Mr. Byng, who stated a variety of facts and particulars tending to prove, that the loan had been distributed in a very partial manner, and that it was made use of for the purposes of a corrupt influence in that house.

The motion was opposed by lord Nugent, who declared it to be, in his opinion, highly improper, dangerous, and unnecessary. It was no matter of public concern, who the persons were that had subscribed to the loan, provided the subscriptions were all paid in regularly at the stated times of payment. Much regard ought to be had by that house to the necessities of the

public. In all inquiries of this kind, they ought ever to be guided in the exercise of their power by their discretion. There were times in which it would not be safe in the house of commons, to persecute the minister for the bargains which he made, as there might be more lost by calling the transaction to account, than there was by the occasional, and perhaps the unavoidable extravagance of the bargain. This had always been the wisdom of the house, and he trusted that it ever would be so. It was urged, that there was a visible partiality in the distribution of the loan. But was that a novelty? It was, and it ever would be the case, that ministers would do more for their friends than for their enemies. Ministers had done it in former administrations; they had done it now; and they would continue so to do to the end of time. It was also mentioned as a subject of complaint, that members of parliament should subscribe to the loan. This was a very different language from that held by opposition in former days. The complaint then was, that the members in opposition did not get as great a share of the loan, as those in the administration; that those who voted against the court had scrip given to them with a very sparing hand, while it was dealt out plentifully to those who supported the measures of government. It was quite a new doctrine, that members of parliament ought not to subscribe to the public loans; or that it was inconsistent with the duty which they owed to their constituents. Upon the whole, his lordship declared, that he entirely disapproved of the motion. It could lead to no good, and it might do much injury. The things complained

plained of by the honourable baronet, with whom the motion originated, were not the errors and the faults of loans that required correction. The chief fault was in frequently giving sums to persons who were unable to make good their payments. This, he confessed, deserved attention.

The motion was also opposed by Mr. Adam, who complained heavily of the aspersions that were frequently thrown out, and which he said were very illiberal, against those gentlemen who supported the measures of government, as if they were led to do this merely from corrupt motives; and he particularly expressed his indignation, that such calumnies should be advanced even in protests entered in the journals of the house of peers. There was no disgrace, he said, in participating in the honours, rewards, and emoluments of government, or in supporting the measures of government, after those rewards were received, so long as those measures appeared to be calculated to serve the country. The fair and honourable emoluments of government were no improper seducers of the human mind. Before gentlemen talked so loudly of members of parliament having been bribed, by the profitable terms of the loan, to agree to it when proposed in the house, it became them to recollect, that those terms were not made by members of parliament, but by the monied men of the city, the directors of the Bank, the India house, and other great companies. In judging of the terms of the bargain, whether they were profitable, or whether they were disadvantageous, it was necessary to look back to the time, to the circumstances, and to the prospect of affairs when that bargain was made. He averred,

that the minister had made the best terms he could, in the situation in which he stood. The price of the stocks at the time when the loan was in agitation, their price since, the state of affairs, all contributed to prove, that the minister had it not in his power to make better terms for the public. As to the partiality with which the minister was accused, in the distribution of the shares of the loan, it might produce very pernicious consequences to call upon the noble lord to assign his reasons for having given more to one house than to another; and the credit of many houses would be shaken, if, in his own vindication, the minister should say, that he had given to every banker who had applied just as much as he thought the house would be able to pay. This might be the ruin of several families; and as the committees that the honourable baronet had moved for, might give a deadly blow to national credit, he should give his negative to the motion with more satisfaction than he ever felt before. This he should do for many reasons, but principally because to inquire into private characters would be an inquisitorial tyranny; and oppression to individuals was injurious to the public.

Mr. Thomas Townshend ridiculed the complaint made by Mr. Adam, that illiberal aspersions were thrown out against the members of that house who supported the measures of government. It was, it seemed, an illiberal aspersions upon character, to say, that places or pensions, douceurs or contracts, were among the corrupt seducers of the human heart. To be sure, it would be highly illiberal to suspect, that a member of parliament should be seduced by the good things of this

life! It would be an aspersion of the most unjust false nature! What! a member of parliament! the dignity of whose situation, and the obligations of whole trust, ought to raise him to an elevation of rank among his species, superior to all the little frailties and passions of the heart, to suspect him of dependence and servility, would be a libel on the human race! And yet the conduct of the honorable gentleman himself, who was so much hurt by such aspersions, might, perhaps, afford some kind of evidence, that it was possible for a member of parliament to change his opinions, or at least to alter in the mode of voting, from a prudent consideration of his own interest. The conduct of that gentleman had been marked, on his first appearance in the house, and for some time after, by an strenuous opposition to the measures of the minister. He was now as much disinterested by a general and indiscriminate approbation of whatever the minister thought proper to adopt. This was a conduct which naturally gave rise to speculation, and to animadversion. When it was observed, that such a gentleman abandoned, in a critical moment, without even the formality of a reason, the friends and the principles which he had maintained, and that he became one of the most zealous and active partizans of that government which he had previously reprobated; when it was observed, that he placed himself immediately behind the treasury bench, whispered the minister, and became his avowed champion; and when it was also seen, that the zeal and activity of this new convert were rewarded with a profitable place under the government; under such circumstances, people could not avoid

suspecting, that there was something like influence in a thousand, or twelve hundred pounds a year; and that it was corruption, and not principle, that had converted the enemy into the friend of the minister. Such suspicions might be entertained without any great degree of illiberality, and without any great degree of injustice.

As to what had been urged on behalf of the minister with respect to the late loan, and to the partiality of its distribution, that he had only acted as former ministers had done, this assertion, Mr. Townshend said, was not founded upon fact. The ministers of former periods were not so prodigal or wasteful, as to make corrupt loans for the purpose of increasing their power, by distributing it, when made, among their friends and dependants. Former ministers negotiated loans, and made their bargains upon such terms, that they received a favour, not conferred a benefit, when they parted with the subscription; and there was another leading feature in the loans and subscriptions of former times, that when the monied men had no prospect of private and personal interest to serve, they gave government effectual support, upon the most laudable and honourable motives. They supported them, because they knew they were the able and willing friends of their country; that they were capable and honest; that they were supporting measures, not men. The confidence of the monied men of those days was founded in experience; for they were convinced, that while they supported such men, and such measures, they were ultimately promoting their own interest, which was involved, in common with the rest of their fellow-

fellow-subjects, in supporting the state.

With respect to the objection made to the motion, that it would be cruel to scrutinize into people's characters, or to weigh one man's credit, property, or consequence, against another's, Mr. Mansfield observed, that no man would be farther than himself from making invidious distinctions, or inquiries into people's private circumstance; particularly persons engaged in trading and mercantile connections; yet, supposing that the motion should pass in its present form, means might be devised, either by giving an instruction to the committee, or when in it, to restrain any idle, improper inquiries, originating in mere spleen or curiosity. It surely could not be an injury, or give an alarm to credit to inquire into the existence of men; and such an inquiry was absolutely necessary; for there were many names on the list of subscribers to the loan so obscure, that even their existence was doubtful. If the inquiry proposed by the motion was entered into, evidence would be produced to the house, that large sums of the loan were distributed to nominal persons for the secret use of others; to bankrupts; and even to men who were actually to be found on lord Mansfield's list of persons who had surrendered into the custody of the marshal of the King's Bench prison.

Lord North laboured to justify his conduct in the business of the loan. He acknowledged, that, from sundry circumstances, the bargain had proved rather disadvantageous to the public, for which he expressed his sorrow, but declared, that it was no fault of his that it had been so. The bargain which he had made for the public could

not be a secret one, because every thing which passed between the treasury board and those who were consulted as to the terms of the loan, passed in the presence of at least thirty persons. It was the price of stocks at the time, which rendered the bargain disadvantageous to the public. As to the partiality which was urged to have existed in the distribution, his lordship said, that he could not undertake to make such a distribution as was likely to please all. The subscription was divided among eleven hundred persons, many of them known, and several recommended. No person whatever, to his knowledge, had been rejected on account of his avowed or suspected principles. A preference, it was supposed, might be given, but he knew of none, farther than where the parties were known to be men of property, or where they had a fair claim to attention. As to its being said, that the names of some of the subscribers had been concealed, he believed this circumstance had been sanctioned by custom: as long as he could recollect any thing of loans, it had been invariably the case. In his apprehension, it made very little difference, and no industry or caution could prevent it, if gentlemen chose to conceal their names. They might come in under another name, or for a part of another person's subscription, and at all events there was a risk attending managements of this kind, for which the ostensible subscriber was always responsible. On the whole, his lordship said, that, in the management of the loan, he had no intention of promoting his own separate interest, neither had he acted in any way, directly or indirectly, which could afford a just cause for supposing that he

he had made a corrupt bargain, with a view to promote the increase of influence, in order to support his own power.

Sir Fletcher Norton now rose, and observed, that the present was a great and most important question. It was a motion for an inquiry into a supposed crime of a public nature; a crime, which, if proved, would appear to be aggravated in all its circumstances. It was no less than a direct accusation against the minister, of a breach of trust in the execution of his office, with the faithful discharge of which he had been entrusted by his sovereign and his country. He was charged with having made a corrupt bargain for the public, in order to make a still more corrupt distribution of it. It was a very criminal accusation; but the noble lord and his friends seemed to fly from the inquiry: he could not say, that this was a proof of his guilt; but this he must say, that it was a strong presumption of it; for what other reason could there be for stifling and suppressing inquiry? He had, in a long course of attendance in that house, often heard his lordship accused of misconduct; he had also often heard his lordship set his accusers at defiance, call for their proofs, and challenge an inquiry into his general and particular conduct. But when a specific charge was brought against him, and a variety of facts urged, and evidence offered to be produced in support of the charge, the noble lord shrunk from the inquiry, and endeavoured to evade any investigation of his conduct. It was for the honour of that house to prosecute the inquiry: it was for the noble lord's own honour, to meet the inquiry like a man, if he was innocent; and if he was guilty, he trusted the house

had not so totally forgotten their duty to themselves, and their constituents, as to screen him. It had been pretended, that the proposed inquiry was improper; but he did not see upon what subject the house could more fitly exercise that inquisitorial power, which was vested in it by the constitution, than the present. The members of that house were entrusted by their constituents to grant their money, and to see it faithfully applied. It was not therefore a matter of choice, but of absolute duty, unless they violated the trust reposed in them, to see that the minister did not improvidently squander away the money of the people. The transaction, to make the best of it, was a foul and dark transaction; and he was at a loss to know how any man, who refused to go into the proposed inquiry, could dare to meet his constituents; because, whether blameable or not himself, he must be deemed a partaker in the guilt. He concluded with conjuring the noble lord, against whom the accusation was brought, to meet it like a man, and not meanly fly from it, under the protection of a majority, who would be justly suspected of being partakers in the guilt. His lordship had often defied and challenged his accusers. If the present motion should be agreed to, they and he would be at issue; and if he declined the contest, the united voice of mankind would pronounce him guilty.

Towards the close of this debate, a number of members, who during the greatest part of the debate had been in the coffee-rooms adjacent, now crowded in, and called for the question with great vociferation. Upon which the speaker, with a proper spirit, and impressed with a

just sense of the duties of his office, immediately rose, and called them to order. In a sensible and pointed speech, he severely reprehended the custom. There were, he said, a regular and uniform set of gentlemen, of a particular description, who did not think it at all necessary to attend to any part of the debate, in order to receive information, or judge where the merits of a question lay, that they might decide with decency, or vote with conviction; but they went to the coffee-houses, and there spent the whole day, and came in towards the conclusion of the debate, and with the utmost disorder and inci-

vilily called for the question, and put a hasty stop to the calm deliberations of such members as acted up to their duty, in attending seriously to the business of the house. He hoped, that as it was a practice so derogatory to the honour and the dignity of parliament, and so inconsistent with the gravity of a house of representatives, that he should not have occasion again to take notice and complain of the indecency. Several other gentlemen spoke in this debate, on both sides of the question; but Sir George Saville's motion was rejected, upon a division, by a majority of 209 to 163.

## C H A P. XI.

*Debate in the House of Peers on the Commutation of Tythes, occasioned by the Ilmington Inclosure Bill. Resolutions on that Subject moved by Earl Bathurst. Debate, in the House of Commons, on presenting a Petition from the Delegates of the several associated Counties. Bill brought in by Mr. Fenton, for better preventing Desertions in the Navy. The Bill rejected.*

A Bill, which was brought into parliament this session, for inclosing common and waste lands in the parish of Ilmington, in Warwickshire, gave rise to a debate in the house of peers, on the 30th day of March, of considerable importance to the interests of the clergy. The order of the day being read, for receiving the report of the bill, the bishop of St. David's rose, and acquainted the house, that as the mode of commuting tythes for lands, in bills of inclosure, had long appeared to him to be very improper on many accounts, and as this mode was adopted in the bill now under

consideration, he had proposed in the committee to amend the bill, by leaving out all the clauses in which land is given to the rector, by way of compensation for his tythes; but the amendment not being agreed to, he should now move the house, that the bill be re-committed. His lordship observed, that the rights of the church in general, and of the parochial clergy in particular, were involved in this question; and he was therefore certain, that he had no occasion for making any apology for the trouble he was about to give the house. He stated, that tythes were the constitutional maintenance of

of ecclesiastical persons in this country, and that the law for compelling the payment of them was of at least a thousand years standing. The doctrine in Westminster-hall, and in all our law-books, was, that all lands are *tytheable jure communi*; and in compliance with this notion, and agreeably to this maxim of law, when inclosures were first made, incumbents were always permitted to take the tythes of the land inclosed, in the same manner as when open. It had been the uninterrupted custom, till very lately, to have inclosed lands subject to the payment of tythe in kind; nor was the contrary innovation of more than thirty years standing.

His lordship proceeded to remark, that the practice of commuting tythes for lands had a tendency to bring land into mortmain; which was one reason among many why our ancestors thought tythes the best and properest maintenance of ecclesiastical persons. Commuting tythes for lands was also improper, as tending to render our clergy more secular: it would cause them to be employed in country business from one end of the year to the other; and being thus immersed in worldly affairs, they would be taken off from the faithful discharge of the duties of their sacred function; and though they might free themselves from this trouble by letting their lands, yet, considering the scanty incomes of many of the parochial clergy, they would be induced to occupy these allotments themselves, with a view to make a better provision for their families. A compensation in land would likewise open a door to fraud. Parishes of any considerable extent consisted partly of old enclosures, and partly of common fields; and when these last were inclosed,

and exempted from the payment of tythes, it was usual for the occupiers to threaten the incumbents to plough up the new enclosures only, which were now become tythe-free, and to keep the old enclosures in grass, they being subject to tythe, unless the incumbents would consent to let the occupiers have their corn-tythes in the old enclosures at a very low price. This was a very obvious piece of craft, and was practised every day to the great detriment of the parochial clergy. Another objection to the practice of giving lands in lieu of tythes was, that it often tempted the incumbent to collude with the patron. Parsons were frequently lords of the manor, and, as such, were commonly the principal proprietors of the land. This being the case, the patron forms a design of inclosing the parish, and communicates it to the incumbent, who readily consents, and only asks, that care may be taken, that the allotment to be made in lieu of his tythes may be equal in value to them. The patron promises to take care of this, and to free the incumbent from all apprehensions, engages to farm the allotment of him at as high a rent as he ever made of the tythes in the best times. The inclosure takes place, and the patron hires the allotment of the incumbent on the same terms he proposed. In a few years the incumbent dies, or is removed: a new incumbent succeeds, who proposes to let the allotment at the same price his predecessor had done, but finds that he cannot get so much by half, and finds also that it is really worth no more.

Tythes had been considered by many, his lordship farther remarked, as a very improper maintenance for the clergy, because they were apt  
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to produce disputes, and to breed much ill-will between a pastor and his flock; and it was therefore thought, that an allotment in land would be much more desirable. But he professed himself to be of a contrary opinion. He observed, that the incumbent always asked a reasonable price for his tythes, because he always asked less than an impropiator did, in all cases under the same circumstances; and if it sometimes happened, that a suit was instituted by the incumbent for the recovery of his dues, it generally proved in the end, that the occupiers were to blame, since out of seven hundred tythe causes which had been tried at Westminster-hall, fix hundred and sixty were determined in favour of the incumbents; and therefore it appeared to be particularly hard, that a remedy which was so detrimental to the real interests and rights of the parochial clergy should be made use of, on a pretence of establishing peace, when the fact was, that the peace and quiet of a parish had hardly, in any one instance, been interrupted by the incumbents themselves. Tythes, his lordship said, in the hands of a discreet and judicious clergyman, instead of breeding quarrels, he was persuaded, might, and often had, proved the firmest bond of union and friendship between the pastor and his flock. Such a man would always confine his demands within the bounds of moderation, and would shew his parishioners how kindly he treated them, by comparing his demands with those which their neighbours were proud to submit to, who happened to live in a parish where the tythes were in the hands of an impropiator; and by means of these communications, and a little yielding on each side, it was easy to conceive what mutual

esteem and regard might be thus raised between the incumbent and his parishioners. But when the tythes were taken away, this cement was broken; these opportunities of communication were at an end; and as the parishioners were independent of their minister, so the minister was independent of them. They would certainly soon forget the relation they stood in to him; and he would, perhaps, too soon forget the relation he stood in to them; and instead of being an adviser or counsellor, and a friend, he would sink into the common mass of farmers, and be as little respected and regarded as the meanest among them.

The bishop of Peterborough, in reply, said, that he could not help differing from his reverend and learned friend, as far as his arguments had gone to the great question, whether the maintenance of the clergy ought to be confined to tythes, or whether a commutation for tythes ought not, in as many cases as possible, to be countenanced by the legislature. A compensation for tythes in land did not lay any obligation upon the clergyman to cultivate that land himself; and such a compensation he thought the best method of supporting the clergy. There was no obligation upon a clergyman, any more than upon any other person, that because he possessed a landed estate for life, he therefore was obliged to keep it in his own hands, to occupy or cultivate it. It was entirely optional: whereas if he took his tythe in kind, he was obliged to collect it at no small trouble, and often with great vexation; and as he could not consume any considerable part of it, he necessarily sent the rest to market, or sold it at his own house. Here he acted in the capacity of a farmer, as to the sale; and considering all circum-

circumstances, he doubted much whether the toil, labour, and anxiety, were less in one way than in the other. By having a compensation for tythes in land, he avoided many inconveniencies, and especially that contention with his parishioners on the subject of tythes, which was a great impediment to the proper discharge of the duties of his function : for no degree of piety, no advantages of wisdom, or eloquence, could make the preaching of any clergyman effectual, if the hearts of his congregation were alienated from him.

His lordship proceeded to observe, that by the superstitions and arts of the regular clergy in the times of Popish ignorance, the secular clergy had been robbed or defrauded of their rights ; and the injury done to the secular clergy in those times was afterwards confirmed by Henry VIII. That prince put an end to the existence of the regular clergy, but perpetuated the injustice ; for, instead of rendering back to the church what had been unjustly taken away by monkish fraud, he created lay impropriations, the possessors of which retain the property originally intended for the maintenance of the secular or parochial clergy. This produced a kind of mixed property, which was now distinguished by the appellations of rectorial and vicarial ; that is to say, the lay impropriator, who stood in the shoes of the regular Popish clergy, frequently held the great tythes ; while the vicar, to whom was committed the cure of souls, received only the small ones. The bill now before the house, and every other bill of a similar nature, would in some measure remedy that defect, and would make a certain provision for the vicar ; whereas if the vicar had,

for instance, the tythe of corn, the corn-land might be thrown into grass, to which he could have no claim ; or, *vice versa*, grass land might be broken up, and thrown into corn, to the exclusive benefit of the lay-impropriator, and to the injury, or, in some instances, even ruin of the vicar. This was, in its present shape, a most grievous evil, and, besides all the other mortifications the vicar suffered, left him at the mercy of his parishioners : for he was persuaded, that, in many cases, if the parish thought fit to confederate against their pastor, they might easily deprive him of the means of subsistence, according to local and other circumstances. On the contrary, by setting out his portion in land, his income would be better secured ; he might let or occupy as he thought fit or convenient ; and his having no call or demand on his parishioners, would give that sort of independence, which would enable him to discharge his duty as a clergyman in a proper manner.

The earl of Westmoreland declared, that he perfectly concurred in sentiment with the bishop of Peterborough. He was satisfied of the justice, and was convinced still more of the expediency and sound policy of passing inclosure-bills in general, and of setting out to the clergyman a certain portion of land in lieu of tythes. Land would always bear a certain and proportionate value ; and was not like money, which was constantly undergoing changes in respect of its relative worth. Taking tythe in kind, or commutations in money, were the cause of inveterate and incurable disagreements between the pastor and his parishioners. In fact, tythes  
had

had a perpetual tendency to irritate the worst passions of which the human mind was susceptible. They operated as a check to industry, as a bar to improvement. While industry and the improvement of lands were certain to be taxed by tythes, the exercise of the one, and the spirit of the other, were effectually prevented and discouraged. On the contrary, when men, by commutation, shifted so odious a burthen off their shoulders, they set themselves to work with zeal; and the wealth of individuals increased, in proportion as the industry of the husbandman was rewarded, whence a general benefit arose to the state. This was manifest from the increase of agriculture, which the various inclosure bills had of late years occasioned; and the consequent increase of the produce of grain, of various kinds, throughout the kingdom.

The chancellor declared his full approbation of the sentiments which had been advanced by the learned prelate who opened the debate. The rights of the clergy, his lordship observed, were coeval with the constitution, and had since the first establishment of Christianity in this kingdom, a period of upwards of one thousand years, been vested in the manner in which they were claimed and enjoyed at present; and though the Lateran council, held in the eleventh century, ascertained the rights of the clergy in a more precise and specific manner, with the consent and approbation of all the sovereign princes of Christendom, yet the final settlement then made, and ratified by all the parties concerned, was rather a recognition of rights already exercised and enjoyed, than creating new ones which had not been before submitted to and acknowledged. Thenceforward

the property of ecclesiastics, and of ecclesiastical bodies and corporations, stood upon as strong a foundation as that which supported or secured to the possessors any other species of property, whatever, and so it continued, without interruption, till the time of the Reformation. At the dissolution of the monasteries, indeed, a great part of the patrimony of the church went into the hands of lay impropriators; and soon after, so early as the beginning of the reign of queen Elizabeth, the lay patrons, and others interested in the event, wished to push matters still farther, and as it were to strip the church of almost every thing she possessed, by pretended compositions, modusses, not supported by prescription, and collusive bargains and agreements between the incumbent for the time being, and every person who might have it in his power to force or delude the person in possession, to defeat or injure the interest of his successor. Those frauds at last became so destructive and notorious, that the legislature was obliged to interpose; and, by laws enacted for the purpose, to prevent all fraudulent or collusive bargains, made by the person in possession, to the detriment or injury of his eventual successor; in which, among other things, the bishops, or chapters, were prevented from making longer leases than forty-two years, and the rectors and vicars longer than for seven, so as to bind those who were to come after them. The rent or equivalent reserved was not to be less than that paid to his predecessor; nor was any *modus* hereafter to be considered as such, which could not be proved to have existed at the time of the passing of that act. The universities, for the same reasons, were restrained from making

making any commutation, or receiving any compensation, but in corn, which was to bear a proportion to the current value; that is, wheat was estimated at a certain price, and so many quarters were to constitute the reserved rent, and whatever the corn came to at the future current price, at the next market-town, the university were to be paid to the amount in money. Hence the rights and property of the church, and of ecclesiastical and other learned bodies, if they were not restored, at least whatever part of them remained was in a great measure secured against future fraudulent alienations; which was a strong proof of the wisdom and sound policy of the framers of those laws. Innovations attempted upon ancient establishments furnished, at all times, good ground of alarm, and if no other argument could be produced in support of it, the conduct and caution of our ancestors held out an example worthy of modern imitation.

His lordship then proceeded to observe, that he had long entertained a jealousy of private bills, because he was convinced, from experience, that they were in general so loosely, carelessly, and improvidently conducted through both houses of parliament, that they were often attended with the most pernicious consequences to families, whose interests were fatally affected by their operation. It had lately come to his own knowledge, from the office which he held, that a family in Wales, of the name of Gardiner, were stripped of their entire subsistence, and doomed to absolute ruin, by authority of a private bill that had passed into a law, without having met with that attention, which, had it been exerted, would doubtless have caused the house to

prevent the bill from being rendered the source of so much injustice, and so much cruelty. A remarkable incident lately occurred in a committee of the other house, which shewed the necessity there was that more attention should be paid to private bills. It happened that an elderly man, rather meanly dressed, was observed to have been in the room in which a committee sat every day, and to have paid more attention to what passed, than was customarily shewn by ordinary by-standers. When the committee had nearly done their business, and came to read over the bill as they had settled it, this elderly person listened with a greater shew of anxiety, than had before been observed to be expressed by him; and when a particular clause, in which, as it afterwards appeared, his interest was materially concerned, was read, the man was so sensibly affected by it, that his uneasiness attracted the notice of sir George Saville. That truly worthy and respectable baronet immediately accosted the stranger, and begged to be informed, what it was that had shocked him so sensibly. The poor man opened his case to sir George, and it appeared, that the clause that had just been read, would have involved him and his family in utter ruin; that suspecting, as soon as he heard the bill was in agitation, that such a clause might be introduced, he had travelled up to London on foot, but was so poor that he had not money enough to fee a counsel to plead his cause, and do himself and his family justice. Sir George immediately prevented the committee from going precipitately to a report, and made an inquiry into the facts alledged by the old stranger. He found those facts to be true, upon which he introduced such an amendment

amendment into the bill, as effectually prevented the dreaded mischief: and thus, by a singular and extraordinary circumstance, was an innocent man and his family saved from ruin. This fact, his lordship said, would serve as one reason, among the many that might be stated, to shew their lordships the necessity of watching every private bill that came before them, and of examining the probable consequences of its operation, with the most scrupulous minuteness and caution. He concluded with earnestly recommending to the house, that the bill before them should be recommitted.

The earl of Sandwich said, that he could never approve, as long as he had the honour of a seat in that house, of motions which might, in their aspect and tendency, embroil and destroy the peace and quiet of the country. A very considerable part of the landed property of the kingdom was held under acts of inclosure. A great part of his own estate was of that tenure. It had been an open country, and was in a very rapid state of progressive cultivation and improvement. There were many instances, which came within his own knowledge, of the evils which arose from the clergy's being obliged to take tythes; and he was persuaded, that they would never be so effectually removed, as by a general commutation by land or money. He would ever support the just rights of the clergy; for in supporting them, he should maintain the cause of religion and virtue. Their rights and property were as sacred as those of their lordships. They were derived from the constitution, and must be maintained, or fall with it; and he was ready to risk his fortune and his life in their support. But he was fully con-

vinced, that it would be highly beneficial to the clergy, that land should be granted to them in lieu of tythes. In his own neighbourhood, which had been an open country, but was now happily inclosed, instead of the clergy and farmers being perpetually quarrelling, and going to law, all was harmony and good neighbourhood: the revenues of the church, in point of actual receipt, were considerably increased, the landed property was much augmented in its annual value, and the farmers grew rich. On the whole, being a real friend to the principle of inclosing, and seeing nothing in the present bill but what was agreeable to that general principle, he should vote for receiving the report immediately, and of course give his negative to the motion made by the learned prelate for re-committing the bill.

The bishop of Landaff now rose, and observed, that the question before the house involved in it a variety of the most important points which could possibly affect the whole of a most useful and respectable body of men, the parochial clergy; and which therefore should not be decided but upon the most mature reflection. He was, therefore, of opinion, that the bill should be re-committed. One of the consequences, he remarked, of commuting tythe for land, would be, subjecting the clergy to all the burthens of landed property. Some of those burthens had not yet been felt; they would ultimately, he feared, be destructive. He begged their lordships to consider, what must be the situation of a clergyman, whose all depended upon the land allotted by the inclosure? The immediate advantages derived from an increase of income, were more

than compensated by the heaviest future inconveniences, which, as they were remote, were unfortunately neither foreseen nor attended to. Taken on either supposition, of the incumbent's occupying the land himself, or letting it to a tenant, the event must, in process of time, prove equally fatal to the church. Ill cultivated, impoverished, and exhausted ground, desolated fences, dilapidated barns, an insolvent landlord, and an undone tenant, must leave the successor without relief, and without remedy, to bemoan, in fruitless wishes, the ill-judged exchange. As to the present constitutional provision of tythes, it was certainly attended with occasional difficulties; though those difficulties had, in his opinion, been considerably over-rated, both as to their magnitude and frequency. The clamour raised from the few incumbents who received their tythe in kind, was diligently propagated, while the silent meritorious moderation of the many, who benefitted their parishioners by an inadequate composition, remained either unknown, or studiously suppressed. The question had hitherto been argued only on the idea that there was no third mode. Should, however, the legislature determine, contrary both to his sentiments, and his wishes, to annihilate tythe in future bills of inclosure, he would just hint then, as a matter deserving the future consideration of their lordships, the substituting a corn-rent, on the principle of the well-known act of queen Elizabeth, which regulates the payment of reserved rents in collegiate houses.

The duke of Richmond observed, that in every view in which he considered it, he highly approved of the bill before the house, and should

of consequence vote for its being passed into a law. From a variety of facts, which had come within his knowledge, he was convinced of the inexpediency of taking tythes in kind, and of the numerous lawsuits, disagreements, and bad blood, which were thereby occasioned between the incumbent and his parishioners. In those parishes, where tythes were taken in kind, they bred perpetual dispute and animosity; and even as to the point of emolument, his grace solemnly protested, that he believed, upon an average, the clergyman would be much better off by making a reasonable composition, by which his parishioners would even be considerable gainers, than by collecting his tythes in kind. Several other lords spoke in this debate, in the course of which some personal altercation passed between the chancellor and the first lord of the admiralty; but the house at length divided, when the numbers for the re-commitment were 23, and against it 31. The bishop of St. David's motion being thus rejected, the report was received, and the bill read a third time, and passed.

A few days after, the subject was again discussed in the house of peers; in consequence of three propositions, in the form of resolutions, which were moved by earl Bathurst, and which were intended to bring the matter in dispute to some solemn decision. The first resolution moved by that nobleman, was, "that it was the opinion of that house, that inclosures of commons, waste lands, forests, and open fields, were highly beneficial to the kingdom." His lordship went into a history of the practice of inclosing commons, waste lands, forests, and open fields, in which he

he shewed, that in the reign of Henry VIII. and of queen Elizabeth, there was a prevailing idea, that such inclosures were detrimental, and a variety of statutes were made to forbid them. In the reign of James II. however, men began to change their opinions, and the question assumed a new face. Since that period, the advantage of inclosing commons, waste lands, and open fields, had become gradually more and more obvious, and so fully had prevailed with the legislature, that, within the last thirty or forty years, nearly nine hundred inclosure bills had passed both houses of parliament, and received the royal assent. It was, indeed, manifest, his lordship said, that inclosure bills in general greatly contributed to the benefit of agriculture, to the employment of the industrious, to the decrease of the poor's rates, and to the general wealth of the kingdom. His second resolution was, that "it was the opinion of that house, that commuting of tythes, in certain cases of inclosure, where it could be done with justice, for an adequate compensation of corn or land, was a measure equally beneficial to the clergy and the landholder, and ought to be encouraged by the legislature." This proposition, he said, was meant to have a retrospective as well as prospective view; for, as so much property had been already assessed under this species of tenure, it would operate in a two-fold manner: it would tend to quiet the minds of those who already held possessions under the faith of parliament, no matter whether clergy or laity, and encourage the proprietors of lands not divided, to apply to parliament in time to come. In speaking in support of this resolution, his lordship observed, that

till the Reformation the clergy taxed themselves, and the means by which that mode was altered, he believed, few of their lordships were particularly acquainted with. The change was effected not by an act of parliament, not by a resolution of either house, or even by any royal proclamation, but solely owed its origin to a written agreement, the record of which he had seen. It was signed by no other persons but the lord chancellor and the archbishop of Canterbury, early after the Restoration, and who were, in fact, the only contracting parties to the agreement, by which the parliament, the clergy, and the nation, had bound themselves by a tacit consent, or silent acquiescence. The tenor of this agreement was, that the clergy should give up the right of taxing themselves, provided they were allowed to vote for members of parliament, and by that means have a share in electing the representatives of the people, who were entrusted with the power of taxing the kingdom at large. Under the authority of this agreement, his lordship said, the clergy had for so many years paid taxes equally with every other description of his Majesty's subjects. His third proposition was, "that it might be expedient to give a compensation in land, money, or corn, where tythes were already usually taken in kind, or where no composition existed." This, his lordship remarked, would only operate in cases where the parties interested were equally well inclined to come to such an agreement, and would of course be entirely optional, and calculated merely to pave the way to procure a good understanding between the pastor and his flock, which, he trusted, would promote the mutual interest

of both. If these propositions were agreed to by the house, he meant to make them the foundation of a bill, to be brought in at a future time, by which all disputes concerning tythes might be removed, and proper methods be adopted for the most unexceptionable maintenance of the clergy. The propositions of Lord Bathurst were opposed by the bishops of Landaff and St. David's, and with particular zeal by the chancellor; they were defended by the earl of Coventry; but were withdrawn, after some debate, without any question, under the idea that the session was too far advanced to come to any final decision on a business of so much importance.

On the 2d of April, Mr. Duncombe, one of the members for the county of York, presented a petition to the house of commons, from the delegates of the several associated counties. But in order to prevent the ministerial party from having a pretence for rejecting it, it was not styled, a petition from the delegates, but a petition from certain freeholders of several counties. It was to have been presented by Sir George Saville, but he was prevented from attending the house by a severe illness. Mr. Duncombe lamented, that the petition should suffer by the absence of the honourable baronet; who would have given so much respect and energy to the humble and legal requisitions of the constituent body of the people; but, at the same time, he rejoiced in that public opportunity of declaring his approbation of the principle and the tendency of that petition, which spoke the sentiments, and expressed the wishes of so many thousands of his own constituents. He likewise declared,

that the prayer of the petition was altogether conformable to his own wishes and principles. He thought that the reform, which was solicited by the people, was not only proper, but absolutely necessary to the welfare and existence of our constitution.

Mr. Daniel Parker Coke said, that he highly approved of the contents of that petition, and that he himself had signed a similar one last year; but if the title of the petition had been, a petition from the delegates of certain counties, he made no scruple to declare, that such a petition ought not, in his opinion, to be received by the house; because he neither held it to be legal, nor constitutional, for any individuals, so styling themselves, to petition parliament. The only associations that he considered as warranted by law and the constitution were, associations of counties at large, or the electors of boroughs, for the purpose of petitioning parliament, or for the purpose of instructing their representatives. At the same time he desired the house to understand, that he had not the least objection to the gentlemen who were styled delegates from the several counties. He knew them to be men of the first character, and some of the most respectable men in the kingdom; and from whom, personally, no injury to the constitution could be apprehended. But the establishment of such a body, and the recognizing of them by the acceptance of their petition, he looked upon to be exceedingly improper.

Mr. Dunning said, that there could be no question now before the house concerning the propriety, or impropriety, of accepting a petition from men represented to be delegates, because the present petition

tion was not offered to them under that description. If it had, he should have been ready to have defended the propriety of such a petition, because he conceived that there was nothing either illegal, or unconstitutional, in the character or in the name of a delegate. He wished, however, to provoke no debate on that day: it was merely intended to move for the petition to lie on the table, in order that it should be taken into consideration on a future day. It had been his wish and design to have proposed to refer it to a committee; and he conceived it was a topic highly worthy of the most serious consideration of the house. But he found that this proposition would have been disputed; and, therefore, he wished to give gentlemen leisure to read the petition, and to consider it, before he should make the motion; and he had reason to believe that when they read it, and saw the names by which it was signed, the objects to which it went, and the purpose which it aimed to accomplish, they would not then think it proper to refuse the motion of referring it to a committee. Such a refusal would in fact be to say, that there was nothing in the petition deserving the consideration of the house. This, he believed, they would not venture to say. The petition was almost the same, in every respect, with that which had been presented last year from the county of York; and on which, and other similar petitions, the house had come to the resolutions of the 6th of April; and which resolutions, he would suppose, nothing but the dissolution of parliament had prevented them from carrying into effect.

Mr. Fox observed, that he did

not rise to provoke a debate, by saying any thing on the subject of the petition now presented to the house: but he could not sit still, and hear it asserted, that it was an illegal, or unconstitutional thing, to appoint delegates, or that those delegates should petition parliament. He considered it, on the contrary, not only as a legal, but, in the present circumstances and situation of this country, as a laudable measure. By what law, or what act, was it declared to be unconstitutional for the people of this country, to appoint delegates to reside in the metropolis, and to watch the conduct of their representatives? And by what law was it declared to be unconstitutional for the delegates, so appointed, to apply to parliament by a loyal and submissive petition? Did they lose the privilege of the freeholder, when they assumed the title of the delegate? or did it in any degree change the nature, or diminish the consequence of the persons, when they adopted that character? Surely not: such a petition would be perfectly constitutional. He found no law nor act to prevent it; but he found it, from every consideration, to be not only a legal, but a laudable measure: and if that petition had been declared to be the petition of the delegates, he should have been ready to have signed it in his delegated capacity, and to have defended it in that house as a faithful representative of the people. After some farther debate, the petition was brought up, read, and ordered to lie upon the table.

On the 26th of April, Mr. Penton moved for leave to bring in a bill for better preventing desertions in the navy. He informed the house, that the first object in his

proposed bill was to impose a fine of five pounds for the first offence, and ten pounds for the second, on all persons who enticed men from his Majesty's naval service, the same to be recovered by information made before any justice of the peace; the second was, to impose the same penalty, and to be levied in like manner, upon all those who should secrete any sailor, knowing him to be a deserter; and the third was, to lay a considerable fine upon captains of merchantmen, who should knowingly harbour, or employ on board their ships, any such deserter. Mr. Turner, member for the city of York, who has always distinguished himself in parliament by a laudable zeal in support of the rights of the common people, opposed the introduction of this bill. He declared, that he should ever be against any bill that had a tendency to harass the subject, and to deprive individuals of the free exercise of their natural liberty. He detested, he said, the idea of deeming an impressed man a deserter. He never could view such an individual in that light. An impressed man, in seizing the first opportunity of making his escape, did no more than nature, justice, and reason dictated; and it was cruelty in the extreme, to authorize the punishment of men for attempting to regain that liberty, which had been forcibly taken from them. The bill was also intended to punish those who concealed impressed men,

so escaping, with a heavy fine. But could it be maintained, that any man ought to be fined for concealing his brother, his friend, or his neighbour, who, having been snatched away from his family, and dragged from his house on board a ship, had found means to get on shore again? Human ty shuddered at the idea! He never would adopt such arbitrary sentiments. He made no scruple to declare, that he had concealed some hundreds of impressed men in his time: and he did it, not to injure the public service, not to impede the necessary operations of government, but to relieve men whom he knew to have been ill-treated and oppressed. The British seamen were a noble set of men; they deserved every thing of their country; they were its honour, its support, and its glory! They ought, therefore, to be encouraged, and not oppressed. Additional rewards should rather be given them, to stir them on, and to excite them to court the service; and it was equally impolitic and unjust, by cruel though unavailing restraints, to alienate their affections. They were not men to be intimidated, or deterred from endeavouring to avoid oppression. New penalties, and new punishments, only created new crimes and new offences. Notwithstanding these objections, leave was given to bring in Mr. Penton's bill; but, upon the second reading, it was very properly rejected by the house.

## C H A P. XII.

*East India Affairs. War between the Marattas and the English. Hyder Ally enters into a Confederacy with the former against the latter. He makes an Irruption into the Carnatic. Defeat the British Troops under the Command of Lieutenant-colonel Baillie. Sir Hector Munro, Commander of the British Army, retreats to Madras. Hyder Ally besieges Arcot, the principal town of the Carnatic, makes himself Master of it, and ravages the Country. Sir Eyre Coote arrives at Madras, and takes the Command of the British Army. He defeats Hyder Ally in a general Engagement. Debates on Motions made in the House of Commons, relative to the Affairs of the East India Company. An Act passed for limiting the Jurisdiction of the supreme Court at Calcutta, and for indemnifying the Governor-general and Council of Bengal, in their Resistance to the Proceedings of that Court.*

WE have already seen, that great dissensions were occasioned in the East Indies, in consequence of the establishment of the supreme court at Calcutta: but there were other circumstances which caused the affairs of the East India company to be in a critical and unsettled state. The company's servants had unfortunately engaged themselves in a contest with the Marattas, who are the only people of Hindostan that were not effectually subdued, or who did not unanimously submit to the government, and acknowledge allegiance as vassals, to the throne of the Mogul. They are a brave and warlike people, and conceiving themselves to be ill used by the company's servants, a war ensued between them and the English, which was attended with great expence, and with various success. The celebrated Hyder Ally had also been engaged in a war with the Marattas, but he afterwards made peace with them, and joined with them in a confederacy against the English. He complained, and it seems not without reason, that the latter had not kept their treaties with him: it was at least

manifest, that the company's servants had not adopted those methods to keep on amicable terms with him, which good policy required. Hyder Ally, regent of the kingdom of Mysore, was originally a soldier of fortune. He rose, by degrees, from a low rank, to the supreme command of the Rajah's army; and, on the death of that prince, imprisoned his son, whom he had destined to succeed him on the throne, and seized the reins of government, assuming the title of guardian to the young prince. Hyder possesses a valuable, extensive, and well regulated country; he can bring into the field a very numerous and well disciplined army; he is no less exact in the payment of his forces than attentive to their discipline, and his revenues are very great. About the close of the year 1779, his military force was computed to consist of 70,000 infantry, of which 20,000 were in regular battalions; 30,000 cavalry, of which 2000 were Abyssinian horse, which constantly attended his person; 10,000 Carnatic horse, well-trained; 400 Europeans; and 100 pieces of cannon, which were

worked by Europeans. He possesses great courage and abilities; and it appears, that his conduct, in his civil capacity, has been supported by a degree of political address, unequalled by any Asiatic power that has yet appeared in Hindostan. Monsi. Bellecombe, at Pondicherry, kept up a correspondence with him, and endeavoured all in his power to engage him in the interest of the French; and his efforts for that purpose were not without success.

In the month of July, 1780, Hyder Ally broke into the Carnatic with a very large army, and made a considerable devastation in the country. A short time before this, news was brought from Mauritius, that it was intended by the French to send Hyder a considerable reinforcement of troops, and a supply of military stores. At this information he is said to have expressed great satisfaction, and to have declared, that he was determined to ruin the Carnatic, and to chastise the English. "He had tried them already, he said, and knew them well; they had no conduct; and even now, although he had assembled so great a force to enter into their country, they had not manifested the least glimmering of ability, and therefore now was the time to go against them."

It appears, indeed, that there was at this time a very culpable negligence in the government of Madras, with respect to making the necessary preparations for opposing the progress of Hyder, of whose intentions they had then received sufficient information. On the 4th of September, lieutenant-colonel Baillie, with a detachment of 300 European infantry, some artillery, three battalions of seapoys, and ten pieces of cannon, was attacked by

the son of Hyder Ally, whom he defeated. Previously to this Hyder himself had besieged Arcot, the chief town of the Carnatic, but after some days thought proper to relinquish the siege. Lieutenant-colonel Baillie afterwards hearing that Hyder, with the main body of his forces, had got between him and major-general sir Hector Munro, who commanded the grand British army, he thought proper to halt where he was, and immediately dispatched several letters by different routes to that general, informing him of his situation, and intreating that he would make a motion with the army under his command, to favour his junction. The measures adopted for this purpose were not, however, of the most expeditious kind, though a detachment was sent to his assistance: but before he could make any junction with the grand army, he was attacked by Hyder Ally, on the 10th of September, with a much superior force, and totally defeated. The action lasted several hours; but the British troops were at length overpowered by numbers; Hyder's cavalry having broken in upon their line, when a great slaughter ensued. All the Europeans were either cut to pieces, or taken prisoners; and about 2000 seapoys are said to have lain dead on the field of battle. In this engagement, colonel Baillie, with many other officers, were made prisoners; and colonel Fletcher, with the captains Rumsey and Powell, were killed. After this unfortunate action, sir Hector Munro retreated immediately towards Madras. Hyder again attacked Arcot, and made himself master of the town, with an immense quantity of stores in it, on the 31st of October; and his cavalry now over-ran, and laid waste the whole

whole country. These events threw the affairs of the company, in that part of India, into great confusion : there was, indeed, much disunion in their councils ; and the conduct of those who then had the chief direction, both in the civil and military line, appears to have been highly detrimental to the interests of the company.

Such was the state of things when sir Eyre Coote arrived at Madras, on the 5th of November, with a reinforcement of British troops. He immediately took the command of the army, and made the necessary arrangements for putting it in a better condition, and for securing the remaining possessions of the company, as well as for facilitating the operations against the enemy. He also wrote to the presidency of Bombay, to sir Edward Hughes, and to general Goddard, to unite in distressing Hyder's possessions on the Malabar coast, and to be particularly assiduous in promoting peace with the Marattas. A French fleet afterwards appeared on the coast of Coromandel, which, it was expected, would have landed some assistance for Hyder Ally ; but it left that coast, in February, 1781, without doing this, or without effecting any material injury to the British settlements. The following month sir Eyre Coote retook some places of which Hyder had made himself master ; and sir Edward Hughes destroyed some ships at Mangalore, the principal sea-port of Hyder on the Malabar coast. General Coote was indefatigable in his exertions to oppose the progress of Hyder ; and on the 1st of July, he brought him to a general action between Porto Novo and Mooteapollam. The engagement lasted eight hours, and it was a hard fought day on both sides.

The army of Hyder consisted of twenty-five battalions of infantry, 400 Europeans, from 40 to 50,000 horse, and above 100,000 matchlock men, Peons and Polygars, with forty-seven pieces of cannon. But though the British army was exceedingly inferior in point of numbers, the troops of Hyder at length retreated, and left sir Eyre Coote master of the field of battle. Meer Saib, Hyder's favourite general, was mortally wounded in the action ; and among 4000, who were killed, were many of his principal officers. Between three and four hundred were killed of the British troops, and they lost but few officers.

But before this favourable turn in the company's affairs, a motion was made by lord North, in the house of commons, on the 31st of April, " That a committee of secrecy should be appointed, to inquire into the causes of the war now subsisting in the Carnatic ; and of the present condition of the British possessions in those parts ; and to report the same, with their observations thereon." Mr. Fox opposed the appointment of a secret committee, and moved, by way of amendment, that it should not be a " secret," but a " select committee ;" and this amendment was strenuously supported by Mr. Burke. Sir Thomas Rumbold, late governor of Madras, who was now returned from India, and become a member of the house of commons, remarked, that the situation of our affairs in India was such, as to require the sober and serious investigation of parliament ; and he declared, that there was nothing which he more ardently desired, than that the whole of this business should be thoroughly and fairly examined. With respect to the institution of the committee, he

he said, it would certainly be very unbecoming of him, circumstanced as he was, to be a member of it, and it was what he by no means desired : but though he was aware, that a secret committee was better calculated to do business with dispatch and effect, than an open one, yet there was something in the idea of a secret committee which was far from being satisfactory. In the progress of this inquiry it would be found, that there was great idleness, and much labour, in the necessary course of the investigation. It would be difficult, amidst the voluminous masses of papers which they must have before them, to select such as immediately pointed to the object of the inquiry ; and they would have much need of assistance and aid from gentlemen, who, by being in office at the time, and interested in the business, would naturally be more acquainted with those objects. An honourable member of that house, who was in the council of Bengal, and himself, who had been the governor of Madras, might be of essential service to the committee in this respect ; and he took the liberty to suggest this to the house. After some debate, the motion was agreed to, as originally proposed by the minister.

On a subsequent day fifteen members were chosen, by ballot, who were to constitute this committee of secrecy. When their names were reported to the house, it was remarked by Mr. Thomas Townshend, that excepting Mr. Gregory, and Mr. Philip Yorke, the whole committee was composed of the tried friends of administration, of men on whom the first lord of the treasury could entirely depend. He, therefore, owned, that he had no hopes of its producing any good :

it would be like all the former inquiries ; it would end in disappointment ; and would only serve to shew, that the minister instituted this inquiry merely to deceive the nation. He proceeded to observe, that it was from the minister's screening delinquents, when they came from India, that all the evils in that quarter of the globe had originated ; and if matters were suffered to go on there, as they had lately been conducted, odious and abhorrent as the conduct of the Spaniards, on their first discovery and conquest of America, had universally been held to be, by every writer that had treated on the subject, still more odious and more detestable should we, as a nation, be looked upon for our conduct in India. It was reported, that the nabob of Arcot had several members in that house ; and if it were true, that by sending a sum of money over to England, he could seat eight or ten members in that house, Mr. Townshend declared it to be his opinion, that they were become the most abject, the most contemptible set of beings in existence.

On the 23d of May following, a motion was made by general Smith, that the report of the committee on the petition from the governor and council of Bengal should be read ; which having been done, the general recapitulated the many hardships that the zemindars, or feudatory princes of India, together with the natives of that country, suffered from having been subjected to the jurisdiction of an English tribunal, and to English laws. He represented the establishment of that tribunal, and the government by English laws, as utterly inconsistent with the customs, manners, and religious principles of the natives of India ; and hence concluded, that it seemed proper

proper totally to abolish the supreme court which had been established in that country. He did not, however, mean at present to go so far; he intended only to introduce such regulations as should make the court of judicature less odious, and less oppressive to the natives of India. They were daily harraffed by its summonses; and the people in every part of the country were enemies to its jurisdiction. Nay, the judges had carried their authority so far, even over the company itself, as to authorize the sale of lands belonging to the company; thus taking on themselves to determine upon the right to the territorial acquisitions; a question upon which parliament itself had never yet thought proper to give an opinion. In consequence of their proceedings the country was in the greatest disorder. All law and regulation were at an end, and there appeared a most dangerous and extensive scene of anarchy and confusion, which forcibly called for the immediate intervention of parliament, by which peace and order might be restored as soon as possible. He, therefore, moved for leave to bring in a bill, "to explain and amend so much of an act, passed in the thirteenth year of the reign of his present Majesty, for the better regulation of the India company, as related to the administration of justice in Bengal; and also to indemnify the governor and council of Bengal, for having resisted, by force of arms, the execution of an order of the supreme court of judicature in that kingdom." Leave was accordingly given to bring in the bill.

The same day the house resolved itself into a committee of the whole house, when lord North rose, and observed, that it had been much his wish, that an agreement for the renewal of the charter of the East

India company should have been amicably made, and that voluntary propositions should have come from themselves, offering terms for the benefit of the exclusive trade, and of the territorial acquisitions. But he was sorry to say, that no petitions had been sent from the company, nor any agreement made: a negotiation had, indeed, taken place between him and the chairman and deputy-chairman; but the propositions made by them were not such as the public might expect, or the parliament accede to. With regard to the territorial acquisitions of the company, his lordship said, that it was his opinion, and that of others more learned in the law, that the public had a right to all territorial acquisitions made by private subjects; but how far it might be proper to let the revenue of those territorial acquisitions remain in the receipt of the company, was quite another question. He thought it would be wise to leave the revenue in their hands as long as they held the exclusive trade, because the one was connected and blended with the other; but as to foregoing the claim of the public, to that he never would consent. After sundry other observations, his lordship made a motion, "That it was the opinion of that committee, that three-fourths of the surplus of the net profits of the East India company, ever since the company's bond-debt was reduced to one million five hundred thousand pounds, and the company's dividends have been eight *per centum per annum*, belong to the public, and that six hundred thousand pounds in lieu thereof, and in discharge of all claims on the part of the public, be paid into his Majesty's exchequer by instalments, in such manner, and at such times, as shall be agreed on."

This motion was opposed by Mr. Hanley,

Hussey, who reprobated the idea of taking 600,000*l.* of the company under its present circumstances. He produced a paper, full of arithmetical calculations, which he read to the house, and stated to be correct computations of the amount of the company's exports and imports, the expences of their trade at home, and the balance of profit of each year, for many years past, distinguishing the commercial from the territorial expences and incomes. From these computations and statements, Mr. Hussey shewed, that the commercial and territorial revenues of the East India company had, upon an average of sixteen years successively, constituted together a sum equivalent to a proportion of sixteen per cent. That nine per cent. of this had arisen from the commercial profits accruing to the company; and, therefore, that there had not been eight per cent. divided upon that part of the profits to which the public had any claim or pretension. He farther remarked, that the accession of the territorial possessions brought with them additional expences, and that the public had already received a very large share of the company's profits. He declared it to be his opinion, that the company should always make it a rule, to give as ample and full relief to the public burthens as their situation would allow; and if they did this, he saw no reason why the minister should expect more. He ought not, by the strong hand of power, to force from them what they did not themselves think they could, under their present circumstances, spare or afford, and what, at the same time, they might think themselves under no obligation to pay.

Mr. Dempster warned the house, to take care how they proceeded in a matter that went to affect the chartered rights of the East India company, and reminded them of the consequences of violating the charter of Massachusetts's bays, and various others. We had certainly suffered enough, he said, by the violation of charters. It had brought us into our present difficulties, and had armed Europe against us. He added, that to tear from the company by force what was not stipulated for in any act of parliament, would be a breach of public faith that would disgrace the nation, and damp the spirit of enterprize and adventure, which had been productive of such happy effects. It was to that spirit we owed the territorial acquisitions of the India company, and all the immense benefits that had, in consequence, accrued to the revenue of this country.

Mr. Burke opposed the motion with great vehemence; and asserted, that it was the daring effort of a minister, determined on rapine and plunder, without regard to truth, honour, or justice; a violent and shameless attempt to rob the company, in order to pursue the purposes of the most lavish waste and the most profligate corruption. But the motion was defended by the lord-advocate of Scotland and sir Grey Cooper, and was at length agreed to by the house. In consequence of this motion a bill was afterwards brought in, for paying in, and applying to the public service a portion of the surplus profits of the East India company: the bill met with some opposition, but passed both houses, and received the royal assent. It should, however, be observed, that in the act the sum to be paid by the company

to the government was reduced to 400,000*l*.

On the 3d of July, the bill was read the third time in the house of commons, which had been brought in by general Smith, for the regulation of the administration of justice in Bengal, and for indemnifying the governor-general and council in the resistance made by them to the process of the supreme court. It met with some opposition, particularly from Mr. Dunning, who had a personal friendship for sir Elijah Impey, the chief justice at Calcutta; and this great and able lawyer was thought, on this occasion, to have suffered his regard for his friend to interfere too much with the more important obligations of public justice. The bill, however, passed both houses, and received the royal assent. By this

act, it was declared, that the governor-general and council of Bengal were not subject to the jurisdiction of the supreme court, on account of any thing done by them in their public capacity; and they were indemnified in the resistance which they had made to the orders of that court. It was also enacted, that no person should be subject to the jurisdiction of the supreme court on account of his being a land-owner, or farmer of land, in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; that no judicial officers in the country courts should be liable to actions in the supreme court for their decisions; and the two mufties, and Behader Beg, who were then in prison, in consequence of the decision of that court in the Patna cause, were ordered to be discharged.

## C H A P. XIII.

*Petition presented to the House of Peers, in Behalf of a Criminal convicted, and ordered for Execution, by the Court of Justiciary in Scotland. The Petition rejected by the House. Debate, in the House of Commons, on a Motion made by Sir George Saville, that the Petition from the County Delegates should be referred to a Committee of the whole House. The Motion rejected. Decision of the House of Peers, relative to the several Claimants of the hereditary Dignity and Office of Lord Great Chamberlain of England. Motions made by the Minister, grounded on the Reports of the Commissioners of Accounts. Debates on the Bill for preventing certain Profanations and Abuses of the Lord's Day.*

ON the first of May, a petition was presented to the house of peers, in behalf of James Bywater, a criminal, convicted, and ordered for execution, by the court of justiciary in Scotland, for a street-robbery within the city of Edinburgh. After the petition had been read, lord Mansfield moved, that it should be rejected.

In support of this motion, his lordship urged, that the petitioner, who appealed to their lordships from a decision of the court of justiciary in Scotland, came to them for relief upon this ground, and upon this only, that of a mere literal error, in the name of one of his jurors, and as written on the back of his indictment; an error not applicable

to himself in any sense, or which might or could affect him as an innocent man. After conviction, when the prisoner was first discovered, the objection was made, and the matter of law argued, before the court of judicature; but the objection was over-rated. It did not appear, therefore, that there was any injustice in the conviction of the petitioner: but besides this, his lordship gave it as his opinion, that the house was not authorized, by law or usage, to entertain and decide upon appeals from the decisions of the criminal judicatures of Scotland. Indeed, their lordships had frequently decided, and repeatedly determined, that they had no such appellate jurisdiction, as he made appear by several cases which he stated, and in which such appeals had been dismissed. The petition was accordingly rejected.

On the 8<sup>th</sup> of the same month, a motion was made in the house of commons, by sir George Saville, that the petition which had been before presented from the delegates of counties by Mr. Duncombe, but which had been signed by them only as freeholders, might be referred to a committee of the whole house. He had presented, he observed, a similar petition the last year from the county of York; and the objects both of this, and of the former, were a reformation of the public expenditure, and a reduction of the influence of the crown. As the present petition had been some weeks upon the table of the house, he was at liberty to suppose, that its contents had been examined; and it was certainly reasonable to request, that something farther might now be done respecting it. The requisitions of the petition were, undoubtedly, well-grounded; they were in

conformity with the sentiments of the majority of the people; the great supplies of the year proved the expence of the war, and that there was the utmost necessity for public economy; and the charge of profusion was confirmed by the shameful terms of the late loan, in which a million was squandered, for no purpose but that of corrupt influence. These loans were scandalously improvident; and, perhaps, they were made improvident, only that the members of that house might be induced to continue the war, and grant the most unheard-of supplies. The extravagance of the loan would appear manifest, by a comparison with the loans made by the East India company. They borrowed money at four per cent. while the public gave nine; and India bonds bore a premium, while navy-bills were subject to a discount of twelve per cent. With regard to the influence of the crown, which was complained of in the petition now before the house, and which the last parliament had declared ought to be diminished, this continued so much to be increased, that he verily believed there was not even honesty and virtue enough in that house, to come to the resolutions of their immediate predecessors.

Mr. Rawlinson expressed his surprise, that a petition, signed by only thirty-two persons, should be held in a respectable light as if it had been signed by thousands, and that it should be supposed to contain the sentiments of all the people of England. But it might, perhaps, be urged, that though the petitioners were but thirty-two in number, they stood delegated by several counties in England. If that was the light in which they were to be considered,

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he would not hesitate a moment to reject their petition; because he knew of no such body of men in our constitution as county delegates, excepting those who were within those walls. All delegation out of that house was unconstitutional and illegal; nor could there be any other view in such sort of delegation, but that of forming a body to awe and controul the legislature.

Mr. Courtney opposed the motion, though not by serious argument, but in a vein of irony and ridicule; for which he was severely reprehended by Mr. Thomas Townshend. He observed, that the levity with which that gentleman treated every question of the most serious and solemn nature, might be agreeable to the ministers, as they wished to throw all public virtue into ridicule; but it could neither give them respect with the people, nor character with posterity. These were the mean resources of profligacy and impotence, and they merited no other regard, either in that house, or in any other place, than contempt.

Mr. Sawbridge declared, that he was of opinion, that the gentlemen who had acted in the character of delegates, had acted justifiably and properly. He was himself one of the delegates, and was ready to vindicate his own conduct in that character. He presumed, that the right of petitioning would not be denied; and if this were admitted, it was clear that the right included the means of attaining the object in a legal and constitutional manner. Indeed, the right to associate, to appoint committees, and to choose certain persons, and delegate the powers of a greater body to a smaller or select one, was, he believed, of the very essence of large popular

bodies. If they had a right to assemble, for the purpose of petitioning, they had a right to petition; and, if to petition, to devise the most proper means to give that petition effect. It was usual in all such meetings, in all meetings for promoting a redress of grievances, or for effecting a good, or averting a public evil, to form committees, and for those committees to associate with others, standing in the same predicament, and interested in common respecting the desired event.

In the course of the debate several gentlemen contended, that associations and delegations were illegal; but Mr. Dunning, with great energy and precision, supported this great privilege of the subject, as strictly conformable to the spirit of the constitution, and not contrary to the letter of the law. He observed, that it had sometimes been pretended, that associations, committees of correspondence, delegations, and petitions to that house, signed with more than twenty names, were contrary to law and the constitution. But it was a clear and fundamental point in the constitution of this country, that the people had a right to petition their representatives in parliament; and it was by no means true, that the number of names signed to any such petition was limited. The act, which was passed in the reign of Charles II. prohibiting, under certain penalties, any petition to be presented to the king, or either house of parliament, if signed by more than twenty persons, for altering the religion, or the laws, was completely repealed by an article in the Bill of Rights, which was meant to restore to the people that great privilege, which the act of Charles was calculated to abridge, if not to take away. To argue

argue that the act of Charles was now in force, would be as puerile and absurd, as to contend that the prerogative of the crown still remained in its full extent, notwithstanding the declarations in the Bill of Rights. If it were true, that the people of this country had a right to petition the legislature, they had a right to assemble together for that purpose; and while their meetings were sober, peaceable, and orderly, they were strictly legal. As to associations, committees of correspondence, and delegations, their innocence, or their criminality, must depend entirely upon the views with which they were constituted. There could be no legal criminality in them, unless some evil intention were proved. Associations to overturn the constitution, to resist the execution of the laws, or to commit any violence, subversive of order, government, and domestic peace, were certainly illegal and highly criminal; such associations ought to be resisted by the civil authority, and suppressed by the intervention of the laws. The laws had sufficiently armed the executive power against any association to overturn the legal government; and the ministry would be traitors if they suffered, either by wilful treachery, or blind negligence, such an association to far to grow and strengthen itself, as to be able to surround the parliament, and with arms and military array, to over-awe their proceedings, and force them to do what they pleased. But an association even of this nature would be legal in certain circumstances. If ever a period should arrive, when the three branches of the legislature should unite in a scheme to destroy the liberties of the people; or if the house of commons, forgetting their

origin and their duty, should become the mere creatures and slaves of the crown; it would then be no longer illegal for the commonalty of England to resume their just share in the legislature; and the means by which they accomplished this, whether it was by associations, by remonstrances, or by force, would be not only right, but laudable. It would be an honourable imitation of the conduct of their ancestors, by which the constitution had been wrested from the rapacity and from the violence of prerogative. As to the late public meetings and associations in England, the proceedings respecting them had been grave, deliberate, and orderly: the people had met to exercise a lawful right, that of petitioning their representatives in parliament; and in doing this, they had observed the most steady decorum, and the strictest regard to public tranquillity. He concluded with declaring, that the house ought to agree to the motion, as a matter essentially due from them to the almost unanimous requisition of their constituents. After a debate of considerable length, sir George Savile's motion was rejected, on a division, by a majority of 212 to 135.

Several claimants having appeared to the hereditary dignity and office of lord great chamberlain of England, void by the death of the late duke of Ancafter, their claims were solemnly argued before the house of peers on the 9th of May. The opinions of the twelve judges were taken on a subsequent day, and the final determination of the house was, "That the office devolved to lady Willoughby, of Eresby, and her sister, as co-heirs of the late duke of Ancafter; that no person under the degree of a knight had a right

right to exercise the same; and that as the investiture of the office belonged to the king, so the right of nomination of a deputy must likewise be in his majesty." After this determination, Peter Burrell, esq. husband to lady Willoughby, received the honour of knighthood, and was appointed by the king to execute the office. The other claimants of this office, and whose claims by this decision were set aside, were the dukes of Athol, the present duke of Ancaster, and earl Percy.

On the 10th of the month, the minister having bestowed some compliments on the abilities and assiduity of the commissioners for stating the public accounts, made three motions that were grounded on their reports. The first was, for leave to bring in a bill to prevent delays in the payment of the money, received by the receivers of the land-tax, and for the better securing the same. The second was, for leave to bring in a bill to give security and indemnity to certain accountants, on the payment of the balances in their hands into the exchequer. And the third, for leave to bring in a bill to continue and enlarge the provisions of an act, made in the last session, for appointing a commission to examine the public accounts, and make their report to that house. Some objections were made to these motions by colonel Barré and Mr. Burke; but they were all agreed to by the house, and the bills were afterwards passed that were grounded upon them.

A bill was brought in this session by Mr. Mansfield, the solicitor-general, for preventing certain profanations and abuses of the Lord's-day, commonly called Sunday.

This was levelled at Carlisle-house,

where was a public promenade, and where it was said that very licentious persons resorted, under the pretence of drinking tea and coffee; and also at places where religious questions were advertised for public disputation on the Sunday evening. The solicitor-general urged in support of his bill, that the sabbath-day was much profaned, that houses of amusement were opened on that day, where disorderly people resorted, and where the doctrines of religion were discussed in a very indecent manner. He read two advertisements; one, wherein the doctrine of the Trinity was the subject proposed for disputation; and the other, the existence, or non-existence of Purgatory. When the bill came to a second reading, it was zealously opposed by Mr. Turner, who expressed his apprehensions of a design in government to destroy, by little and little, the foundations of religious liberty, and of renewing those days of intolerance and persecution, when men were not permitted to serve God in their own way. He called upon the house to be very cautious how they endeavoured to abridge or annihilate the religious freedom enjoyed by the subjects of this country, of meeting together, and examining the foundations of their faith. It was his opinion, that, instead of prohibiting such pious and sober discussions, the government and legislature should be solicitous to promote them.

Mr. Sawbridge said, that he conceived there were laws already in being for the prevention of such disorders as were supposed to be attendant on these meetings; and he considered the present as an unnecessary as well as a very alarming expedient. The legislature multi-

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plied penal laws of late with a degree of blameable rapidity. The statute-book of the present day was filled with scarcely any thing but crimes; a circumstance which struck him as exceedingly unwise, and he could not but think it tended to the increase rather than to the prevention of immorality.

On the third reading of the bill, it was also opposed by Mr. Martin, member for Tewksbury, who observed, that he thought it an infringement of religious liberty; and declared, that though no man had a more profound veneration for the genuine doctrines of Christianity than himself, yet he had always held in detestation that idea, that persons of the middling and inferior ranks should be excluded from the privilege of searching into and examining the doctrines of religion. It appeared to him, that it was one of the prime excellencies of the Christian religion, that its doctrines were as eminent for their plainness and simplicity, as they were for their purity and sublimity. With respect to the Sunday evening's amusements that were objected to, he was much inclined to believe, that they rather prevented mischief than were the cause of it. It was much better that men should be engaged in religious disputations, though they might be absurdly conducted, than in many other diversions, and vicious practices, which were permitted in every part of the town. Even the gaming houses, which were established in the neighbourhood of St. James's, were a much more proper subject of parliamentary interference. Those houses were the bane and destruction of our young nobility and gentry, by rendering them first necessitous, and afterwards subjecting them, in consequence, to the temp-

tations of a minifter, the iniquity of whose measures might require corruption to support them.

Some other gentlemen also objected to the bill, which was very feebly supported in point of argument; but it passed the house of commons, and was transmitted to the house of peers. It was there opposed by the earl of Abingdon and the duke of Manchester. The latter nobleman observed, that he was an enemy to dissipation and immorality, and had never been at the promenade at Carlisle-house; but he considered both the places of religious debate, and of Sunday walking and drinking tea, as perfectly innocent. The bill was defended by the bishop of Chester; and it having been intimated, that it favoured of Popish persecution, his lordship remarked, that it was only meant to prevent that irreligion which our Protestant ancestors abhorred, but the laws to effect which were found inadequate to the purpose. Instead of having any thing in it of Popish persecution, the bill was levelled at Popish customs: for in France, and in other countries where the same religion prevailed, from the principles of that religion, plays, operas, and other pastimes, were tolerated on the Lord's day. But the Protestant religion, founded on the Protestant constitution, and our clearest rights, did not permit that profanation, and therefore every law to serve that purpose must be truly constitutional. His lordship also observed, that the places of public debate were supported not for the purpose of promoting religion, but for the pecuniary advantage of the proprietors; and that the people who spoke there were paid a weekly stipend, for the purpose of drawing others to the house. The

The bill passed both houses, and received the royal assent: but it did not meet with much applause among the most sincere, judicious, and enlightened friends to the real interests of religion. It was considered by many as little better than an awkward affectation of religion in the promoters of the bill; it was feared, that it might lead to some other improper restraints on the liberty of

the subject; and it was thought, that while houses of the most licentious nature were permitted to be open on the Sunday, without any effectual opposition from the magistrates, it was scarcely worth while for the legislature to frame a penal statute, in order to prevent men from disputing, however absurdly, on religious subjects.

## C H A P. XIV.

*Debate in the House of Commons, on a Motion of Mr. Burke, relative to the rigorous Treatment of the Inhabitants of St. Eustatius, after the Capture of that Island. Debate on a Motion of Mr. Minchin, relative to the British Seamen confined in the Spanish Prisons. Application made to Parliament for a Renewal of the Bank Charter. Debate on a Motion made by Mr. Fox, that the House should resolve itself into a Committee, to consider of the American War. The Motion rejected. A new Marriage Bill, brought in by Mr. Fox, thrown out in the House of Peers. Grant of an annual Sum to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, to be paid out of the Produce of a new Duty on Almanacks. Petitions to both Houses from the American Prisoners. Speech from the Throne. The Parliament prorogued.*

THE extreme rigour with which the inhabitants of St. Eustatius had been treated, after the capture of that island, and particularly the seizure of their private property, as it was severely and very justly censured by many, so it particularly excited the indignation of Mr. Burke, who is as much distinguished by the humanity of his disposition, as by the brilliancy of his genius. Accordingly he endeavoured to make this transaction a subject of parliamentary animadversion, and therefore moved, in the house of commons, on the 14th of May, "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to give directions, that

there should be laid before that house, copies of all proclamations, memorials, orders, and instructions, and of all official correspondence from and to any of his Majesty's ministers, relative to the disposition of the property belonging to the States-general, and to individuals, inhabiting or interested in the places or territories taken from the said States-general in the West Indies." In the speech by which he introduced this motion, he painted in very strong colours the cruelty which had been exercised towards the inhabitants of St. Eustatius. He mentioned a variety of facts in support of his representation; and entered largely into the investigation of that right which a  
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conqueror attains to the property of the vanquished by the law of nations: he proved, that the law of nations had been grossly violated in this instance; and declared, that if the facts had not been ascertained beyond a possibility of doubt, he should not have believed that such acts could have been perpetrated by British soldiers. He observed, that we ought not, by instituting a scheme of inhuman plunder, and unjust oppression, to make more enemies, or to incense and provoke those with whom we were already involved. It could not be supposed, that other powers would stand unconcerned spectators of the renovation of that system of havock, which it had been the pride of civilized Europe to execrate and explode.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Thomas Stanley, who remarked, that the transactions of the fleet and army, at the island of St. Eustatius, were so truly impolitic and disgraceful, that they required the most severe reprehension from every man, who paid any regard either to the feelings of human nature, or to the character of Englishmen. The motion was opposed by lord George Germain, lord Nugent, the lord-advocate of Scotland, and captain John Luttrell; and it was observed, that it would be highly improper for parliament to investigate the transactions at St. Eustatius, at a time when admiral Rodney was employed in the service of his country in another part of the world, where he had done the state great service, and could neither be apprized of such an attack upon his conduct, be prepared for his defence, or be heard in his own justification. After a debate of some length, the motion was rejected by a great majority.

On the first of June, Mr. Minchin stated to the house, that he had received information, that there were then more than 3000 British sailors and soldiers confined in the prisons of Spain. It was said, that they were severely treated, and that numbers of them had enlisted into the service of Spain, from the neglect of their own country, and from despair of receiving their liberty. It was the duty and the business of the ministry to see that this useful body of men were restored to their country, and relieved from those temptations to which human nature was liable in such a state. He, therefore, moved, that "extracts and copies of all such letters and negotiations, as had taken place in regard to the exchange of these prisoners, might be laid before the house." In support of the motion, Mr. Webb said, that he also had been acquainted, that in consequence of no proper measures being adopted for the release of these seamen, many of them, in order to avoid the hardships which they suffered in prison, had entered into the Spanish service, and the greatest encouragement had been given to them in consequence of their superior naval skill and dexterity. Lord North replied, that a cartel for the exchange of Spanish prisoners was in agitation; but that a claim we had upon the Spaniards, for 1200 prisoners, had stood in the way of its being settled.

Mr. Burke said, that by the disgraceful practice which had now taken place in our management of war, the unhappy seamen were, by the impress, dragged on shipboard, contrary to all their prayers and remonstrances; and yet they generously forgave the injury, and fought the battles of their country.

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But in return for this, when they fell into foreign captivity, they were neglected and forgotten; they were left to perish in a sultry climate; it was even deemed factious to enquire after them. In short, they found in the admiralty only an iron hand to oppress, but no compassion, nor any spirit to protect them. After some farther debate, the motion was rejected, by a majority of 53 to 29. Mr. Minchin's motion being thus rejected, Mr. Burke moved that it should be resolved, "that there had been 3000 British seamen and soldiers confined in the prisons of Spain since the month of August last; and that no satisfactory information had been given to the house, to shew that the necessary steps had been taken to procure their exchange." But this motion was also rejected, on a division, by a similar majority.

The house went into a committee, on the 6th of the same month, on a petition from the governor and company of the Bank of England. The minister stated the purport of it to be, that their charter expiring in the year 1785, they applied to parliament for the renewal of it for twenty-one years from that period, for which they proposed, as a valuable consideration, to lend to government two millions for three years, at three per cent. the interest to be provided for by the sinking fund; one million to be issued on the 15th of November next, and one million on the 15th of February following. This offer the noble lord stated to be fair and equitable, both for the public and the Bank; and said, that he proposed to apply the money to paying off so much of the navy debt, which he considered as the best use that could be made of it. The proposition was strongly

opposed, as being a bargain very unfavourable to the public; but it was agreed to by the majority, after much debate; and a bill was prepared accordingly, and regularly passed.

On the 12th of June, a motion was made by Mr. Fox, "That the house should resolve itself into a committee, to consider of the American war." He urged, as one reason for entering at that time into an inquiry on the subject, that it appeared, even from the circumstances which attended our victories over the Americans, that the final subjugation of them was impracticable. It appeared, by the late dispatches from America, that though lord Cornwallis had done every thing he proposed, by penetrating into North Carolina; though he had been fortunate enough to come up with general Greene, had engaged, and defeated him, he had not found one good consequence result from his success, not being joined by any body of Americans, as he expected, nor even retaining the ground upon which he had conquered. It was therefore manifest, that the war in which we were engaged was at once impracticable in its object, and ruinous in its progress. If his motion for resolving the house into a committee should be adopted, he meant, he said, to follow it with another motion, that it should be resolved, "That his Majesty's ministers ought immediately to take every possible measure for concluding peace with our American colonies."

The motion was supported, among others, by Mr. William Pitt, son to the late earl of Chatham. He expressed himself in the most indignant terms of the cruelty and wickedness of the American war. 12

was conceived, he said, in injustice; it was nurtured and brought forth in folly; its footsteps were marked with blood, slaughter, persecution, and devastation. In short, every thing which went to constitute moral depravity and human turpitude were to be found in it. It was pregnant with mischief of every kind, while it meditated destruction to the miserable people who were the devoted objects of the black resentments which produced it. The mischiefs, however, recoiled on the unhappy people of this country, who were made the instruments to effect the wicked purposes of its authors. The nation was drained of its best blood, and of its vital resources of men and money. The expence of it was enormous, much beyond any former experience, and for which nothing was received in return but a series of ineffective victories, or severe defeats; victories only celebrated with temporary triumph over our brethren, struggling in the holy cause of liberty; or defeats, which filled the land with mourning for the loss of dear and valuable relations, slain in the impious cause of enforcing unconditional submission.

Mr. Pratt, son to lord Camden, made his first essay in parliamentary eloquence in this debate. In a speech, delivered with great modesty and diffidence, he supported the motion, and expressed his full conviction of the pernicious tendency of the American war, and of the utter impracticability of succeeding in our iniquitous efforts to subjugate the inhabitants of the colonies.

The paymaster of the forces opposed the motion, but declared, that no man disliked the continuance of the American war more than he did. He lamented it as a citizen; he dis-

approved of it as a senator; and, in his official capacity, several matters came to his knowledge, which convinced him that it was attended with an enormous and ruinous expence: but however disagreeable or destructive it was, or might prove, he could not perceive how the present motion would tend to remove the evil. War, upon a general ground, was a national evil at all times, and in all possible situations. The American war was peculiarly so, for many obvious reasons; and the numerous and powerful enemies, which had combined against us, rendered the present war extremely alarming. Yet it was necessary that we should continue to defend ourselves, and to protect our dominions. A separate peace with America, he said, was now impracticable; such was the state of things, that it was impossible to discriminate America from the rest of our public enemies, or to draw a line between her and France, Spain, or Holland, particularly France. He contended, that they were embarked upon the same bottom, and must rise or fall together. America was now a public and avowed enemy to all intents and purposes. There was no possibility of qualifying or separating their claims or interests from those with whom she was combined. At all events, we ought not to avow to the world, that we looked upon ourselves to be no longer in a condition to prosecute the war with any hopes of success, because this would prevent our obtaining an advantageous peace. In the course of his speech, Mr. Rigby paid some handsome compliments to Mr. Fox, and declared, that, from the greatness of his talents, he considered him as an honour to his country. After a long debate, which we shall not enter

ter into more particularly, because the arguments for and against the American war have been so frequently repeated, the motion was rejected, by a majority of 172 to 99.

A bill was brought in this session by lord Beauchamp, for rendering valid marriages solemnized in certain churches and public chapels, in which banns had not usually been published before, or at the time of passing the marriage act; and another marriage bill was afterwards brought in by Mr. Fox. This occasioned considerable debates in both houses, in which much was said of the pernicious tendency of the marriage act. By Mr. Fox's bill, the necessity of publishing banns, or having a licence, was taken away, when the parties were arrived at the age of eighteen in the male sex, and sixteen in the female; and no marriage was to be declared null, in or by any suit at law, after the parties had cohabited together as man and wife for one year. The bill passed the house of commons, but was thrown out by the lords.

A bill having passed the house of commons, for granting an additional duty upon almanacks, and for allowing the sum of five hundred pounds out of the said duty to each of the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge, in lieu of the same sum of which they had been deprived by a late determination of the courts of law, this grant to the universities was opposed by the chancellor, when the bill

June 20. came into the house of peers; and some of the arguments used by his lordship on this occasion were thought, at least by men of letters without doors, to be rather extraordinary. He observed, that he knew of no just motive or pretext for wantonly lavishi-

ing so considerable a part of a public tax upon the two universities. It had been alleged, indeed, that it had enabled them to print valuable manuscripts, and evidence to prove this had been brought to their lordship's bar. But was it, he asked, of any material benefit to the public, that the university of Oxford should employ their money in printing books, which but very few persons would purchase? What utility was there in printing either Persian or Coptic manuscripts, or many other curious trifles? They must be much more elevated in their learned pursuits than he affected to be, who could be either pleased with or comprehend them. When he was at the university, he endeavoured to acquire that species of learning, which promised to be most useful to him in his intended pursuits of life, or otherwise he should have thought that he had spent his time there very unprofitably. He never troubled himself about Persian or Coptic, but confined his attention to that kind of study, which was likely to make him understood, and to enable him to understand others. He was of opinion, that neither of the universities had any claim to the sums proposed to be granted them; but of the two, he said, Cambridge had the most merit; because that university, as appeared by the evidence, had wisely avoided printing any books but those which, from the sale, would reimburse their expences. It was thought strange, that this learned chancellor should imagine, that it was more meritorious in either of the universities, to publish such books as common book-sellers would be induced to print, from a regard to their own emolument, rather than those which might extend our acquaintance with

oriental literature, and enlarge the boundaries of knowledge. If there be any books which should be particularly published by a learned university, they are undoubtedly entitled to a preference, which tend to enlarge our knowledge of ancient or oriental literature, but the sale of which would naturally be too limited to defray the ordinary expenses of publication. Notwithstanding the objections of the chancellor, the bill was passed, and received the royal assent.

A motion was made, the same day, in the house of commons, by the minister, that a sum not exceeding one million should be granted to his majesty, for the purpose of providing for any unforeseen contingencies that might increase the extraordinary of the army during the summer recess, such sum to be raised by exchequer bills, charged, or chargeable, on the first supply to be raised next session of parliament. The motion was agreed to, after a short debate.

A petition was presented to the house, the same day, by Mr. Fox, from the American prisoners in Mill-prison, Plymouth; setting forth, that they were treated with less humanity than the French and Spaniards, though, by reason that they had no agent established in this country for their protection, they were entitled to expect even a larger share of indulgence than others; that they had not a sufficient allowance of bread, and were very scantily furnished with clothing. A similar petition was presented to the house of peers by the duke of Richmond; and these petitions occasioned considerable debates in both houses. Several motions were grounded on these petitions; but those proposed by the lords and gen-

tlemen in opposition were determined in the negative, and others to exculpate the government in this business were resolved in the affirmative. It appeared, upon inquiry, that the American prisoners were allowed half a pound of bread less per day than French or Spanish prisoners: but the petitions of the Americans produced no alteration in their favour, and the conduct of administration on this occasion was equally impolitic and illiberal. The additional allowance, which was solicited on behalf of the prisoners, could be no object either to government, or to the nation; and it was certainly unwise, by treating American prisoners worse than those of France or Spain, to increase that fatal animosity which had unhappily taken place between the mother country and the colonies, and this too at a period when the subjugation of the latter was become so hopeless.

Towards the close of the session, a circumstance happened, which was somewhat of a singular nature. In a bill, called the Chocolate and Cocoa-Bill, and which included several other objects, it had been provided, that all judgments of the commissioners of excise, or justices of the peace within their respective jurisdictions, with regard to offences committed against the bill, should be as final and conclusive, to all intents and purposes whatsoever, as any judgment for the condemnation of any commodities, goods, or effects, given in his majesty's court of exchequer: and that such judgments of the commissioners of excise, and justices of the peace respectively, should be liable to appeal, in those cases only where an appeal was allowed by any act or acts of parliament. Petitions being presented against these clauses, it was  
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agreed, after the hearing of counsel, that they should be left out, in order that the force and effect of the judgments of commissioners of excise, and justices of the peace, might be tried and determined in a due course of law. However, notwithstanding this agreement, the offensive clauses were retained in the bill, and in that form it passed through both houses, and received the royal assent. When the matter came to be known, it excited no small degree of speculation; and doubts were entertained, whether the retaining of the clauses complained of was owing to accident, or whether it was the result of some secret treachery. In general, it was understood to be merely a mistake; a new act became necessary to be passed, in order to repeal the two clauses; and it is said, that the lord chancellor was very instrumental in detecting and rectifying the error.

The session was closed, on the 18th of July, by a speech from the throne, in which his majesty declared to both houses, that although the business of the session had required a longer attendance than

might have been consistent with their private convenience, he was yet persuaded, that they looked back with satisfaction on the time they had employed in a faithful discharge of their duty to their country, in the present arduous and critical state of public affairs. The zeal and ardour, he said, which they had shewn for the honour of his crown, their firm and steady support of a just cause, and the great efforts which they had made to enable him to surmount all the difficulties of this complicated war, must convince the world, that the ancient spirit of the British nation was not abated or diminished. His majesty added, that peace was the earnest wish of his heart; but he had too firm a reliance on the spirit and resources of the nation, the powerful assistance of his parliament, and the protection of a just and over-ruling Providence, to accept it upon any other terms or conditions, than such as might consist with the honour and dignity of his crown, and the permanent interest and security of his people. The parliament was then prorogued to the 13th of September following.

## C H A P. XV.

*Affairs of Ireland. Perpetual Mutiny-Bill passed in that Kingdom. Objections to that Bill. Efforts of the Irish Nation to obtain constitutional Reforms. France. M. Necker lays before the French King a State of the Finances of that Kingdom. The Emperor of Germany grants the free Exercise of Religion to the Protestants in the Austrian Dominions. Adopts other Measures calculated to reduce the Number of religious Houses. The Pope writes to the Emperor, complains of his late Proceedings, and proposes to pay him a Visit at Vienna. The Emperor's Reply. He declares Osnaburg to be a free Port, and accedes to the armed Neutrality. Internal Commotions in the Republic of Geneva. Engagement off the Dogger-Bank, between the British and Dutch Fleets, under the Command of Vice-Admiral Parker, and Rear-Admiral Zoutman.*

**I**N the course of the year 1780, the people of Ireland having obtained, in consequence of their own spirited exertions, and with the concurrence of the British parliament, a free and unrestrained trade, began also to aim at some important constitutional reformations. But this appeared to be much more the desire of the people at large, than of the majority of the Irish parliament, who had been brought to some acquiescence in the views and measures of administration, by the same means which were often found successful in England. In consequence of this tractable disposition, at the very period when the spirit of the nation was high, and when the people were loudly contending for an augmentation of their liberties, the Irish parliament passed a perpetual mutiny-bill for the regulation of their army, though that of England had always been cautiously passed only from year to year. It is probable, that a great part of the Irish nation did not at first perceive the pernicious tendency of this bill; but after it was passed, some of their most zealous patriots, and particularly Mr. Grattan, took great pains to convince the nation at large

of the dangerous and unconstitutional nature of that act: that gentleman observed, that standing armies, in time of peace, were against the principles of the constitution, and the safety of public liberty; that they had subverted the freedom of all nations, excepting in those instances where their numbers were small, or the power of the sovereign over such an instrument, limited in quality or duration; for it was in vain to set bounds to the authority of the chief magistrate, in other matters, by the general tendency of law, if a specific statute or ordinance should give him a perpetual and irresistible force. As the army itself was dangerous, so also was that code of law by which such an establishment was regulated and accommodated. The mutiny-bill, or martial law methodized, was not only different from, but directly opposite to the common law of the land; it set aside her trial by jury, departed from her principles of evidence, declined her ordinary tribunals of justice, and in their place established a summary proceeding, arbitrary crimes, arbitrary punishments, a secret sentence, and a sudden execution. The object of this code

code was to bring those who were reached by it to a state of implicit subordination, and to create in their sovereign an absolute authority. It furnished a perfect image of arbitrary power. Accordingly, the people of England, from a laudable jealousy on all subjects which related to liberty, had exceeded, on the subject of the army, their usual caution; they had, in the preamble of their annual mutiny-bill, claimed their birth right; they recited that part of the Declaration of Right, "That standing armies, and martial law in peace, without the consent of parliament, are illegal;" and having stated the simplicity and purity of their ancient constitution, and set forth a great principle of Magna Charta, they admitted a partial and temporary repeal of it; they admitted an army and a law for its regulation, but they limited the number of the former, and the duration of both; confining all, the troops themselves, the law that regulated, and the power that commanded them, to one year. Thus was the army of England rendered a parliamentary army, and the constitutional ascendancy of the subject over the soldier preserved; the military was rendered effectually subordinate to the civil magistrate, because dependent on parliament; and the government of the sword was controlled in its exercise, because limited in its duration, and the king entrusted with the command of the army during good behaviour only. And yet the people of England had hitherto very wisely considered the army, thus limited, thus dependent, thus qualified, and sheathed, as a necessary evil; and would not even admit of barracks, lest the soldier should be still more alienated from the state of a subject,

and thus alienated and armed have a post of strength, and the dangerous nature of his condition be aggravated by situation. When the parliament of Ireland proceeded to regulate the army, they ought therefore to have adopted the maxims of the British constitution, as much as the rules of British discipline. But they had totally departed from the example and the maxims of England; they had done so in the most important concern, the government of the sword; and in their mutiny bill, they had omitted the preamble which declared the great charter of liberty, they had left the number of forces in the breast of the king, and under these circumstances they had made the bill perpetual.

In consequence of the ardour by which the Irish nation was actuated, to obtain some constitutional reformation, in the course of the year 1781, in various county meetings, and meetings of their armed associations, the supremacy of the British parliament was denied in public resolutions. They also instructed their representatives to exert their utmost efforts for the promotion of every measure that might tend to establish the independence and exclusive competency of their own legislature; to labour to restore to the lords and commons of Ireland their ancient right of legislation, by a final extinction of the unconstitutional powers of the privy council, as introduced by the law of Poynings; to give their strenuous support to an Habeas Corpus act; to provide for the impartial administration of justice, by securing the independence of the judges; to abolish all such places and pensions as neither rewarded public virtue, nor promoted public service; and to use their best endeavours to obtain a limited

mitted mutiny bill, instead of the present. The zeal and activity with which their associations continued to arm and exercise themselves, evinced also their determination to assert their rights, and to enforce their claims, if it should be necessary, by a mode of application that should not be disregarded.

In the month of January, 1787, *Monf. Necker*, director-general of the finances, laid before the king of France, and caused to be printed for the public inspection, a state of the finances of that kingdom. In the memorial which he addressed to the French monarch on this occasion, *Monf. Necker* observed, that he had been induced to render to his majesty a public account of the success of his labours, and of the actual state of the French finances, by the consideration, that the openness and the authenticity of such an account might tend greatly to promote the welfare of his majesty's affairs. Such a statement of accounts might also put every person who was concerned in his majesty's councils, in a situation to study and to attend to the state of the finances; a species of knowledge important in itself, and having either connection with, or relation to all deliberations of moment. He took notice, that a principal cause of the great credit of England was, the public notoriety to which the state of her finances was submitted: this account was every year presented to parliament, and afterwards printed; and the money-lenders, being thus regularly made acquainted with the proportion maintained between the receipts and disbursements, were not rendered uneasy by those chimerical suspicions and fears, which were the inseparable concomitants of a more disguised conduct. But in France,

the state of the finances had constantly been made a matter of mystery; or, if it was sometimes spoken of, it was in the preambles of edicts, and always at the moment when there was occasion to borrow. But it was of great moment to fix the public confidence upon a more solid basis. The sovereign of such a kingdom as France might always, at his pleasure, maintain the balance between his ordinary expences and revenues. The diminution of the former, ever seconded by the public wish, was in his own hands; and, when circumstances required it, the augmentation of the imposts was submitted to his power. But the most dangerous, as well as the most unjust of all resources, was that of seeking temporary aids in a blind confidence, and engaging for loans, without having, either by an augmentation of the revenue, or by a retrenchment of expences, provided for the interests. Such an administration as seduced, by procrastinating the moment of embarrassment, only increased the evil, and made farther advances in undermining the precipice; whilst a different conduct, more simple, and more liberal, would multiply the resources of the sovereign, and perpetually restrain him from every species of injustice.

*M. Necker* divided his account of the French finances into three parts; the first concerning the actual state of the finances, and all the operations which related to the royal treasury, and to public credit; the second was intended to unfold the operations which had united important measures of œconomy with great advantages in government; and in the third, he gave an account of some dispositions and regulations which had lately taken place, and which had for their object the  
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general welfare of the people, and the prosperity of the state. At the close of his address to the French monarch, Mr. Necker expresses himself in the following terms: "My whole time has been devoted, without intermission, to the exercise of the important functions which your majesty has intrusted to my care. I have neither sacrificed to reputation, nor to power, and I have disdained the trappings of vanity. I have renounced even the dearest private satisfaction, that of serving my friends, or obtaining the gratitude of those who surround me. If any person owes to my single favour, either a pension, a place, or an employment, let him be named. I have had no other object than my duty, and the hopes of meriting the approbation of a master, new to me; but my devotion and zeal for his service shall not be exceeded by any of his subjects; and I also avow, that I have proudly relied on the public approbation, of which wicked men have endeavoured to despoil me, but in spite of their efforts, justice and truth will prevail."

In the third part of this piece, M. Necker expresses very strongly his regret, that, in consequence of the commencement of the war, the introduction of reformatations, and the promotion of œconomy, had not been productive of all those beneficial effects to the people, which they might have received from them, if peace had been continued. Had now war broken out, many of the burthens might have been lightened, their taxes might have been reduced, the national debt lessened, canals opened, trade promoted and extended, new and useful establishments founded in the kingdom, and various blessings communicated to the na-

tion. On this subject he expresses himself with the wisdom of a statesman, and exhibits the benevolent and enlarged views of a philosopher; he expresses himself in a manner that greatly interests us in his favour; and which naturally leads us to conclude, that the opposition he has met with in France, has been the result of the intrigues of the selfish, the venal, and the ambitious; of those who had objects in view very different from the welfare of their country. Among such men a virtuous and incorrupt minister will ever meet with enemies, who will endeavour to thwart his schemes, and to misrepresent his designs; and all those who are fond of the vain trappings of a court, will naturally employ their efforts for the same purpose.

Some expectations were this year formed in England, that the emperor of Germany would declare in favour of Great Britain, that he would enter into an alliance with it, and make such a diversion on the continent, as must compel the house of Bourbon, as well as the States of Holland, to enter into a treaty of peace. These expectations appear to have been totally groundless; the emperor seems to have had very different views, and to have been desirous of promoting the interests of his subjects, not by the arts of war, but by the arts of peace, and by communicating to them the advantages of religious toleration. He issued letters patent, granting the free exercise of their religion to the Protestants all over the Austrian dominions; by a public edict he declared, that all religious houses, monasteries, and convents, in the Austrian Netherlands, were exempt from all foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and other regulations were adopted,

adopted, calculated to reduce the number of religious houses, and to discountenance all monastic institutions. These proceedings of the emperor naturally gave great alarm to the papal see; accordingly the pope, Pius VI. towards the close of the year, remonstrated against these measures of the emperor, though in terms expressive of great regard: he reminded him that pope Benedict XIV. had been his god-father; he besought him not to strip the apostolic see of any of those rights which it had enjoyed from the remotest times; and acquainted him, that notwithstanding his advanced age, he would speedily make a journey to Vienna, in order to converse with him, in an amicable manner, concerning some late innovations in religion which he had made, and to endeavour to prevail with him not to invade the rights of the church, or to diminish the pontifical prerogatives. The emperor soon after returned an answer, assuring his holiness, with great gravity, that his heart was truly *catholic* and *apostolic*, and that he was filled with the utmost respect and deference towards the sovereign pontiff. But as to the late regulations which he had established, they had been made with due consideration, and with good advice; and they were strictly conformable to equity, reason, humanity, and religion. If his holiness thought proper to come to Vienna, he would certainly be received with all the respect and attention which were due to his exalted station. But if his design of coming thither related to those regulations concerning religion about which the emperor had already decided, his holiness's journey was entirely superfluous. His imperial majesty concluded with soliciting the most holy father, that he

would be pleased to favour him with his apostolic benediction.

On the 11th of June, 1781, the emperor, who was then at Ostend, issued a placart, by which he declared that town to be a free port; and three days after he had an interview with the Duke of Gloucester at Bruges. He also established some regulations concerning internal navigation in the Netherlands; and, on the 9th of October, this year, acceded to the armed neutrality.

The republic of Geneva, which had long enjoyed a great degree of tranquility and happiness, was now unfortunately much involved in civil discord, in consequence of very violent disputes which had taken place between two parties of the inhabitants, the principles of one of which were aristocratical, and of the other democratical. Some of the magistrates, and leading men of the republic, appeared much inclined to encroach upon the liberties of the common people, who on their part evinced a determined resolution to oppose every attempt of this kind. These disputes occasioned some interference of the cantons of Zurich and Bern, as well as of the court of France; but this interposition only increased the domestic troubles of the republic. It was the aristocratic party that appears to have been most favoured by the court of France. In the course of this year a letter was sent to the magnificoes of Geneva, by M. de Vergennes, in the name of the king of France, expressing his dissatisfaction that the cantons of Zurich and Bern were not disposed to concur with him in sentiment, either on the necessity of a speedy pacification, or the means of procuring it. His majesty, therefore, declared, that he should leave to the cantons of Zurich and Bern  
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the care of restoring peace to the republic of Geneva; at the same time cautioning those cantons, not to consent to any resolution, which might deprave the nature of the government of Geneva, by turning it into a confused democracy. This would be an innovation that his majesty was interested in preventing. The French monarch farther acquainted them, that he would take all the orders of the state of Geneva under his *protection*; and that if any one should attempt any thing against the life, or liberty of any inhabitant of the republic, without government employing the necessary means to punish such offender, the king would take that care upon himself, as also of restoring amongst them *good order*, speedily, and by all means which his power could command. These royal menaces, joined to the internal disturbances of the republic, could not but convey very alarming apprehensions to the friends of its freedom and independence.

Though the Dutch nation had been much disused to war, and were very ill prepared for it, when hostilities commenced between that republic and Great Britain, at the close of the year 1780, it yet appeared, from a naval engagement which happened on the 5th of August, 1781, that the Dutch were still possessed of that determined courage which distinguished them in the days of De Ruyter and Van Tromp. It was early in the morning when vice-admiral Hyde Parker, with the British squadron under his command, fell in with a Dutch squadron, with a large convoy, off the Dogger Bank. The British fleet consisted of one ship of 80 guns, two of 74, one of 64, one of 60, one of 50, one of 44, one of 40, three

other frigates, and a cutter. The Dutch fleet, which was commanded by rear-admiral Zoutman, consisted, according to their own account, of one of 74, one of 68, one of 64, three of 54, and one of 44, besides frigates; but the English account represents the Dutch fleet as consisting of eight two-decked ships. No gun was fired on either side till they were within the distance of half-musket shot. The action began about eight in the morning, and continued with an unceasing fire, for three hours and forty minutes. Both sides fought with equal ardour, and little advantage was gained on either side. When the heat of the action was over, both squadrons lay to a considerable time near each other, when the Dutch ships of war, with their convoy, bore away for the Texel; and the English ships were all too much disabled to follow them. It appears, that a Dutch seventy-four gun ship sunk soon after the action. On board the British fleet 104 were killed, and 339 wounded; and the loss of the Dutch was probably greater. Admiral Zoutman, in the account of the engagement transmitted by him to the Stadtholder, said, that his men "fought like lions;" and it was said by the British admiral, in the account sent by him to the admiralty, that "his majesty's officers and men behaved with great bravery, nor did the enemy shew less gallantry." The admiral of the Dutch fleet was promoted, honorary rewards were given to the principal officers, and two months pay to the men, for their behaviour in this action. When admiral Parker's fleet arrived at the Nore, his majesty, in order to testify his sense of his merit, went on board his ship, with the avowed design, as it is said,

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of conferring on him the honour of knighthood, but this the admiral thought proper to decline; and it was generally supposed, that this veteran officer was much disgusted, that more ships had not been sent to

him, for which he had applied, and which he conceived might have been spared, and whereby he might have been enabled to obtain a complete victory.

## C H A P. XVI.

*Transactions in the West Indies. Unsuccessful Attempt of Admiral Rodney, and General Vaughan, against the Island of St. Vincent's. Action between the British and French Squadrons under the Command of Sir Samuel Hood and the Count de Grasse. The Island of Tobago taken by the French. Disputes in some of the West India Islands between the Houses of Assembly and their Governors. A Squadron, under the Command of Commodore Johnstone, attacked at Port Praya, in the Island of St. Jago, by a French Squadron, under the Command of Monsr. Suffren. The French are beaten off. The Commodore surprises five Dutch East Indiamen in the Bay of Saldanha, of which four were taken, and one burnt. He returns home, without effecting the Purpose of his Voyage. The Spaniards become Masters of the Province of West Florida. The Island of St. Eustatius retaken by the French. Spirited and successful Sally made by the Garrison at Gibraltar, in order to destroy the advanced Works of the Spaniards. Admiral Kempenfelt, with a British Squadron under his Command, meets with a French Fleet of superior Force, under the Command of M. de Guichen, and takes a Number of Transports which were under the Convoy of that Admiral.*

**I**T was an unfortunate circumstance which attended the West India islands, in consequence of the contest between Great Britain and the colonies, and the hostilities with France and Spain which that occasioned, that these islands became a considerable theatre of war. At the close of the year 1780, an attempt was made by admiral Rodney, and general Vaughan, against the island of St. Vincent's. They were induced to engage in this enterprize, by the reports that were made to them, of the ruinous and defenceless state of that island, in consequence of the late hurricanes. They proceeded so far as to land a body of troops and marines upon the island, who marched four miles up the country; but, upon reconnoitring the ene-

my's works, they were found to be so strong and well fortified, both by art and nature, that it was thought proper to reembark the troops, and to return again to St. Lucia, without any farther effort in prosecution of the design.

On the 29th of April, 1781, a partial engagement took place in the West Indies, between a British squadron, consisting of eighteen ships of the line, under the command of sir Samuel Hood, and a French squadron consisting of twenty-four sail of the line, under the command of the count de Grasse. No material advantage was gained on either side. The loss on board the British fleet was 36 killed, and 161 wounded. An unsuccessful attempt was made  
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by the French soon after on the island of St. Lucia; and on the 24th of the following month, the *marquis de Bouillé* made a descent on the island of Tobago, and on the 2d of June it surrendered to the arms of his most Christian majesty. Sir George Rodney was then at Barbadoes; and George Ferguson, esq. governor of Tobago, after his return to England, complained loudly that the island had been unnecessarily lost. Admiral Rodney had sent rear-admiral Drake, with six sail of the line, three frigates, and some troops, to the assistance of the island; but they were sent too late, and the island had capitulated, before any relief was afforded it. In a letter of Rodney, which was published in the *Gazette*, some surprize was expressed, that the place had surrendered so soon: upon which governor Ferguson published an account of the siege, signed with his name, in all the London papers, in which he observed, that he apprehended, that “the world would think it more extraordinary, that a British admiral, with twenty-one ships of the line under his command, should allow an enemy’s squadron, of four ships and frigates, and a few sloops, to besiege for ten days together a British colony, within twenty-four hours sail of him, without either relieving the island, or endeavouring to destroy the squadron, than that an island, without any fortification whatever, defended by only 427 men, without even covering sufficient to shelter them from the inclemency of the weather, should be unable to hold out longer than ten days, against an army of veteran troops above five times their number.” The governor’s narrative was so perspicuous, so apparently satisfactory, and his charge against the admiral so strong, that it was

1781.

thought incumbent on the latter to vindicate his conduct: but no answer to the governor’s accusation has yet appeared.

Besides the inconveniences which the British West India islands suffered in consequence of the war, it was also a misfortune to some of them, that they were involved in domestic disputes, occasioned by their dissatisfaction at the conduct of their governors. This was particularly the case with Jamaica and Barbadoes, in both which islands there were frequent contests about this time between the houses of assembly and the governors. But the remonstrances of the inhabitants on this subject did not meet with much attention, from those in whose power it was to have afforded them relief: for it seemed, indeed, to be a kind of maxim with the British administration, at this period, to pay little regard to any complaints from the subjects of the empire, respecting any abuse of authority, from whatever quarter they might come, Ireland only excepted; and, with respect to that kingdom, they were induced to relax a little from the high tone they were accustomed to assume, by the powerful and energetic arguments of the Irish volunteers.

About the beginning of the present year, commodore Johnstone was invested with the command of a squadron, which was destined to attack the cape of Good-Hope; and it was supposed, that from thence he was to have proceeded to the Spanish settlements of Buenos Ayres, in the Rio de la Plata of South America, where there had been some dangerous insurrections, which had given considerable alarm to the court of Madrid. But in neither of these designs was his expedition successful. The court of France,

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being desirous of assisting the Dutch in the present state of things, had sent a fleet from Brest, of superior force, in order to counteract the designs of commodore Johnstone against the Dutch settlement at the Cape. The strength of the commodore's squadron was well known to the French commander, *Mons. de Suffrein*, who came up with the British fleet at the Cape de Verd islands, and attacked it whilst lying under the protection of the Portuguese flag, in Port-Praya, in the island of St. Jago; several outward-bound East-Indiamen being also under the commodore's convoy, and then in that port. At the time when the French fleet arrived, which was on the 16th of April, 1781, at least fifteen hundred persons were absent from the British fleet, who were said to be employed in watering, fishing, embarking live cattle, and other necessary occupations: but this circumstance has been supposed to imply a want of vigilance and of discipline in the commander, and the rather because he had received intelligence, that a fleet of the enemy was in those seas, whose particular object it was to frustrate the design of his expedition. The British fleet, when first attacked, appear to have been in some confusion, and it has been thought, that the ships were not disposed in the most judicious manner for their defence. However that might be, the English fought with their usual bravery, and the French were beaten off; one of the East-India-men was taken by the French, but was afterwards retaken. The loss sustained in the action by the British fleet was ninety-seven killed and wounded. But what was still more

stone could make his appearance there: the attempt upon that place was therefore entirely frustrated, and the French became masters of the settlement and harbour. The commodore, however, on the 21st of July, surprised five homeward bound Dutch East-Indiamen, which were at anchor in the bay of Saldanha; four of which he captured, and the other was burnt. But it was now found expedient to relinquish the original objects of his expedition: the ships destined for the East Indies proceeded on their voyage thither, and the commodore returned home with his prizes.

It must be numbered amongst those many misfortunes of Great Britain, which were occasioned by her contest with the colonies, that the arms of Spain were so successful in America, as to reduce all our settlements on the Mississippi, and to make an entire conquest of the province of West-Florida. Pensacola surrendered to Don Bernardo de Galvez, the Spanish governor of Louisiana, on the 9th of May, 1781. The reduction of the place was facilitated by a shell from the enemy, which accidentally burst by the door of the magazine of an advanced redoubt, set fire to the powder within, and in an instant the body of the redoubt became a heap of rubbish. By the explosion, forty-eight foldiers, twenty-seven sailors, and one negro, lost their lives; besides twenty-four others who were wounded, and most of them dangerously. Even after this unfortunate accident, the garrison continued to defend the place with great gallantry, but were obliged to submit to the very superior force of the enemy. They obtained an honourable capitulation, and were treated by the Spanish general, Don

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Bernardo de Galvez, with great generosity and humanity.

The island of St. Eustatius, which in the earlier part of the year had been thought so important a conquest, was lost towards the close of it in a very dishonourable manner. On the 26th of November, about four hundred French troops, under the command of the marquis de Bouillé, landed from three frigates, and some small craft at Jenkin's bay, at the back of the island, and made themselves masters of it by surprize. The French commander had been induced to engage in this enterprize, by the information that he had received of the negligent situation of the garrison, and that a place proper for the landing of troops was left wholly unguarded. Lieutenant-colonel Cockburn, to whom the government of the island was intrusted, and the whole garrison, which consisted of six hundred and seventy-seven men, were made prisoners of war. On the evening of the day on which the island was taken, the marquis de Bouillé called a meeting of the principal Dutch inhabitants of the island, and made a public speech to them, declaring, that he re-captured this island by the order of the king his master, not with a view to extend his majesty's dominions in those seas, but to relieve them from their distresses and oppressions, by restoring to them their ancient government under the dominion of the States-general, for whom he would garrison and defend the island, till the king's troops should be relieved by the troops of their High Mightinesses. He also informed them, that he should for the present appoint officers, in the civil department, from among their ancient inhabitants, to govern them in all respects by their own laws.

A large sum of money, which had been taken from the Dutch inhabitants, and which had been deposited in the governor's house, was likewise returned to such of them as could ascertain their right to it. The island of St. Martin was also taken by the French about the same time.

In Europe, the island of Minorca was vigorously attacked by the Duke de Crillon; and the fortress of Gibraltar continued also to be closely besieged, and bravely defended. On the 27th of November, a most spirited sally was made by the British garrison of the latter, in which they attempted to storm and destroy the whole of the advanced works of the Spaniards, which, after immense labour and expence, were arrived at the highest state of perfection. The detachment, which was appointed for this enterprize, was formed in three columns, and marched from the garrison at the setting of the moon, about three o'clock in the morning. The columns were severally composed of an advanced corps, a body of pioneers, artillery-men carrying combustibles, and a sustaining corps, with a reserve at the rear. The pioneers of the left column were seamen. They attacked the Spanish works with such irresistible fury, that the enemy, after a scattering fire, which was of no long continuance, gave way on all sides, and abandoned their stupendous works with great precipitation, and in the utmost consternation. The pioneers and artillery-men exerted themselves in so wonderful a manner, and spread their fire with such amazing rapidity, that in half an hour two mortar batteries of ten thirteen-inch mortars, and three batteries of six guns each, with all the lines of approach, communication, and traverse, were in flames, and

were entirely reduced to ashes. The mortars and cannon were spiked, and their beds, carriages, and platforms destroyed. Their magazines blew up, one after another, as the fire approached them. The astonished Spaniards, seeing all opposition to be fruitless, offered no other resistance than an ill-directed fire of round and grape-shot from the forts of St. Barbara, St. Philippe, and the batteries on the lines, and remained in their camp spectators of the conflagration. The whole of this brave detachment, which had sustained very little loss, was in the garrison again by five o'clock, just before break of day. This was a most gallant exploit, and must have impressed the Spaniards with a strong idea of the dauntless intrepidity of the British soldiers and seamen.

On the 12th of December, Admiral Kempenfelt, who had under his command twelve sail of the line, and

some frigates, fell in, about 53 leagues distant from Ushant, with a large French fleet, consisting of nineteen ships of the line, besides frigates, under the command of M. de Guichen, who had also under his convoy a number of transports, laden with troops and stores. As the British fleet was so much inferior in force to the French, admiral Kempenfelt did not think it prudent to hazard an action; but he had the good fortune to take fourteen of the French transports, laden with artillery and ordnance stores, and which had on board 1062 soldiers, and 548 seamen. This was a very important capture; for as these transports were intended for the West Indies, the seizure of them was a considerable obstruction to the schemes of the French, and contributed to the security of the British West India islands.

## C H A P. XVII.

*American Affairs. Action between the British and French Fleets off the Capes of Virginia. Proclamation issued by Lord Cornwallis, after the Victory obtained by him over General Greene at Guildford. Lieutenant colonel Simcoe defeats a large Body of the Americans. Action between the British Troop under the Command of Lieutenant-colonel Stewart, and the Americans under General Greene, near the Eataw Springs. Expedition undertaken by General Arnold against New London, and the Devastation committed by him there. Vigorous Defence of Fort Griswold. Critical Situation of Lord Cornwallis in Virginia. Ineffectual Attempts to afford Assistance to that Nobleman. Action between the French Fleet under the Command of Count de Grasse, and the British Fleet under the command of Admiral Graves, off the Chesapeake, in consequence of which the latter are obliged to return to New York. Lord Cornwallis, and his whole Army, surrender themselves Prisoners of War, by Capitulation, to the united Armies of America and France, under the Command of General Washington.*

FROM the account that has already been given of some of the principal military operations of the present year in America, it appears, that though considerable advantages had been gained by the royal troops, yet no event had taken place from which it could rationally be expected, that the final termination of the war would be favourable to Great Britain. It was also a disadvantageous circumstance, that there was some misunderstanding between admiral Arbuthnot and Sir Henry Clinton, and a mutual disapprobation of each other's conduct. This was manifest from their dispatches to government, and especially from those of General Clinton, whose expressions respecting the conduct of the admiral were by no means equivocal.

On the 16th of March, 1781, a partial action happened, off the Capes of Virginia, between the fleet under admiral Arbuthnot, consisting of seven ships of the line, and one fifty-gun ship, and a French squa-

dron, consisting of the same number of ships of the line, and one forty-gun ship. Some of the ships in both fleets received considerable damage in the action, and the loss of the English was 30 killed, and 73 wounded; but no ship was taken on either side. The British fleet had, however, considerably the advantage, as the French were obliged to retire, and were supposed to be prevented by this action from carrying troops upon the Chesapeake, in order to attack general Arnold, and impede the progress of lord Cornwallis. But it was an unfortunate circumstance, that some time before this engagement the *Romulus*, a ship of forty-four guns, was captured by the French off the Capes of Virginia.

We have seen, in a preceding chapter, that lord Cornwallis, after his victory over general Greene, at Guildford, proceeded to Wilmington, where he arrived on the 7th of April. But before he reached that place, he published a proclamation,

calling upon all loyal subjects to stand forth, and take an active part in restoring good order and government; and declaring to all persons, who had engaged in the present rebellion against his majesty's authority, but who were now convinced of their error, and desirous of returning to their duty and allegiance, that if they would surrender themselves, with their arms and ammunition, at head-quarters, or to the officer commanding in the district contiguous to their respective places of residence, on or before the 20th of that month, they would be permitted to return to their homes, upon giving a military parole; they would be protected, in their persons and properties, from all sorts of violence from the British troops; and would be restored, as soon as possible, to all the privileges of legal and constitutional government. But it does not appear, that any considerable number of the Americans were allured by these promises to give any evidences of their attachment to the royal cause.

On the 20th of May, his lordship arrived at Peterburgh, in Virginia, where he joined a body of British troops that had been under the command of major-general Philips, but the command of which, in consequence of the death of that officer, had devolved upon brigadier-general Arnold. Before this junction, he had encountered considerable inconveniences from the difficulty of procuring provisions and forage; so that in a letter to Sir Henry Clinton, he informed him, that, his cavalry wanted every thing, and his infantry every thing but shoes. He added, that he had experienced the distresses of marching hundreds of miles in a country chiefly hostile, without one active or useful friend,

without intelligence, and without communication with any part of the country.

On the 26th of June, about six miles from Williamsburgh, lieutenant-colonel Simcoe, and three hundred and fifty of the queen's rangers, with eighty mounted yagers, were attacked by a much superior body of the Americans, but whom they repulsed with great gallantry, and with equal success, making four officers, and twenty private men prisoners. The loss of the Americans in this action is said to have been upwards of 120, and that of the British troops not more than 40.

On the 6th of July, an action happened, near the Green Springs in Virginia, between a reconnoitring party of the Americans, under general Wayne, amounting to about eight hundred, and a large part of the British army under lord Cornwallis, in which the Americans had 127 killed and wounded, and the loss of the royal troops is supposed to have been considerably greater. It was an action, in which no small degree of military skill and courage was exhibited by the Americans. In a variety of skirmishes, the marquis la Fayette very much distinguished himself, and displayed the utmost ardour in the American cause.

In South Carolina, an action happened, on the 9th of September, near the Eataw Springs, between a large body of British troops, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Stewart, and a much superior body of Americans, said to amount to more than 4000, under the command of general Greene. It was an obstinate engagement, and lasted near two hours; but the Americans were defeated, and two of their six-pounders

pounders fell into the hands of the English. The loss, however, of the royal troops, was very considerable; amounting to more than 400 killed and wounded, and upwards of 200 missing.

In the course of the same month, general Arnold was sent on an expedition against New London, in Connecticut, where he destroyed a great part of the shipping, and an immense quantity of naval stores, European manufactures, and East and West India commodities. The town itself was also burnt, which is said to have been unavoidable, on account of the explosions of great quantities of gunpowder, which happened to be in the storehouses that were set on fire. But the necessity of destroying the town has been disputed: it has been represented as an act of wanton barbarity; and it has been urged in support of this opinion, that there could be no real necessity for burning New London, because the houses of that town were insulated, at the distance of three, four, or five yards, one from the other, to prevent the ravages of fire. A fort, of which it was thought necessary to gain possession in this expedition, was not taken without considerable loss. This was fort Griswold, which was defended by the Americans with great gallantry, and the assault was made by the English with equal bravery. The British troops entered the works with fixed bayonets, and were opposed with great vigour by the garrison with long spears. After a most obstinate defence of near forty minutes, the assailants gained possession of the fort, in which eighty-five Americans were found dead, and sixty wounded, most of them mortally. Of the

British troops, major Montgomery was killed, by a spear in entering the American works; and 192 men were also killed and wounded in this expedition.

Notwithstanding the signal advantages that lord Cornwallis had obtained over the Americans, his situation in Virginia began, by degrees, to be very critical; and the rather, because he did not receive those reinforcements and supplies from Sir Henry Clinton, of which he had formed expectations, and which he conceived to be necessary to the success of his operations. Indeed, the commander in chief was prevented from sending those reinforcements to lord Cornwallis, which he otherwise might have done, by his fears respecting New York, against which he entertained great apprehensions that general Washington intended to make a very formidable attack. In fact, that able American general appears to have taken much pains, and to have employed great art, in order to lead Sir Henry Clinton to entertain this imagination. Letters were written, expressive of this intention, which fell into the hands of Sir Henry, which were manifestly written with a design that they should be intercepted, and only with a view to amuse and deceive the British general. The project was successful; and by a variety of judicious military manœuvres, in which he completely out-generalled the British commander, he increased his apprehensions about New York, and prevented him from sending proper assistance to lord Cornwallis. Having for a considerable time kept Sir Henry Clinton in perpetual alarm in New York, though with an army much inferior to the garrison of that city, general Washington suddenly

denly quitted his camp at White Plains, crossed the Delaware, and marched towards Virginia, apparently with a design to attack lord Cornwallis. Sir Henry Clinton then received information, that the count de Grasse, with a large French fleet, was expected every moment in the Chesapeak, in order to co-operate with general Washington. He immediately endeavoured, both by land and water, to communicate this information to lord Cornwallis; and also sent him assurances, that he would either reinforce him by every possible means in his power, or make the best diversion he could in his favour. In the mean time, lord Cornwallis had taken possession of the posts of York town and Gloucester, in Virginia; where he fortified himself in the best manner he was able.

On the 28th of August, Sir Samuel Hood, with a squadron from the West Indies, joined the squadron under the command of admiral Graves before New York. It was then necessary, on account of the situation of lord Cornwallis, that they should immediately proceed to the Chesapeak; but some time appears to have been needlessly lost, though admiral Hood was extremely anxious that no delay might be made. They arrived, however, in the Chesapeak, on the 5th of September, with nineteen ships of the line; where they found the count de Grasse, who had anchored in that bay, on the 30th of August, with twenty-four ships of the line. The French admiral had previously landed a large body of troops, which had been brought from Rhode Island, and who immediately marched to join the American army under general Washington. The British and French fleets

came to an action on the same day in which the former arrived in the Chesapeak: on board the British fleet 95 were killed, and 246 wounded; some of the ships were greatly damaged in the engagement; and the Terrible, a seventy-four gun ship, was so much shattered, that it was afterwards found necessary to set fire to it. That this action had not been favourable to the English, was manifest from the event: the fleets continued in sight of each other for five days successively, and sometimes were very near; but at length the French fleet all anchored within the Cape, so as to block up the passage. Admiral Graves, who was the commander in chief, then called a council of war, in which it was resolved, that the fleet should proceed to New York, that the ships might be there put into the best state for the service: and thus were the French left masters of the navigation of the Chesapeak.

Before the news of this action had reached New York, a council of war was held there, in which it was resolved, that 5000 men should be embarked on board the king's ships, in order to proceed to the assistance of lord Cornwallis. But when it was known, that the French were absolute masters of the navigation of the Chesapeak, it was thought inexpedient to send off that reinforcement immediately. In another council of war, it was resolved, that as lord Cornwallis had provisions to last him till the end of October, it was advisable to wait for more favourable accounts from admiral Graves, or for the arrival of admiral Digby, who was expected with three ships of the line. It was not then known at New York, that admiral Graves had determined

terminated to return with the whole fleet to that port.

In the mean time, the most effectual measures were adopted by general Washington for surrounding the British army under lord Cornwallis. A large body of French troops, under the command of lieutenant-general the count de Rochambeau, with a very considerable train of artillery, assisted in the enterprize. The Americans amounted to near eight thousand continentals, and five thousand militia. General Washington was invested with the authority of commander in chief of these combined forces of America and France. On the 29th of September, the investment of York Town was complete, and the British army quite blocked up. The day following, Sir Henry Clinton wrote a letter to lord Cornwallis, containing assurances that he would do every thing in his power to relieve him, and some information concerning the steps that would be taken for that purpose. A duplicate of this letter was sent to his lordship, by major Cochran, on the 3d of October. That gentleman, who was a very gallant officer, went in a vessel to the Capes, and made his way to lord Cornwallis, through the whole French fleet, in an open boat. He got to York Town on the 10th of the month; and soon after his arrival had his head carried off by a cannon ball.

After the return of admiral Graves to New York, a council of war was held, consisting of flag and general officers, in which it was resolved, that a large body of troops should be embarked on board the king's ships, as soon as they were refitted, and that the exertions of both fleet and army should be made, in order to

form a junction with lord Cornwallis. Sir Henry Clinton himself embarked on board the fleet, with upwards of 7000 troops, on the 18th; they arrived off cape Charles, at the entrance of the Chesapeake, on the 24th, where they received intelligence, that lord Cornwallis had been obliged to capitulate five days before.

It was on the 19th of October, that lord Cornwallis surrendered himself, and his whole army, by capitulation, prisoners to the combined armies of America and France, under the command of general Washington. He made a defence suitable to the character he had before acquired, for courage and military skill; but was compelled to submit to superior numbers. It was agreed by the articles of capitulation, that the British troops were to be prisoners to the United States of America, and the seamen to the French king, to whose officers also the British vessels found at York Town and Gloucester were to be delivered up. The British prisoners amounted to more than six thousand; but many of them, at the time of surrender, were incapable of duty. A considerable number of cannon, and a large quantity of military stores, fell into the hands of the Americans on this occasion. Two days after the capitulation took place, divine service was performed in all the different brigades and divisions of the American army, in order to return thanks to the Almighty for this great event; and it was recommended by general Washington, to all the troops that were not upon duty, in his general orders, that they would assist at divine service "with a serious deportment, and with that sensibility of heart, which the

the recollection of the surprising and particular interposition of Providence in their favour claimed."

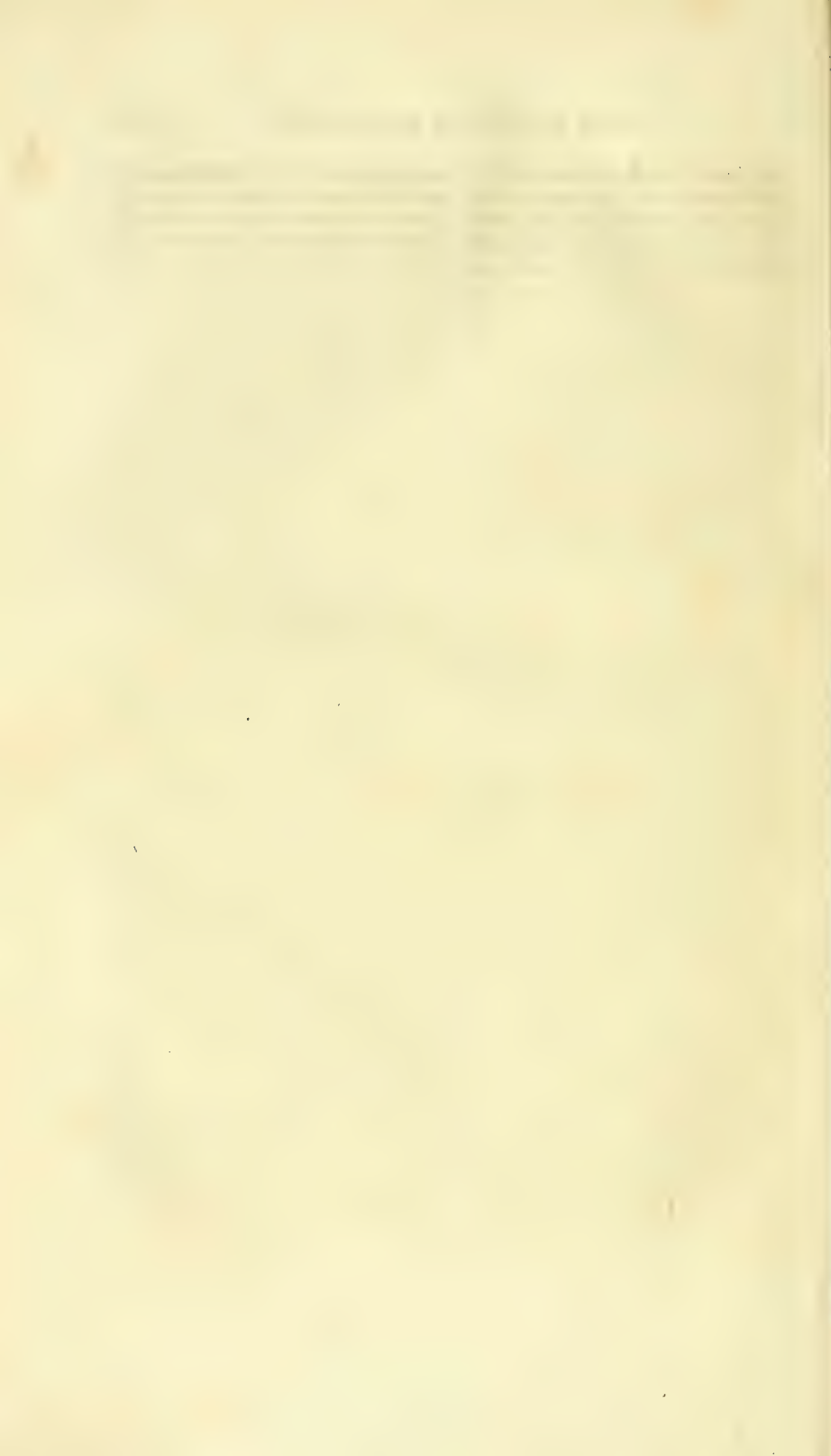
On the 29th of the same month, it was resolved by the congress, that their thanks should "be presented to his excellency" general Washington, for the eminent services which he had rendered to the United States, and particularly for the well concerted plan against the British garrisons in York and Gloucester; for the vigour, attention, and military skill, with which the plan was executed; and for the wisdom and prudence manifested in the capitulation." It was also resolved, "That the thanks of the United States in congress assembled, be presented to his excellency the count de Rochambeau, for the cordiality, zeal, judgment, and fortitude, with which he seconded and advanced the progress of the allied army against the British garrison in York;" and likewise, "that their thanks be presented to his excellency count de Grasse, for his display of skill and bravery in attacking and defeating the British fleet off the bay of Chesapeake; and for his zeal and alacrity in rendering, with the fleet under his command, the most effectual and distinguished aid and support to the operations of the allied army in Virginia."

Addresses of congratulation on this event, were also presented to general Washington from different public bodies in America; and in an address to him, from the president and supreme executive council of the province of Pennsylvania, is the following passage: "Our cordial acknowledgments are ever due to your excellency, for the great and disinterested service you have

rendered our common country; but on this occasion we approach you with peculiar pleasure, and can only regret, that the common language of congratulation will too imperfectly convey our grateful sense of the late eminent display of your military virtues, in the capture of a British general and his whole army. We are at a loss which most to admire, the wisdom of the plan, or the skill and gallantry of the execution; and are too sensible of the important consequences resulting therefrom, to wish to restrain the effusions of gratitude to your excellency, to our brave and generous allies, and our gallant countrymen, thus led by their beloved general to victory and glory."

No event of the present war contributed so much to produce in men's minds a conviction, that the American colonies could not be conquered by the arms of Great Britain, as the surrender of lord Cornwallis's army. It was an event which carried a kind of irresistible conviction with it, even to those who were the least inclined to the admission of so humiliating a truth. When it was seen, that the most distinguished and successful general that had engaged in the royal cause, was obliged to surrender himself and his whole army prisoners of war, the generality, even of those who had been the most earnest for the subjugation of America, began now to be convinced, that it was totally impracticable. But those, who had a sincere regard for the honour and interests of Great Britain, could not reflect, but with the utmost regret, that nearly one hundred millions of money should have been expended, and so many thousand valuable lives lost,

lost, in this unhappy contest; in a contest, which had produced nothing but the loss of our American colonies, an accumulation of the public debt, an enormous load of taxes, and a great degree of national dishonour; and which had afforded too much ground for the triumph and exultation of our most inveterate enemies.



P R I N C I P A L  
O C C U R R E N C E S

In the Year 1781.



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## PRINCIPAL OCCURRENCES

In the Year 1781.

### JANUARY.

1. **T**HIS day, there was a great court at St. James's, and his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales having had a separate establishment assigned him, he made his public appearance attended by the lords and gentlemen of his bed-chamber, his equerries, and other gentlemen of his suite. He received the compliments of the foreign ministers and of the nobility on the occasion. The poet-laureat's ode was performed as usual. The king and queen were both very splendidly dressed; and her majesty wore a small crown beautifully set with brilliants.

Whitehall, Jan. 2.

*Copy of a Letter from major-general Dalrymple, governor of the Island of Jamaica to lord George Germain, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, received by his majesty's ship Albatross, Capt. Vasson.*

Jamaica, Oct. 20, 1780.

My Lord,

I am sorry to be under the disagreeable necessity of informing your lordship of one of the most dreadful calamities that has happened to this colony, within the memory of the oldest inhabitant.

1781.

On Monday the 2d inst. the weather being very close, the sky on a sudden became very much overcast, and an uncommon elevation of the sea immediately followed. Whilst the unhappy settlers at Savannah la Mar were observing this extraordinary phenomenon, the sea broke suddenly in upon the town, and in its retreat swept every thing away with it, so as not to leave the smallest vestige of man, beast, or house behind. This most dreadful catastrophe was succeeded by the most terrible hurricane that ever was felt in this country, with repeated shocks of an earthquake, which has almost totally demolished every building in the parishes of Westmoreland, Hanover, part of St. James's, and some part of Elizabeth's, and killed numbers of the white inhabitants as well as of the negroes. The miserable inhabitants are in a truly wretched situation, not a house standing to shelter them from the inclemency of the weather, nor cloaths to cover them, every thing being lost in the general wreck, and, what is still more dreadful, famine staring them full in the face.

To obviate in some degree the consequence of this most dreadful

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calamity,

calamity, I have called a meeting of the Kingston merchants, who have generously sent down to the unhappy sufferers 10,000*l.* value in different kinds of provisions, clothing, &c. which will be a temporary relief, until their distresses can be more effectually relieved, either from home, or from America, whither I am sending some vessels in quest of rice, or such other provisions as can be procured. In the parish of Westmoreland, the damage, by the report of the committee, appointed to take into consideration the amount of their losses, amounts to 950,000*l.* this currency: in that of Hanover, one-fourth of the absolute property is lost for ever: in that of St. James's, the ravage, though very great, yet has not been so fatal as in the other two. In short, my lord, the devastation is immense.

I have the honour to be, &c.

JOHN DALLING.

*Extract of a Letter from the inhabitants of Savannah la Mar, to governor Dalling, dated October 8, 1780.*

SIR,

The remaining distressed inhabitants of the place where Savannah la Mar once stood, beg leave to acquaint your excellency of a most dreadful calamity which befel that unfortunate town, on Tuesday the 3d instant. The weather had appeared very indifferent for some days before; but that morning the wind became more violent than usual, with a most terrible swell of the sea, which, by afternoon, increased to such a degree, that it has not left the wreck of six houses on both the bay and Savannah, and not less than 300 people of all colours were drowned, or buried in the ruins: such terrible havock was

never seen in the memory of the oldest person here, nor can words, or writing, convey an idea suitable to the dismal scene.

Our accounts from the country, and also from Hanover, are equally melancholy; scarcely a house standing on any estate, and all the provisions destroyed.

What alarms us most, at present, is the dread of famine, which stares us in the face: and if we have not some speedy relief of bread kind, the few who have survived that unfortunate day, will most probably fall victims to the more miserable fate of perishing with hunger. In this distress we must look to the town of Kingston for relief: their humanity, it is to be hoped, will not suffer us to perish for want, or take any advantage of our misery and wretchedness, which, God knows, is almost as great as can be, seeing the calamity has been so general, that no one can help his neighbour; neither have many of us shelter for our heads from the inclemency of the weather, or cloaths to cover us: even fire, dreadful as it is, is nothing to what we have so lately experienced.

As a specimen of the destruction of the inhabitants, we mention that of Dr. King's house, in which were 10 whites and about 40 negroes, and not a single person out of the whole has escaped drowning. The sea flowed up half a mile beyond its usual bounds, even to the height of ten feet.

*Copy of a Letter from major-general Vaughan, commander in chief of his majesty's forces in the Leeward-islands, to bra George Germain, dated Barbadoes, Oct. 30, 1780.*

My LORD,

I am much concerned to inform your lordship, that this island was almost

almost entirely destroyed by a most violent hurricane, which began on Tuesday the 10th inst. and continued almost without intermission for near forty-eight hours: it is impossible for me to attempt a description of the storm; suffice it to say, that few families have escaped the general ruin, and I do not believe that ten houses are saved in the whole island; scarcely a house is standing in Bridge-Town; whole families were buried in the ruins of their habitations, and many, in attempting to escape, were maimed and disabled; a general convulsion of nature seemed to take place, and an universal destruction ensued. The strongest colours could not paint to your lordship the miseries of the inhabitants; on the one hand, the ground covered with the mangled bodies of their friends and relations; and on the other, reputable families, wandering through the ruins, seeking for food and shelter: in short, imagination can form but a faint idea of the horrors of this dreadful scene.

Every plantation and building, great and small, are thrown to the ground; the cattle and stock belonging to them are almost all destroyed; the produce of the earth torn up by the roots, and not a trace left behind; so that there is but too much reason to fear that a famine must inevitably ensue, unless some effectual means are used to prevent it.

Fortunately the stores and provisions belonging to the army and navy (the latter of which are very considerable) have been with great difficulty nearly all saved, although the whole was a continued scene of rapine and confusion, and the negroes (who are exceedingly numerous in this island) instead of attempting to save the effects of the

unhappy sufferers, were plundering in every part of the town.

I must beg leave to refer your lordship to his excellency the governor's letter for a more minute description of this destructive tempest; and I am confident your lordship must sensibly feel for the miserable calamities that have befallen the inhabitants of this ruined country.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. VAUGHAN.

*Extract of a Letter from major-general Cunningham, governor of the island of Barbadoes, to lord George Germain, dated Barbadoes, Oct. 20, 1780.*

The inclosed journal, which I have the honour to send your lordship, will, in feeble colours, present to your view the almost total destruction of this once beautiful island, which many years cannot repair; and I much fear that the present proprietors of the soil will be unable to erect buildings, so deeply are they indebted to the English merchants, unless from great indulgence.

The chief employment now going on is to secure covering for their negroes and inhabitants, and planting provisions; and here I must recall your lordship's particular attention to the speedy supplying this island with provisions from England and Ireland, which they have no doubt but the bounty and generosity of the best of kings will amply provide; otherwise they will run a risque of starving.

The first object of my attention was to send speedy notice to commodore Hotham of our disaster, that he might furnish a frigate to go to England; and I have also written circular letters to the governors in North America, to encourage lum-

ber and provisions to be sent out to us.

It is fortunate that general Vaughan resided in this island. His authority, joined to the activity of the officers and troops under his command, contributed greatly to preserve order in the town, and prevent rapine and plunder from the prisoners and negroes.

The Spaniards, under the direction of Don Pedro St. Jago, captain in the regiment of Arragon, conducted themselves more like friends than enemies: I therefore mean to show them every indulgence in my power.

I have the satisfaction of informing your lordship, that the records of the island are preserved.

*Copy of a Journal of events passed at Barbadoes from the 1st of October until the 16th.*

The evening preceding the hurricane, the 9th of October, was remarkably calm, but the sky surprisingly red and fiery: during the night much rain fell. On the morning of the 10th, much rain and wind from N. W. By ten o'clock it increased very much; by one, the ships in the bay drove; by four o'clock, the *Albeimarie* frigate (the only man of war then here) parted her anchors and went to sea, as did all the other vessels, about 25 in number. Soon after, by six o'clock, the wind had torn up and blown down many trees, and foreboded a most violent tempest. At the government-house every precaution was taken to guard against what might happen; the doors and windows were barricaded up, but it availed little. By ten o'clock the wind forced itself a passage through the house from the N. N. W. and the tempest increasing every minute, the family took to the centre of

the building, imagining, from the prodigious strength of the walls, they being three feet thick, and from its circular form, it would have withstood the wind's utmost rage: however, by half after eleven o'clock, they were obliged to retreat to the cellar, the wind having forced its way into every part, and torn off most of the roof. From this asylum they were soon driven out; the water being stopped in its passage, and having found itself a course into the cellar, they knew not where to go; the water rose four feet, and the ruins were falling from all quarters. To continue in the cellar, was impossible; to return to the house equally so; the only chance left was making for the fields, which at that time appeared equally dangerous: it was however attempted, and the family were so fortunate as to get to the ruins of the foundation of the flag-staff, which soon after giving way, every one endeavoured to find a retreat for himself; the governor, and the few who remained, were thrown down, and it was with great difficulty they gained a cannon, under the carriage of which they took shelter: their situation here was highly deplorable, many of the cannon were moved, and they had reason to fear that under which they sat might be dismounted, and crush them by its fall, or that some of the ruins that were flying about would put an end to their existence; and, to render the scene still more dreadful, they had much to fear from the powder magazine, near which they were; the armoury was level with the ground; and the arms, &c. scattered about. Anxiously did they wait the break of day, flattering themselves, that with the light they should see a cessation of

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the storm; yet when it appeared, little was the tempest abated, and the day served but to exhibit the most melancholy prospect imaginable; nothing can compare with the terrible devastation that presented itself on all sides; not a building standing; the trees, if not torn up by their roots, deprived of their leaves and branches; and the most luxuriant spring changed in this one night to the dreariest winter. In vain was it to look round for shelter; houses, that from their situation it was to have been imagined would have been in a degree protected, were all flat with the earth, and the miserable owners, if they were so fortunate as to escape with their lives, were left without a covering for themselves and family.

General Vaughan was early obliged to evacuate his house; in escaping he was very much bruised; his secretary was so unfortunate as to break his thigh. Nothing has ever happened that has caused such universal desolation. No one house in the island is exempt from danger. Very few buildings are left standing on the estates. The depopulation of the Negroes, and cattle, particularly of the horned kind, is very great, which must, more especially in these times, be a cause of great distress to the planters. It is as yet impossible to make any accurate calculation of the number of souls who have perished in this dreadful calamity: Whites and Blacks together it is imagined, to exceed some thousands, but fortunately few people of consequence are among the number. Many were buried in the ruins of the houses and buildings. Many fell victims to the violence of the storm and inclemency of the weather, and great numbers

were driven into the sea and there perished. The troops have suffered inconsiderably, though both the barracks and hospital were early blown down. Alarming consequences were dreaded from the number of dead bodies that lay uninterred, and from the quantity the sea threw up, which however are happily subfided. What few public buildings there were, are fallen in the general wreck; the fortifications have suffered very considerably. The buildings were all demolished; for so violent was the storm here, when assisted by the sea, that a twelve-pounder gun was carried from the south to the north battery, a distance of 140 yards. The loss to this country is immense; many years will be required to retrieve it.

*Admiralty-Office, Jan. 2, 1781.*

Lieutenant Maffervey, of his majesty's ship *Alert*, arrived at this office last night with dispatches from vice-admiral Sir Peter Parker, commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels at Jamaica, to Mr. Stephens, dated the 6th of November, 1780, of which the following is an extract:

It is with much concern that I give the following detail of the disaster which has befallen some of the ships and vessels on this station, in the late hurricanes. The 4th of last month, at half past five in the morning, his majesty's ship the *Phoenix* was wrecked on the island of Cuba, about three leagues to the eastward of Cape Cruz, in a most dreadful hurricane, and according to Sir Hyde Parker's representation, if she had not been driven on shore she must soon have foundered; all the ship's company were saved except twenty, most of whom were lost with the main-mast, and washed overboard. Sir Hyde Parker dis-

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patched

patched his first lieutenant, Mr. Archer, in one of the ship's boats, to Montego Bay for assistance, and by the 11th, all that remained of the ship's crew, to the number of 240, were embarked on board his majesty's sloop Porcupine, and three shallops, and arrived safe in Montego bay the 15th instant.

The Pomona arrived the 24th, with her bowsprit and fore-mast sprung, and mizen-mast gone; and on the 26th rear-admiral Rowley arrived in the Grafton, with the following ships, from convoying the trade part of their way to Europe, viz. Hector, Trident, and Ruby, all of them disabled, and mostly dismasted.

The Ulysses arrived the same day without main or mizen-mast, having thrown all her upper deck guns overboard.

By the different accounts which I have received, I find that the late storms have visited the windward islands, as well as the seas. The 28th past his majesty's ship the Egmont arrived here from St. Lucia, totally dismasted, and her frame much shaken. On the 29th the Endymion arrived at this port from a cruise to the windward of Martinico, with only the fore-mast standing. She brought in with her two French ships, named the Marquis de Brancas, and the L'Eole, which she took on her way thither. The former was laden with provisions, and the latter had one hundred and fifty soldiers on board, part of the regiment of Touraine, commanded by a captain De Marcy. These two ships were, on the 11th of October, forced, with many others, out from St. Pierre's road, Martinico, by the violence of the storm.

*Admiralty-Office, Jan. 2, 1781.*

*Extract of a Letter from vice-admiral Evans, commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels in the Downs, to Mr. Stephens, dated the 31st of December, 1780.*

Please to acquaint their lordships, that about two hours after I sent you an account yesterday, by express, of a Dutch ship of war being at the back of the Godwin, his majesty's ships Marlborough and Bellona appeared in sight, upon which I immediately ordered them to proceed in quest of her; and have the satisfaction to acquaint you, for their lordships information, they returned to the Downs this afternoon with the said Dutch ship, which the Bellona took, after an action of about half an hour.

The Dutch ship proved to be the Princess Carolina, of 54 guns, and 300 men, from Amsterdam, bound to Lisbon. She had four men killed and twelve wounded. The Bellona one man killed and two wounded.

3. Yesterday the arrival of his royal highness the bishop of Osnaburgh was announced off the port of Ostend. The same evening he received the compliments of the commandant, and the other magistrates. On the Wednesday morning his royal highness expressed an inclination to pay a visit to the capuchin Friars. He had seen their convent from his bed-chamber window, and being informed of the peculiar severity which this order of men so rigidly affect, he was desirous to see them. He went accordingly, and happened to enter at the time they were at dinner. His royal highness complimented them on the sacrifice which, by their repast, they manifestly pay to their

their religion, and condescended to participate with them on their humble fare. On the same day he visited the convents of the White and Black nuns, and set off the next morning on his route to Germany.

5. This day a gentleman was taken into custody for treasonable practices, named Henry Francis de la Motte, which he bore with the title of baron annexed to it. He has resided in Bond-street for some time.

When he was going up stairs at the secretary of state's-office, in Cleaveland-row, he dropped several papers on the stair-case, which were immediately discovered by the messengers, and carried in with him to lord Hillsborough. After his examination he was committed a close prisoner, for high treason, to the Tower.

In consequence of the above papers being found, Henry Lutterloh, esq. of Wickham, near Portsmouth, was afterwards apprehended and brought to town. The messengers found Mr. Lutterloh ready booted to go a-hunting. When he understood their business, he did not discover the least embarrassment, but delivered his keys with the utmost readiness. In his drawers were found cash and bank notes to the amount of about 300l. but upon a careful perusal of the notes, it was discovered they were all drawn payable to the same person, and dated on the same day with those found on La Motte. Mr. Lutterloh is a German, and had lately taken a house at Wickham, within a few miles of Portsmouth; and, as he kept a pack of hounds, and was considered as a good companion, he was well received by the gentlemen in the neighbourhood.

*Whitehall, Jan. 6, 1781.*

*Extract of a Letter from general Hal-  
dimand, governor and commander in  
chief of his majesty's forces in the  
province of Quebec, to lord George  
Germain, one of his majesty's prin-  
cipal secretaries of state, received  
by his majesty's ship Danae.*

*Quebec, October 25, 1780.*

I have the honour to acquaint your lordship, that I have just received an express from major Carleton, who commands one of the detachments mentioned, in my letter to your lordship of the 17th ult.

The secrecy and dispatch with which this detachment penetrated, prevented any opposition of consequence on the part of the enemy; and on the 10th and 11th instant the garrisons of Fort Anne and Fort George surrendered prisoners of war.

Major Carleton, who has, as well as his detachment, shewn great zeal and activity in this affair, having fully answered the purposes for which he was sent, is returned to Crown Point, where he is to remain as long as the season will permit the vessels to navigate the lakes, in order to draw the attention of the enemy.

The reports, assiduously published upon all occasions by the enemy, of cruelties committed by the Indians, are notoriously false, and propagated merely to exasperate the ignorant and deluded people. In this late instance, major Carleton informs me, they behaved with the greatest moderation, and did not strip, or in any respect ill use their prisoners.

I inclose, for your lordship's information, a list of the killed, wounded, and prisoners.

A party of 100 men and Mo-  
hawk

hawk Indians, crossed Lake Champlain with major Carleton, to co-operate with sir John Johnson, who must be, before this time, upon the Mohawk river; and another party of 200 Canada Indians, with their proper officers, under the command of lieutenant Houghton, of the 53d regiment, marched at the same time towards Connecticut river. They are returned, having brought away 32 prisoners, without any loss, although pursued by a superior force, of which it is thought many were killed.

I every day expect to hear of sir John Johnson's success upon the Mohawk river.

P. S. Nov. 2. I have kept this letter open, in hopes to give your lordship an account of the party which was sent upon the Mohawk river under the command of sir John Johnson. The enemy, by means of two Oneida Indians, who deserted from Niagara, had received information of an intended attack upon the Mohawk river, and had prepared accordingly; but this did not prevent his success, though it occasioned him to meet with great opposition. I have just received a letter from sir John, wherein he acquaints me, that he had destroyed the settlements of Scholary and Stone Arabia, and laid waste a great extent of country. He had several engagements with the enemy, in which he came off victorious. In one of them, near Stone Arabia, he killed a colonel Browne, a notorious and active rebel, with about 100 officers and men.

I have the pleasure to acquaint your lordship, from sir John's letter, that I have great reason to hope, that many of the missing will find their way to Oswego or Niagara, as some Indians and rangers, well

acquainted with the woods, are with them. I cannot finish without expressing to your lordship the perfect satisfaction which I have from the zeal, spirit, and activity, with which sir John Johnson has conducted this arduous enterprize.

10. As the foot-boy belonging to John Dawes, esq; near Canonbury-house, was opening the large folding doors of the stable-yard, in order to let out the carriage, in which was Mrs. Dawes, a gulf of wind suddenly blowing the doors together, jammed the poor youth with such violence, that he died immediately; the carriage was likewise overfet.

12. A whale was driven on shore, and died in a cove situated S. E. between Penlee and the Ramhead.

13. Yesterday the States-General issued letters of marque and reprisals, against the English.

Yesterday the sessions ended at the Old Bailey, when thirteen capital convicts received sentence of death.

15. A new mode of burglary has been of late adopted. The houses of messrs. Barwick and Jessop, at Westminster-abbey, and of Mr. Huguens, at Hoddeston, Herts, were last week broke open and robbed of their plate, &c. by two persons in a one-horse chair.

St. James's, Tuesday 16. It appears from accounts from the island of Jersey, that the French, to the number of 800 and upwards, landed before day-break, on the 6th instant, at the Bank du Violet:

That, in their attempt to land, one privateer and four transport vessels were wrecked upon the rocks, whereby upwards of 200 men were lost:

That the French general, baron de Rullecourt, marched across the country to the town of St. Helier's, seized

seized the avenues of the town and the guard, made prisoner capt. Charlton of the artillery, and sent a detachment to seize the lieutenant-governor :

That the lieutenant-governor had by some means received information in time to dispatch two messengers to the different stations of the 78th, 83d, and 95th regiments, and to the militia :

That immediately afterwards the lieutenant-governor was taken prisoner, and was carried to the French general, who was in the Courthouse, who immediately proposed to him to sign terms of capitulation, on pain of firing the town, and putting the inhabitants to the sword, in case of refusal :

That the lieutenant governor represented, that, being a prisoner, he was deprived of all authority, and that therefore his signing any capitulation, or pretending to give any orders, could be of no avail :

That the general insisted however; and the lieutenant-governor, to avoid the consequences, signed the capitulation :

That Elizabeth Castle was summoned to surrender, which capt. Aylward, who commanded there, peremptorily refused; and firing upon the French compelled them to retire :

That in the mean time the king's troops, under the command of major Pierſon, next in seniority to the lieutenant-governor, and capt. Campbell, and the militia of the island, assembled upon the heights near the town; and, being required by the French general to conform to the capitulation, returned for answer, That if the French did not lay down their arms, and surrender themselves prisoners in twenty minutes, they would be attacked :

That accordingly major Pierſon having made a very able disposition of his majesty's troops, they rushed upon the enemy with such vigour and impetuosity, that, in less than half an hour, the French general being mortally wounded, the officer next in command to him desired the lieutenant-governor (who had been compelled by the French general to stand close by him during the heat of the action, saying that he should share his fate) to resume the government, and to accept their submission as prisoners of war :

That major Pierſon, who commanded the troops, was unfortunately killed in the moment of victory. The loss of this young officer, whose military abilities, which were so remarkable upon this occasion, held out the highest expectations to his country, is most sincerely lamented by every officer and soldier, both of the regulars and militia, as well as by every inhabitant of the island.

Captains Aylward and Mulcaster distinguished themselves in their undaunted and spirited preservation of Elizabeth Castle; and it was fortunate that so able an officer as capt. Campbell, of the 83d regiment, who had before remarkably distinguished himself, was the next to take the command after the loss of major Pierſon.

The highest commendations are given to the good conduct, bravery, and resolution of the officers and men, both of the regulars and militia.

The following is a return of the killed and wounded of his majesty's troops and militia of the island, on the 6th of January.

Of the regulars: 1 officer, 11 rank and file, killed; 35 rank and file wounded.

N. B. Capt. Charlton, of the royal

royal artillery wounded while prisoner.

Of the militia: 4 rank and file killed; 3 officers, 26 rank and file, wounded.

*Names of the officers killed and wounded.*

95th reg. Major Francis Pierſon, killed.

East reg. Lieut. Godfrey, lieut. Aubin, enſign Poingnant, wounded.

Mr. Tho. Lempriere, aid-de-camp, wounded.

Mr. James Amice Lempriere, merchant, wounded.

M. CORBET, Lieut. Gov.

25. Yeſterday lord Geo. Gordon was privately taken from the Tower to Weſtminiſter-hall, arraigned, and ordered to prepare for trial on Monday the 5th of February.

28. By a letter from Lewes in Suſſex, it appears that there were more ſhipping wrecked on that coaſt, Jan. 26, than was ever before known in the memory of man. At Beam-Hide, a veſſel, ſuppoſed to be a victualling ſloop, was daſhed to pieces, and every perſon on board periſhed. Oppoſite New Haven Mill, a ſmall veſſel ſhared the ſame fate, and every perſon on board periſhed. At Cuckmere, the Syren frigate and Race Horſe ſchooner both went to pieces, but the crews were ſaved. A veſſel at Crow Link and another at Berling were wrecked, the crews moſtly periſhed.

The Syren was a fine frigate, built about a year and half ago, at New-caſtle upon Tyne, and was ſheathed with copper: ſhe carried 170 men, mounted 32 guns, and ſailed with the ſchooner as convoy to a ſmall fleet from Spithead to the Downs; but moſt of the merchantmen perceiving their danger before the

commodore, they tacked and ſtretched off. The frigate ſtruck about two o'clock, and immediately fired ſeveral guns as ſignals of diſtreſs to the Race Horſe; but the wind blowing a hurricane, they ſtruck themſelves between three and four in the afternoon. The Sprightly cutter and a Dutch prize that were in company are miſſing.

30. The poſt boy bringing the Briſtol mail yeſterday morning from Maidenhead, was ſtopt between 2 and 3 o'clock, by a ſingle highwayman with a crape over his face, between the 11th and 12th mileſtone, near to Cranford-Bridge, who preſented a piſtol to him, and after making him alight, drove away the horſe and cart, which were found about ſeven o'clock this morning, in a meadow field near farmer Lott's at Twyford, when it appeared that the greateſt part of the letters were taken out of the Bath and Briſtol bag.

## F E B R U A R Y.

*Yarmouth, Feb. 1.* “Yeſterday the noted Fall made his appearance to the north of this coaſt, and has taken a number of colliers and coaſters, among which are the following, viz. the John, Pearſon, of Shields, ranſomed for 700 guineas; Smelt, Coxon, of ditto, ranſomed for 400 guineas; Fanny, Porter, of Yarmouth, ranſomed for 300 guineas; a ſnow for Shields, ranſomed for 400 guineas. This laſt veſſel engaged him near three hours, until the mate was killed, and the captain and two men wounded. When the ſhips left him he had 22 ranſomers on board. The Fly ſails to-morrow in queſt of him.”

3. *Hague, Jan. 26.* “The States-General of the United Provinces of the

the Low Countries to all whom these presents may come greeting: Be it known, that to encourage the good inhabitants of these states, we have thought proper to notify, by these presents, that whatever persons shall in the present war by sea become so maimed as to be incapable to get their living, shall receive the following sums according to their wounds:

“First, For the loss of the two eyes 1500 florins; for the loss of one eye 350 florins; and for inferior wounds in those parts, such sums as the college of admiralty shall think fit.

“Secondly, For the loss of the two arms 1500 florins; for the loss of the right arm 450; for that of the left 350; and for other inferior wounds in those parts, according to the above mentioned determination.

“Thirdly, For the loss of the two hands 1200 florins; for that of the right hand 350; for that of the left 300; and for other wounds in those parts, according to the above-mentioned determination.

“Fourthly, For the loss of the two legs 700 florins; for the loss of one leg 350; and for other wounds in those parts, according to the above mentioned determination.

“Fifthly, For the loss of the two feet 450 florins; for the loss of one foot 200; and for other wounds in those parts, according to the above mentioned determination.

“Or such wounded persons as are entirely disabled from getting their living, shall instead of the above receive a silver ducatoon per week during their lives, and all inferior wounds shall be allowed in proportion.

“For which purpose our publi-

cation shall be sent to the respective admiralities, and published in all their districts.

“Done at the Hague, Jan. 12, 1781.”

5. Saturday night, about nine o'clock, John Harlow, esq. of Petersfield, coming to town, was attacked near Claremont, the seat of lord Clive, near Esher, by two highwaymen, who robbed him of upwards of 20l.

6. Yesterday being the day appointed for the trial of lord Geo. Gordon, the judges took their seats in the court of King's Bench about eight o'clock. Great precautions were used to keep the court from being unreasonably crowded; all the avenues to it were locked, and written directions were issued by lord Mansfield, to the master of the crown-office, for the regulation of the proceedings. By this order, which was in the hand-writing of the chief justice, the officers of the court were expressly commanded not to open the gate of Westminster-hall, nor any other of the doors that lead to the court, till eight o'clock, at which time the court was appointed to sit.

The judges on the trial were, lord Mansfield, Mr. justice Willes, Mr. justice Ashhurst, and Mr. justice Buller. The counsel for the prosecution were, the attorney-general, the solicitor-general, Mr. Dunning, Mr. Lee, Mr. Bearcroft, Mr. Howarth, and Mr. Norton.

The counsel for the prisoner were Mr. Kenyon, and Mr. Erskine. Several alterations had been made in the court, for the better accommodation of the necessary officers and people concerned in the trial. A box was made on the right hand of the judges bench,  
for

for the sheriffs of Middlesex, and a place on the right hand of the jury's box, for witnesses.

Lord George was brought to the bar by the lieutenant of the Tower, about nine in the morning. He was dressed in black velvet. His lordship was perfectly composed and collected in his appearance. He took his place on the right-hand of Mr. Erskine, in the middle of the second bench, commonly allotted to the counsel, being permitted to sit during his trial.

Mr. Norton, the youngest counsel for the crown, opened the indictment in the usual way, reciting the allegation.

The attorney-general then took up the cause, entered into the nature and different kinds of treason, mentioned the repeal of the penalties inflicted by the acts formerly passed against the Roman catholics, with the mischiefs that ensued last year on the petition presented against the act containing a repeal, of which mischiefs he considered Lord George Gordon as the author. His lordship, he said, was the president of the association. He called by public advertisement 20,000 men together, and declared he would not present the petition without that number; for he was in parliament, and knew perhaps that without violence his ends could not be procured. He ordered them to come with blue cockades, that he might know the extent of his force; he arranged them into divisions; he met them on the ground, and to inspire them with confidence, he told them "to recollect what the Scotch had done, and what they had gained by their enterprize and firmness; and that he invited them to no danger which he was not will-

ing to share, and he would support them in their attempts to the hazard of his life; he would attend them, though he should be hanged on the gallows." The attorney-general considered the whole of the subsequent outrages as flowing from this cause; for a man who turns loose a wild beast, he said, was answerable for all the murders that the creature should commit.

A variety of witnesses were examined in support of the prosecution, and others on behalf of the prisoner. He was very ably defended by his counsel, Mr. Kenyon and Mr. Erskine. The latter spoke not only as a lawyer, but as an orator; as a man pleading in the most forcible manner for a life that appeared as dear to him as his own. He communicated the passions he felt to the hearts of his auditors in the most powerful manner, and handled the crown lawyers very severely, particularly the attorney-general.

The solicitor general made an able reply, in which he defended the attorney general.

Lord Mansfield then proceeded to sum up the evidence, in which he explained the law of treason, and the nature of that kind of constructive treason which was the subject of consideration in this case.

After which the jury withdrew, an officer was sworn to keep them, and in about twenty minutes they brought in the prisoner Not guilty. It was five o'clock on the Tuesday morning, when the verdict was brought in.

*Extract of a Letter from an officer on board the Royal Admiral Eagle-Indiaman, to his friend in town, dated 22d of July, 1780, lat. 1° 14', north. long. 22°, 17', west.*

"Let

“ Let me now acquaint you with a circumstance, which though not unprecedented, yet is one of those instances that clearly evince what a degree of exertion the female mind is capable of, acting under the influence of any particular passion.

“ A young person of the age of seventeen, entered on board our ship at Deptford, as an ordinary seamen, under the name of George Thompson, who performed all the duties of his station with remarkable readiness and dexterity, and would perhaps have remained undiscovered the rest of the voyage, had not the following circumstance led to the discovery. A theft having been committed on board, a general search was the consequence: on examining Thompson's chest, there was found women's apparel. Upon this the officer on duty concluded he must have stolen them when on shore, and therefore ordered him three dozen lashes. When they attempted enforcing the punishment, he burst into tears, solemnly protested his innocence, and besought mercy: the officer continued inflexible. When intreaty was found vain, with much reluctance, she acknowledged her sex. Judge what astonishment pervaded the mind of every one on board, who little expected to find in the person of George Thompson, a blooming youthful girl. Being questioned by the captain who she was, and what could have induced her to take so extraordinary a step, she replied, her name was Margaret Thompson; she had left her uncle, who lives in Northumberland-street, to see her sweetheart, who quitted England three years since, and is now resident at Bombay. The resolution with which she perform-

ed the most arduous tasks, mounting aloft with amazing intrepidity in the midst of danger, even when the most experienced seamen appeared daunted, astonished every one: her patience and perseverance, during five months hard labour, can be equalled only by her fortitude in the attempt.”

*Extract of a Letter from Brussels, Jan. 23.*

“ About a fortnight since the bishop of Osnaburgh resided a few days in this city. The prince Staremberg, the temporary governor of the Low Countries, entertained his royal highness with singular attention and magnificence. The splendid hospitality of the duke d'Arenberg was fully exerted to do him honour; and the duchess d'Urrel received him to a most elegant supper, at her hotel, while the rest of the first nobility expressed their regret, that the shortness of his royal highness's stay would not give them an opportunity of showing him that respect which his rank and merit would have received from them. At Antwerp, the prince dined with M. Prioli, the most eminent and wealthy merchant of that city, who spared no cost to give his royal guest a suitable reception. At Mechlin, the cardinal archbishop received him with great splendor, and has since testified his approbation of the demeanor and character of the young prince. From thence his royal highness proceeded to the duke d'Arenberg's Chateau, near Louvaine, where a French comedy was performed by several of the nobility, for his amusement. On the following day he proceeded on his route for Germany, leaving in these countries the most pleasing impressions of his character and accomplishments.”

9. Yesterday

9. Yesterday morning, about five o'clock, as a waggon was going through Newington-Butts, guarded by the father of the driver, who lay concealed in the waggon, three footpads attacked the driver: the old man directly fired, and killed one of the villains, on which the two survivors seized the young man, and, in sight of his father, dragged him under the broad wheel of the waggon, when they drove the horses on, which crushed him instantly to death. The father jumped out of the waggon and took one of the villains, but the other escaped.

*Extract of a Letter from an officer on board the Prothee man of war, to his father in London, dated Crookhaven, Ireland, Jan. 13, 1781.*

"On the 28th of November, we discovered a most daring and dangerous mutiny on board the Prothee, the Irish sailors having engaged themselves in a scheme to murder the captain and officers, and all the English, to take possession of the ship, and run away from the fleet in the night; which, had their intentions been successful, they might easily have done, the Prothee being a very fast sailing ship. They were over-heard talking of their scheme, by some of the ship's company, who informed the officers of their danger; and the person to whom they intended giving the command of the ship, with six or seven of the principal mutineers, were immediately secured in irons. The remainder were terrified when they found their plot discovered, and never offered to make the least resistance, though it was suspected they would, and we all lay that night with loaded pistols in our beds, ready to turn out at a moment's warning; but every thing remained very quiet, and on the

morning of the 9th, all hands being ordered on the quarter deck, every man was examined by the captain to what he knew of the mutiny. Having taken their depositions, fourteen of the principal mutineers were sent on board the Commodore, to be dispersed in the fleet as he thought proper, for security, since which nothing material has happened on board."

12. A few weeks since died, at Poplar, Mrs. Mary East, aged 68: this person, while living, was so extraordinary a character, that she passed for a man thirty-five years, kept a public-house, served all the offices of the parish, and attended Westminster-hall and the Old-Bailey as a juryman, &c. Having acquired a handsome fortune (3000l.) she retired from business, and lived at Poplar till her death as above. Her fortune she has left to her friend in the country, and a young woman who lived with her as a servant, except 10l. a year to the poor of Poplar, 50l. to a working gardener, and her gold watch to Mr. Curry, a distiller at Poplar.

13. On Sunday evening Mr. Akerman, having discovered that spring-saws had been conveyed into the cells of Newgate, where there were 21 prisoners under sentence of death, went into the cells, where he found that Patrick Madan, John Bailey, and William Cheatham, convicted of shoplifting; Joseph Caddy and Charles Shepherd, of burglary, and William Thomson, alias Bennett, and John Henley, of highway robbery, had sawed their irons asunder, and artfully cemented the fracture over, so that it could not be seen at first view. Mr. Akerman secured every one of these daring offenders, and got from them three spring saws and

and a brace of pistols. The latter were loaded almost up to the muzzle, and it has since been found out that the design of the prisoners was, to come down into the presbytery with their irons on (at the time they are allowed to air themselves) and instantly to shake them off, and make a desperate effort to master the turnkey, and effect their escape.

Yesterday morning, about three o'clock, a fire broke out at a junk warehouse, at King Edward's stairs, Wapping, which consumed the same, with the stock in trade, and burnt down to the Star-brewhouse. It is computed that it consumed between twenty and thirty houses before it could be got under, the wind blowing very hard, and no water to be got for some time. Several other houses were damaged, as were some of the shipping moored near the stairs.

15. Yesterday capt. King of the Discovery, who succeeded captain Gore (advanced to the command of the Resolution on the death of capt. Clarke) was presented to his majesty at the levee by the lord in waiting, accompanied by Mr. Banks, and was most graciously received. Captain King at the same time had the honour to present to his majesty the journals kept on board the Discovery, in their voyage to the north east extremity of Asia, from the time that he succeeded to the command, till their arrival in England.

*Whitehall, Feb. 17.* By the Antelope packet, which sailed from Charlestown the 18th of January, despatches have been received from earl Cornwallis, major general Leslie, and lieutenant colonel Balfour, of which the following are extracts and copies.

*Extract of a Letter from Earl Cornwallis to Lord George Germain, one of his majesty's principal secretaries*  
1781.

*of state, dated at Wynneshorough, Dec. 18, 1780.*

As your lordship will doubtless be glad to hear, by every safe opportunity, the state of affairs in the southern district, I have the honour of transmitting to you a copy of my letter to the commander in chief on the 3d of this month. As this letter explains fully our past operations, and present situation, I have only to add, that major general Leslie is safely arrived, with his whole fleet at Charlestown.

*Extract of a Letter from Earl Cornwallis to Sir Henry Clinton, dated Camp at Wynneshorough, Dec. 3, 1780.*

I had the honour to inform your excellency, that major Ferguson had taken infinite pains with some of the militia of Ninety-six. He obtained my permission to make an incursion into Tryon county, whilst the sickness of my army prevented my moving. As he had only militia and the small remains of his own corps, without baggage or artillery, and as he promised to come back if he heard of any superior force, I thought it could do no harm, and might help to keep alive the spirits of our friends in North Carolina, which might be damped by the slowness of our motions. The event proved unfortunate, without any fault of major Ferguson's. A numerous and unexpected enemy came from the mountains. As they had good horses their movements were rapid: major Ferguson was tempted to stay near the mountains longer than he intended, in hopes of cutting off colonel Clarke on his return from Georgia. He was not aware that the enemy were so near him; and in endeavouring to execute my orders of passing the Catawaba and joining me at Charlotte town, he was attack-  
(B) ed

ed by a very superior force, and totally defeated on King's-mountain.

Wynneborough, my present position, is an healthy spot, well situated to protect the greatest part of the northern frontier, and to assist Camden and Ninety-six.

Sumpter having passed the Broad-river, and joined Branan, Clarke, &c. I detached major M'Arthur with the 1st battalion of the 71st and 63d regiment, after having sent my aid-de-camp, lieutenant Money, to take the command of it, to Brierly's ferry, on Broad-river, in order to cover our mills, and to give some check to the enemy's march to Ninety-six. At the same time I recalled lieutenant-colonel Tarleton from the low country. Tarleton was so fortunate as to pass not only the Wateree, but the Broad-river, without general Sumpter's being apprised of it, who having increased his corps to one thousand, had passed the Ennoree, and was on the point of attacking our hundred militia at William's house, fifteen miles from Ninety-six, and where I believe he would not have met with much resistance. Lieutenant colonel Tarleton would have surprised him on the south of Ennoree, had not a deserter of the 63d given notice of his march: he however cut to pieces his rear-guard in passing that river, and pursued his main body with such rapidity, that he could not safely pass the Tyger, and was obliged to halt on a very strong position, at a place called Black Stocks, close to it. Tarleton had with him only his cavalry and the 63d mounted, his infantry and a three-pounder being several miles behind him. The enemy not being able to retreat with safety, and being informed of Tarleton's approach and want of infantry, by a woman who pas-

sed him on the march, and contrived by a nearer road to get to them, were encouraged by their great superiority of numbers, and began to fire on the 63d, who were dismounted. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, to save them from considerable loss, was obliged to attack, although at some hazard, and drove the enemy with loss over the river: Sumpter was dangerously wounded, three of their colonels killed, and about 120 men killed, wounded, or taken. On our side about fifty were killed and wounded. Lieutenants Gibson and Cope, of the 63d, were amongst the former, and my aid-du-camp, lieutenant Money, who was a most promising officer, died of his wounds a few days after. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, as soon as he had taken care of his wounded, pursued and dispersed the remaining part of Sumpter's corps; and then, having assembled some militia under Mr. Cunningham, whom I appointed brigadier-general of the militia of that district, and who has by far the greatest influence in that country, he returned to the Broad river, where he at present remains, as well as major M'Arthur; in the neighbourhood of Berkeley's-ferry.

It is no easy for lieutenant-colonel Tarleton to add to the reputation he has acquired in this province; but the defeating 1000 men, posted on very strong ground, and occupying log-houses, with 190 cavalry, and eighty infantry, is a proof of that spirit and those talents, which must render the most essential services to his country. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton commends much the good behaviour of the officers and men under his command: and he particularly mentions lieutenant Skinner, of the 10th regiment of infantry, who does du-

ty with the legion, as having distinguished himself.

*Extract of a Letter from Major-general Leslie to Lord George Germain, dated Charlestown, December 19, 1780.*

I did myself the honour of writing to your lordship, at sea, on board his majesty's ship the *Romulus*, the 27th ult. From hard gales, and contrary winds, we did not get here before the 13th curt. The troops are all arrived in great health: we met with no loss except our horses. Commodore Gayton paid the greatest attention in keeping his fleet together, and disposing of his light armed vessels for the protection of the transports. I found orders here to march up the country, with about 1530 men, to join lord Cornwallis as soon as possible: the want of horses and waggon prevented me proceeding on my march until this day.

*Copy of a Letter from Lieut. Col. Balfour, Commandant at Charlestown, to Lord George Germain, dated Charlestown, Jan. 16, 1781.*

My lord,

I am honoured with lord Cornwallis's directions to address myself to your lordship, during his absence from this province, and to have the honour of informing your lordship, from time to time, of the state of the army, and the situation of affairs here.

By the last despatches from lord Cornwallis, which were dated the 11th inst. the army was then in motion, and advancing towards North Carolina, so that his lordship would reach Bullock Creek, between the Catawaba and Broad Rivers, by the 16th; to which I am happy to add, that the troops under his command were, at that time, in the highest health.

The latest accounts of the enemy inform us, that general Green,

with his army, is at Haly's ferry, on the eastern banks of the Pedee.

In order to co-operate with lord Cornwallis's views on Cape Fear, and to afford provisions and other supplies for his army, a small force of about 300 men, under major Craig, of the 82d regiment, will sail from hence with the packet. Capt. Barkley in the *Blonde*, with the *Delight* and *Otter* sloops of war, will convoy this corps, and will co-operate with the troops on this expedition, which, I trust, will be successful, and give us possession of Wilmington, and of this very essential communication.

It is with pleasure I inform your lordship, that many of the principal inhabitants of the province, and some who held the chief offices under the late rebel powers, have reverted to their loyalty, and declared their allegiance to his majesty's government.

I have also the satisfaction to acquaint your lordship, that major Ross and capt. Broderick are arrived with the despatches; and as the former gentleman has mentioned to me your lordship's great anxiety to receive frequent information from hence, and as there has of late been no eligible conveyance, I have, from these motives, taken upon me to change the course of the packet, by sending her directly home; to which I have been the rather induced, as a ship of war is shortly to sail for New York, and will take with her the commander in chief's despatches, and the mail for that place.

Capt. Mallom, of the 63d regiment, an officer of merit, and who is returning to Europe, for the recovery of his health, has lord Cornwallis's directions to deliver this despatch to your lordship. I am, &c.

H. BALFOUR.

(B 2)

*Whiteball,*

Whitehall, Feb. 20, 1781.

*Extract of a Letter from Sir Henry Clinton to Lord George Germain, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, received this Morning by Lieutenant Sir William Twysden, who arrived in the Grantham Packet, which sailed from Sandy-Hook the 29th of last Month.*

On the 3d instant it was reported to me, that on the 1st the Pennsylvania line had revolted. The particulars, as far as I have been able to ascertain them, and the steps I took in consequence, are contained in the journal, which I have the honour to enclose. My offers reached them on the 6th, together with a declaration of the admiral's and mine, as commissioners. They admitted two of their generals to a conference on the 7th: their demands were pay, arrears of pay, the depreciation of money made up to them according to the different periods, and their discharges from farther service. I had no reason to suppose they intended joining us; nor was it possible to say what measures they meant to pursue, until they removed at a distance from us, and delivered over two of our messengers to congress. On the 5th, notwithstanding the season was so far advanced, I made a movement with the elite of the army to Staten island, in which situation, with the assistance given me by the vice-admiral, of a ship of war and a number of boats to co-operate with the army, I was ready to act as circumstances might make necessary: but until I had some certain information respecting their intentions or wishes, it would have been very imprudent for me to have done any thing more than favour the revolt, and offer an asylum; for any step farther might have re-united them to their oppressors. On the 17th

I received, by the return of two of my messengers, the enclosed printed papers, by which I plainly saw that there was an appearance of an accommodation. I therefore returned from Staten island; and the general officer I left in the command there reporting to me, that the troops suffered much from the inclemency of the weather, and that their state in fact might be termed a continual picquet, I ordered them to return to their huts on Long-island.

It is impossible at present to say in what manner, or how soon, this business will be settled: it is generally thought congress cannot satisfy the demands of the revolters, and it is probable, therefore, they may attempt to force them: if they do, these people can still fall back upon us, as there is no force in the Jerseys to prevent them, nor any rivers to pass but that at South Amboy, which our ships can command.

General Washington has not moved a man from his army as yet; and as it is probable their demands are nearly the same with the Pennsylvania line, it is not thought likely that he will. I am, however, in a situation to avail myself of favourable events—but to stir before they offer might mar all.

I have received no certain intelligence from the southward since my last, but I make no doubt that general Leslie has joined lord Cornwallis, and and I expect every hour to hear that the rebels have quitted the Carolinas; more especially as brigadier-general Arnold arrived in the Chesapeake on the 2d. Rebel reports say he has reached Richmond, the capital of Virginia.

There is every reason to suppose that Ethan Allen has quitted the rebel cause.

Lieutenant Sir William Twysden,

den, of the Royal Fusileers, who has requested my permission to return to Europe on his own private affairs, will have the honour of delivering my dispatches. I beg leave to refer your lordship to him for farther particulars, particularly with regard to the operations to the southward.

#### NO. I. JOURNAL.

On the first of January, 1781, the troops huddled at Morris-town, having been for some time much dissatisfied, turned out, in number about 1300, declaring they would serve no longer unless their grievances were redressed, as they had not received either pay, cloathing, or provisions. A riot ensued, in which an officer was killed, and four wounded; the insurgents had five or six wounded.

They then collected the artillery, stores, provisions, waggons, &c. marched out of camp, and passed by general Wayne's quarters, who sent a message to them, requesting them to desist, or the consequences would prove fatal: they refused, and proceeded on their march till evening, when they took post on an advantageous piece of ground, and elected officers from amongst themselves appointing a serjeant-major, who was a British deserter, to command them, with the rank of major general.

On the 2d they marched to Middlebrook, and on the third to Prince-town.

On the 3d a message was sent them, by the officers from the camp, desiring to know their intentions, which they refused to receive. A flag of truce was sent; to which some answered, that they had served three years against their inclinations, and would serve no longer; others said they would not return, unless their grievances were redressed.

The first information the commander in chief received of this was on the morning of the 3d of January, in consequence of which a large corps was ordered to hold themselves in readiness to move on the shortest notice.

On the 4th three persons were sent out from hence to them with proposals to the following purport:

"To be taken under the protection of the British government, to have a free pardon for all former offences, and the pay due to them from Congress, faithfully paid them, without any expectation of military service (except it might be voluntary) upon condition of laying down their arms, and returning to their allegiance." It was also recommended to them to move beyond the South river; and they were assured a body of British troops should be ready to protect them whenever they desired it. The inability of Congress to satisfy their just demands, as well as the severity with which they would be treated, should they return to their former servitude, was pointed out to them. They were desired to send persons to Amboy, to meet others from us, in order to treat farther.

The corps ordered to be in readiness passed to Staten island, on the 5th, where they were cantoned in readiness to move.

The insurgents have taken post at Prince-Town, frequent messages and proposals to the same effect were sent out; but the militia of Jersey having been assembled soon after the meeting, they kept such strict watch on the coast, and on the roads leading to Prince-Town, that the utmost difficulty attended communicating with them, or receiving intelligence.

The insurgents remained at Prince-Town

Town until the 9th, during which time proposals, No. 2, were printed and distributed among them, and a committee of Congress sent to treat with them, of which general Sullivan, Mr. Mathews, Mr. Arlee, and Dr. Witherspoon, were members.

On the 9th they moved to Trenton, and on the 10th gave the answer, No. 3, from their board, composed of serjeants. By the last accounts they still remain at Trenton; and although Congress have discharged some of them, they still refuse to quit the town until the whole are settled with for all their demands.

The name of the insurgent who commands them is Williams.

No. I. *Proposals made to the non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the Pennsylvania line, at Prince-Town, Jan. 7, 1781.*

His excellency Joseph Read, Esq; president, and the hon. brigadier-general Porter, of the council of Pennsylvania, having heard the complaints of the soldiers, as represented by the serjeants, inform them, that they are fully authorized to redress reasonable grievances, and they have the fullest disposition to make them as easy as possible; for which end they propose,

1. That no non-commissioned officer or soldier shall be detained beyond the time for which he freely and voluntarily engaged; but where they appear to have been in any respect compelled to enter or sign, such enlistment to be deemed void, and the soldier discharged.

2. To settle who are and who are not to be bound to stay, three persons to be appointed by the president of the council, who are to examine into the terms of enlistment; where the original enlist-

ments cannot be found, the soldier's oath to be admitted to prove the time and terms of enlistment, and the soldier to be discharged upon his oath of the condition of the enlistment.

3. Wherever any soldier has enlisted for three years, or during the war, he is to be discharged, unless he shall appear afterwards to have re-enlisted voluntarily and freely. The gratuity of 100 dollars given by congress not to be reckoned as a bounty, or any man detained in consequence of that gratuity. The commissioners to be appointed by the president and council, to adjust any difficulties which may arise on this article also.

4. The auditors to attend as soon as possible to settle the depreciation with the soldiers, and give them certificates. Their arrearages of pay to be made up as soon as circumstances will admit.

5. A pair of shoes, over-alls, and shirt, will be delivered to each soldier in a few days, as they are already purchased, and ready to be sent forward whenever the line shall be settled. Those who are discharged to receive the above articles at Trenton, producing the general's discharge.

The governor hopes that no soldier of the Pennsylvania line will break his bargain, or go from the contract made with the public, and they may depend upon it, that the utmost care will be taken to furnish them with every necessary fitting for a soldier. The governor will recommend to the state to take some favourable notice of those who engaged for the war.

The commissioners will attend at Trenton when the clothing and the stores will be immediately brought, and the regiments will be settled without

without their order. A field officer of each regiment to attend during the settlement of his regiment.

Pursuant to general Wayne's orders of the 2d inst. no man to be brought to any trial or censure for what has happened on or since New-Year's Day, but all matters to be buried in oblivion.

JOS. REED.

JAS. POTTER.

*Trenton, Jan. 10, 1781.* His excellency's proposals being communicated to the different regiments at troop-beating this morning, January 1, 1781.

They do voluntarily agree in conjunction, that all the soldiers who were enlisted for the term of three years, or during the war, excepting those whose terms of enlistment are not expired, ought to be discharged immediately, with as little delay as circumstances will allow, except such soldiers who have voluntarily re-enlisted. In case that any soldier should dispute, his enlistment is to be settled by a committee and the soldier's oath. The remainder of his excellency's and the honourable board of committee's proposal is founded upon honour and justice; but in regard to the honourable board setting forth, that there will be appointed three persons to sit as a committee to redress our grievances; it is therefore the general demand of the line and the board of sergeants, that we shall appoint as many members as of the opposite, to sit as a committee to determine jointly upon our unhappy affairs. As the path we tread is justice, and our footsteps founded upon honour, therefore we unanimously do agree, that there should be something done towards a speedy redress of our present grievances.

Signed, by order of the board,

W. BOWZER, Sec.

Pursuant to your excellency's demand concerning the two emissaries from the British, the board of committee resolved, that those men should be delivered up to the supreme authority, in order to show that we would remove every doubt of suspicion and jealousy.

Also that the men may disperse upon being discharged and delivering up their arms, &c.

Signed by the board, in the

President's absence,

DANIEL CONNEL, member.

*Trenton, Jan. 10, 1781.*

Sir William Twifden, who did not fail for Sandy-Hook till the 29th, was informed before his departure by Sir Henry Clinton, that the revolted troops still remained at Trenton, and were intrenching themselves there; and that the New Jersey brigade had also revolted for the same reasons as the others, and were marching towards Elizabeth Town; and major general Robertson was ordered to Staten Island upon that occasion.

21. Yesterday advice was received that the *Atlas*, a French man of war of 64 guns, had been lost in the late storm, and every person on board had perished. The *Atlas*, with three other ships of the line, sailed from Brett, and were cruising to the westward, in hopes of meeting with the homeward-bound East-Indiamen, when they met with a violent gale of wind, which dismasted two of them; one was driven on shore, and was, with the greatest difficulty, after throwing her guns, over-board, got off; the *Atlas* went immediately down.

22. Yesterday was observed throughout the kingdom as a general fast.

The following letter, giving an authentic account of the loss of the General Barker East-Indiaman, was

(B 4)

received

received yesterday at the East-India house from the post-office.

*Harwich, Feb. 20.*

To ANTHONY TODD, *Esq.*

S I R,

As the loss of the General Barker East-Indiaman is not known with certainty by those concerned: I am sorry to send a confirmation, which I have from captain P. Baggot, of the earl of Besborough packet. The East-Indiaman was on shore between Scheveling and Catwyck: the crew are all safe but taken prisoners: the ship is entirely dismasted and wrecked.

I am, your humble servant,

CHARLES COX, agent.

*Extract of a letter from Dumfries, Feb. 13.*

“ 23. On Sunday night last it began to blow a strong gale of wind, accompanied with rain, which continued without intermission, till Sunday night at twelve o'clock. The violence of the wind, from the south west, occasioned the highest tide in the River Nith on Sunday that has been remembered these thirty years. Near 600 acres of arable land, in the parish of Carlawerock, were laid many feet under water; the fences totally destroyed, and several acres entirely swept away. Five men who went into the tide to save their cattle, got out with great difficulty; they lost several of their sheep. The River Annan has made a passage by the west end of Annan bridge; and the bridge over the River Line, betwixt Annan and Long Town, is entirely swept away, both on the military road, which prevented the arrival of the London post yesterday till six o'clock at night.”

24. Thursday night about twelve o'clock, James Pearce, one of the toll collectors at Colnebrook turn-

pike, was inhumanly murdered, by some person or persons unknown, in the turnpike house, by beating out his brains and one of his eyes with a poker.

A melancholy accident happened a few days ago at Blue-street, near Penhill, Surrey. At night as Thomas Squire, his wife, and mother, were going to bed, they lighted a brasier of charcoal in the room where they lay, on account of the extreme coldness of the weather, by which, it is supposed, they were all suffocated, being all three found next morning dead in their beds. What renders it more melancholy, the wife was far advanced in her pregnancy, and expected to lie-in in a very few days.

27. Letters from Glasgow, Paisley, Dunbar, Montrose, Brechin, and almost every town and village in Scotland, give accounts of rejoicings and illuminations on receiving the news of lord G. Gordon's acquittal, which were conducted with decency and good order.

28. This day the sessions at the Old Bailey ended, when the following convicts received sentence of death, viz. William Russel, John Lamb, Henry Webber, Ebenezer Hancup, for different highway-robberies; Jane Vincent, for robbing Anne Evers in a house in Lukener's-lane, where she was sent for under pretence of wanting a midwife, but when she came there she found herself in the hands of ruffians, who stript her of all she had valuable about her; Catherine Dicks, for personating the next of kin to Richard Wallister, deceased, late a seamen on board the navy, taking a false oath, in order to receive the wages of the said Wallister; and Th. Dicks, for inciting her to take the said oath; and  
Sufannah

Sufannah Steward, for stealing goods to a considerable amount from William Turner, to whom she had been servant only seven days.

### M A R C H.

2. Last night the delegates at Serjeants-Inn-Hall, after hearing Mr. Dunning, Mr. Bearcroft, and Dr. Harris, set aside the decree of the late Sir George Hay which confirmed the legality of the marriage abroad of Mr. Morris with Miss Harford, and referred the parties to the commons to go on in the proceedings. The court broke up at nine o'clock, and the commission was dissolved.

On Tuesday last a most violent storm of wind broke from W. N. W. and did considerable damage to the shipping. It was severely felt at Spithead, where the Portland of 50 guns lost her mizen mast; the *Prothée* of 64 guns, and Latham outward-bound Indiamen, drove ashore, but got off. Several other ships received considerable damage, and some were lost along the coast.

At Blundworth, in Hampshire, the violence of the storm was dreadful. In less than three hours scarcely a house but what was stripped of its tiles and thatch; three houses were blown down, and not a tree of any size left standing in the neighbourhood. For ten miles round few houses escaped without damage, more or less.

The following account of the loss of the General Barker East Indiaman seems to be authentic. "In the hard gale of wind which came on between 11 and 12 at night on the 12th of February, we parted with three cables a-head, and soon after lost every anchor and cable we

had. The following day we fired several signals of distress, but could get no assistance. We were at last drifted against the Kentish Knock, where we lay for six hours; by the help of a strong tide we got off in the evening, but not without the loss of all our boats, and cutting away our main and mizen masts. The gale continuing on the 15th, we were driven on shore on the coast of Holland, in which dreadful situation we remained all night, expecting every moment to be our last, and in which horrid suspense 15 of the crew actually perished. In the morning the Dutch very humanely came out to our assistance, and rescued about 60 of us from a situation more easily to be imagined than described."

*Rome, Feb. 3.*

The workmen have begun to dig near the Sepulchre of Vibius, vulgarly called Nero's Tomb. They have found the statue of a woman of exquisite workmanship; the drapery and the head-dress, such as, by tradition, were in fashion in Julia's time. The marble statue of a child has also been discovered, together with a coffin of an extraordinary size, and five figures representing as many bacchanals. On the lid is an inscription of Locanius, a lawyer, and prefect of the sentries. In the coffin were found a few remnants in gold of the magnificent wrappers that were set round it. Some people employed by the marquis Camilla Massini at his seat at Polombaxa, have dug out several remnants of statues, and, by a farther excavation, two half-length statues, one of which represents Esculapius, but of a very indifferent workmanship; also (in several pieces which will be easily put together) a figure of Hercules with-

without arms. The marquis, having also perceived several ruins, is determined to go on with a work which promises some curious discoveries.

3. The reason of general Lee's being dismissed from the service of the Americans last year was on account of his sending the following letter to the president of the congress:

"S I R, *Berkley-County.*

"I understand that it is in contemplation of congress, on the principles of œconomy, to strike me out of their service. Congress must know very little of me, if they suppose that I would accept of their money, since the confirmation of the wicked and infamous sentence which was passed upon me.

I am, Sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

"CHARLES LEE.

"P. S. Excuse my not writing in my own hand, as it is wounded."

In consequence of the above letter, which was read in a meeting of the congress, a motion was made by Mr. M'Clene, seconded by Mr. Penn, "That major-general Charles Lee be informed, that congress have no farther occasion for his services in the armies of the United States;" which was agreed to.

This resolution being notified to general Lee, he wrote a letter addressed to the president of the congress, which was read in a full meeting of that body, and contained the following passages:

"I unfortunately, Sir, received letters from two friends, whose zeal for my service was greater than their intelligence was authentic, informing me that the same men, who by art and management had brought about, in a thin house, the

confirmation of the absurd, and iniquitous sentence of the court-martial, were determined to pursue the matter still farther, and, on the pretence of œconomy, to make a motion for the final removal of me from the army, as an incumbrance. It happened, that at the very moment these letters came to my hands I was very much indispensed, so as not to be able to write myself, and at the same time my horses were at the door to carry me down the country, where business called me. The bodily pain I was in, joined to the misinformation I received, ruffled my temper beyond all bounds, and the necessity of setting out immediately prevented me giving myself time to consider of the propriety or impropriety of what I was about; and thus these two circumstances concurring gave birth to the note which I dictated, which no man can more sincerely reprobate than I do myself, and for which I most sincerely beg pardon of the congress. But, Sir, I must entreat, that in thus acknowledging the impropriety and indecorum of my conduct in this affair, it may not be supposed I mean to court a restoration to the rank I held; so far from it, that I do assure them, had not this incident fallen out, I should have requested congress to have accepted of my resignation, as, from obvious reasons, whilst the army is continued in its present circumstances, I could not have served with safety and dignity."

4. Yesterday the cause between Mr. Langdale and the city of London came on at Guild-hall, before Mr. Justice Buller and a special jury. Mr. Langdale brought his action against the late lord mayor upon

upon the riot act, to recover the damage he sustained by the destruction of his premises and goods by the mob during the late disturbances, which he estimated at 51,559*l.* 12*s.* 7*d.* and the jury gave a verdict for 18,725*l.* 10*s.*

After the above, came on the actions of Mr. Charlton of Coleman street, and Mr. Malo of Moorfields; when the former had a verdict for 900*l.* and the latter for 3667*l.*

6. Yesterday Charles Logie, Esq. his majesty's late consul general at Morocco, arrived in town with dispatches from governor Elliot of Gibraltar. Before consul Logie left Morocco, the emperor, under the influence of the gifts he had received from the Spanish court, threatened the inhabitants of Tangier with the most dreadful effects of his resentment if they held any friendship with the English; and at his injunction, 50 of the principal inhabitants went to the consul's house, and demanded an audience. On an interview being given, they successively went up to Mr. Logie, spit in his face, pointed their daggers to his breast, and called him by every opprobrious appellation that could be used. Mr. Logie reports, that the greatest scarcity of grain prevailed through the country, no rain having fallen for these three last years.

*Vienna, Feb. 12.*

The press is already put upon a much fairer footing than it was on during the late reign, as may be seen by a few articles of the edict sent down to the office by his imperial majesty, all written with his own hand:

1. All reviews (of which there are a great multitude in Germany) may be circulated without license;

those relating to publications on Ecclesiastical History not excepted.

2. So likewise all books on the subjects of medicine, or law; such medical books excepted, in which secret nostrums are advertised.

3. All strictures on the conduct of the throne itself may be published in full security, so they do not present themselves in the form of pasquinades. "If there be any thing just in them, (says his majesty) we shall profit by them; if not, we shall disregard them." A noble observation surely! strongly characterizing the magnanimity of the heart that dictated it.

4. So likewise all writing on religious subjects, provided they do not attack any of the three religions established in the Roman Empire (the Roman Catholic, Lutheran, and Calvinist) in any of their fundamental points.

5. So likewise all political newspapers and pamphlets without exception; and many other articles.

11. Yesterday came on in the Court of King's Bench, Guildhall, before lord Mansfield and a jury, part special and part common, the trial of Mr. Alderman Kennet, late lord mayor of London, for having (as the indictment set forth) wilfully, obstinately, and contemptuously neglected to do his duty during the riots in June last. After hearing several witnesses for the prosecution, and others in favour of alderman Kennet, the judge summed up the evidence, and left it to the jury to bring in their verdict; which they did in these words, "guilty of neglect of duty only." But being afterwards informed that this verdict was irregular, that the verdict must be general, guilty or not guilty, and that it would be in the power of the court

court to receive every favourable circumstance in exculpation of the defendant's conduct, before any judgment was given against him, the jury brought in their verdict guilty.

*Admiralty-office, March 13, 1781.*

*Extract of a letter from lieutenant Inglis, commanding his majesty's sloop Zephyr, to Mr. Stephens, dated Spithead, March 11, 1781.*

Please to acquaint their lordships of his majesty's sloop Zephyr, under my command, being arrived at Spithead from the coast of Africa, after a passage of 57 days.

I likewise have the honour of acquainting their lordships, that on the 31st of October last, being just returned to Goree from a cruise, I received intelligence from governor Wall of a French frigate of 24 guns being in Gambia river, which had taken two transports and two sloops there, wooding and watering for the garison of Goree. I immediately sailed, with the Polly Letter of Marque, mounting 16 short four-pounders, with 30 men under my command, agreeably to the advice of governor Wall.

On the 2d of November, at eleven A. M. being at the entrance of the river, saw four sail at anchor off Berra Point; found them to be one of the transports, two sloops, and a French frigate; the transport mounted 16 guns, and was, as I heard, manned with Frenchmen and negroes, belonging to Albedra, on the banks of Gambia, and interested with the French. At twelve, the transport and two sloops were set on fire, the other transport being burnt the preceding day. At one P. M. the enemy's ship being under weigh, and the Zephyr within pistol-shot of her, a warm action ensued, and

lasted till four P. M. when through chasing the Zephyr and enemy grounded (at very near low water) as close to each other as before, which occasioned the action to be renewed with redoubled violence, hence more resembling two batteries on shore than a sea fight. During the greatest part of the action, the Letter of Marque was anchored three quarters of a mile a-stern; but notwithstanding, a continual fire was kept up by the Zephyr and the enemy till six, when the enemy struck, with the loss of 12 men killed and 28 wounded; the Zephyr two killed and wounded, her bowsprit, main-top-mast, and main yards shot away, her hull, masts, yards, sails, and rigging very much shattered, inasmuch that, with the greatest difficulty, on the 12th we arrived at Goree. During the whole of the action, the Zephyr was in the utmost danger from fire-rafts, both under the bow and stern; luckily the destructive intentions of the enemy proved abortive.

After boarding the enemy, found her to be the Senegal (lieutenant commandant Allery) a French king's ship, mounting 18 six-pounders, and 126 men, but fought the Zephyr with 22, owing to transporting guns. She was formerly the Racehorse, commanded by lord Mulgrave, and lately the Senegal, in his majesty's service. As she was of great detriment to his majesty's trading subjects on the coast of Africa, the taking of her gives me the utmost pleasure and satisfaction.

On our arrival on the 12th at Goree, from Gambia, governor Wall gave me information of two vessels being off Senegal bar, taking in gum. Ready to act con-

sonant

sonant with his information, though in so shattered a condition, and the Senegal not condemned, from which the property of the captors was at stake, we cheerfully consented to proceed in pursuit of the apparent success; but the wind being at N. E. directly contrary, and the Zephyr in an infirm situation, after beating five days out at sea, the ships were obliged to return to Goree, in order to refit, on purpose that we might a second time be able to attempt the expedition.

On our return the condemnation of the ship Senegal was entered upon, and the judge Advocate demanding an inventory, proper officers and men were sent from the Zephyr for that purpose, and that of refitting her for the aforesaid expedition; but, alas! through some unknown cause, on the 22d of November she was unhappily blown up, with the loss of lieutenant George Crofts, and 22 others, officers and seamen, specified by the enclosed list.

I flatter myself their lordships will show all necessary indulgence to the officers and seamen's friends, who nobly and gallantly supported me in the late action, and unluckily suffered by the above accident.

*A list of the officers and seamen, belonging to his majesty's ship Zephyr, who were blown up in the French king's frigate la Senegal, lieutenant Allery, commander, on the 22d of Nov. 1780.*

George Crofts, lieut.  
Francis Fyffe, mate.  
Land. Rutherford, able.  
T. Harris, boatswain.  
W. Trapplett, gunner.  
Tho. Nesbitt, clerk.  
J. Croker, capt. mate.  
J. Parminter, sailmaker.  
P. M'Kewen, Qr. gun.

Henry Clark, able.  
Mark Short, ditto.  
Henry Fudge, ditto.  
George Williams, able.  
John Oakes, ditto.  
Cabel Cornwall, ditto.  
And. Buchanan, ditto.  
W. Forsyth, capt. ser.  
John Lawlers, able.  
Tho. Smith, ditto.  
Wm. Baker, ditto.  
Tho. Crofts, ditto.  
Jo Hall, ditto.  
Tho. O'Hara, ditto.

*Whitchall, March 13, 1781.*

This morning captain M'Allister, aid-du-camp to the honourable major-general Vaughan, commander in chief of his majesty's forces in the leeward islands, arrived at lord George Germaine's office with despatches from major-general Vaughan to his lordship, of which the following is copy and extracts:  
*Copy of a letter from the honourable major-general Vaughan, to lord George Germain, dated Fort George, St. Eustatius, Feb. 7, 1781.*

I have the honour to inform your lordship of the arrival of the Childers brig at Barbadoes on the 27th ult. with your lordship's despatches, transmitting to me his majesty's commands; and, in obedience to them, immediately embarked on board the Sandwich, and proceeded with all possible expedition to St. Eustatius, and anchored before the town about two o'clock on the 3d inst. and in conjunction with the admiral, summoned the governor to make an immediate surrender of the island and all its dependencies, which summons I have the honour to inclose to your lordship, and also the governor's answer. On the following day I dispatched a proper detachment to the islands of St. Martin and Saba, which

have

have likewise submitted to his majesty's arms.

The effects found in this place prove to be very considerable; the whole island being one continued store of French, American, and Dutch property. The particulars it is not in my power at present to ascertain.

I have inclosed your lordship a return of the artillery found here.

Captain M<sup>c</sup>Allister, my aid-du-camp, will have the honour to deliver this, and give your lordship any farther information. He is a very deserving good officer; and I could wish particularly to recommend him to your lordship's favour.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. VAUGHAN.

*Extract of a private letter from the honourable major-general Vaughan to lord George Germain, dated Fort George, St. Eustatia, Feb. 7, 1781.*

Give me leave to congratulate your lordship upon the surrender of St. Eustatius and its dependencies, a blow, I think, in its consequences, which cannot but be most sensibly felt by the enemy, as it has hitherto been the source of most essential succour to them, and, I am well informed here, nothing could have so deeply affected the Americans as this.

This island, my lord, is made up of a collection of considerable property belonging to the French, Dutch, and Americans.

I have also the pleasure to inform your lordship that the capture of shipping is immense, and what yet adds to our success, is the overtaking a convoy that had accidentally failed for Europe before our arrival, consisting of between twenty and thirty large ships laden with sugar,

convoyed by a Dutch flag ship of 60 guns, the admiral of which would not listen to any remonstrance, and was killed in an engagement with the Monarch. The number of ships captured, amounts all together to upwards of 200, besides the above flag ship, and a frigate of 38 guns.

The confederation that reigns here at present is inconceivable: it is a stroke they so little expected, that they could scarcely believe lieutenant colonel Cockburne, whom I sent with the summons.— We took possession to the amount of at least three millions of money, and what gives me particular pleasure to find is, that Amsterdam will bear the chief weight of the loss.

The Fort, before called Fort Orange, I now have the honour to call Fort George, and have garrisoned it, and provided for the security of St. Martin.

We have as yet, my lord, continued the Dutch flag, which answers extremely well, as there have been no less than 17 ships come into the port since it has been captured.

*Summons to the governor of St. Eustatia.*

We the general officers commanding in chief his Britannic majesty's fleet and army in the West-Indies, do, in his royal name, demand an instant surrender of the island of St. Eustatia and its dependencies, with every thing in and belonging thereto.

We give you one hour, from the delivery of this message to decide. If any resistance is made, you must abide by the consequences.

GEO. BRYDGES RODNEY.

JOHN VAUGHAN.

*Sandwich, February 3, 1781.*

*The*

*The governor's answer.*

Governor De Graaff, not having it in his power to make any defence against the British forces, which have invested the island of St. Eustatia, surrenders the same, and all its dependencies to Sir George Brydges Rodney and general Vaughan. Well knowing the honour and humanity of these two commanders in chief, the governor recommends the town and its inhabitants to their mercy.

*Johannes De Graaff.*

*Oliv. Oyen.*

*Jacobus Seys.*

*Hen. Pandt.*

*St. Eustatia, Feb. 3, 1781.*

*Return of ordnance, arms, ammunition, &c. in the islands of St. Eustatia and Saba, when taken possession of by his majesty's troops, under the command of his excellency general Vaughan, commander in chief, &c. &c. Feb. 3, 1781.*

#### IRON ORDNANCE.

Eighteen-pounders, mounted on garrison carriages, with side arms compleat, —	19
Ditto, with carriages, —	3
Twelve-pounders on ditto, with side arms, &c. —	10
Nine-pounders mounted, with side arms, —	11
Six-pounders mounted, with side arms, —	25
Ditto, without carriages, —	7
Three-pounders, with carriages, side arms, &c. —	3

Total guns, 78

Gin for mounting guns, — 1

#### S H O T.

Eighteen-pounders, round, —	3054
Twelve-pounders, ditto, —	767
Nine-pounders, ditto, —	338
Six-pounders, ditto, —	600
Three-pounders, ditto, —	200
Total shot, —	4959

Gunpowder, (lbs.) —	4689
Hand grenadoes, —	143
Fuzees for ditto, —	156
Slow match, (cwt.) —	700
Handspikes, spare, —	75
Lint-stocks, —	67
Musquets with bayonets, —	45
Ditto without, —	83
Pouches, —	62
Cartouch boxes, —	24
Waist belts, —	59
Cutlasses, —	58
Pistols, —	39
Esponsoons, —	2
Drums, —	2
Moulds for casting musquet balls, —	2
Lanthorn, —	1
Dutch flags, —	10
Screw jacks, —	9
Halberts, —	2
Musquet ball, —	4000
Flints, —	27000

JOHN WILLIAMSON,

major commanding artillery.

*Copy of a letter from lieutenant-colonel Edbouse, to the honourable major-general Vaughan, dated St. Martin's, Feb. 6. 1781.*

S I R,

I have the honour to inform your excellency, that the island of St. Martin, being summoned, surrendered at discretion on the 5th inst. The form of the surrender I enclose. All public papers, stores, &c. are secured by the quarter-master-general.

I have ordered the inhabitants to supply the troops with fresh provisions, and shall begin to put the island in a state of defence as soon as the troops are properly quartered.

I have the honour to be, &c.

AND. EDHOUSE,  
lieut. col. 13th reg.

Governor Heyliger not having it in his power to make any defence against the British forces, which have

have invested the island of St. Martin, surrenders the same, and all its dependencies, to Sir George Brydges Rodney and general Vaughan. Well knowing the honour and humanity of these two commanders in chief, the governor recommends the town and its inhabitants to their clemency and mercy.

*Abraham Heliger, pretor.*

*Tho. Kellerton.*

*John Solomons Cibber.*

*Lucas Ten Tooszer.*

*St. Martin, Feb. 5, 1781.*

*Admiralty Office, March 13, 1781.*

Captain Stirling, of his majesty's ship the Gibraltar, who came to Plymouth in the Swallow sloop from St. Eustatia, arrived at this office this morning, with dispatches from admiral Sir George Brydges Rodney to Mr. Stephens, of which the following are extracts and copies.

*Extract of a letter from admiral Sir*

*George Brydges Rodney to Mr. Stephens, dated Sandwich, St. Eustatia, February 4, 1781.*

His majesty's sloop of war the Childers joined me on the 27th of January, with their lordships most secret orders, and his majesty's royal declaration against the States of Holland, and their subjects.

General Vaughan and myself lost not a moment's time in putting his majesty's commands into execution. We immediately embarked the troops destined for the enterprize, and the whole being kept a profound secret, we sailed from St. Lucia on the 30th of January.

To prevent the French penetrating our design, the whole fleet appeared before Fort Royal and St. Pierre's, Martinique, which island we greatly alarmed, and having left rear-admiral Drake, with six sail of the line and two frigates, to watch the motions of the four sail of the

line and two frigates, then in the bay of Fort Royal, late in the evening of the said day we proceeded for the Dutch island of St. Eustatia, and dispatched rear-admiral Sir Samuel Hood, with his squadron, to environ the bay of St. Eustatia, and prevent the escape of any Dutch ships of war, or merchant ships, that might be at anchor there: he most effectually performed that service.

On the 3d instant the general and myself, with the remainder of the fleet and transports, arrived in the bay. The men of war being stationed against the batteries, and the troops ready to disembark, the general and myself, in order to save the effusion of blood, thought it necessary to send to the Dutch governor the summons I have the honour to inclose, with which he instantly complied.

The surprise and astonishment of the governor and inhabitants of St. Eustatia is scarcely to be conceived. The Mars, a Dutch ship of war of 38 guns, and 300 men, commanded by count Byland, and belonging to the department of the admiralty of Amsterdam, having arrived at St. Eustatia, had allayed their fears of hostilities.

I most sincerely congratulate their lordships on the severe blow the Dutch West India company, and the perfidious magistrates of Amsterdam, have sustained by the capture of this island. Upwards of one hundred and fifty sail of ships and vessels of all denominations (many of them richly loaded) are taken in the bay, exclusive of the Dutch frigate called the Mars, which I have commissioned, manned, and in a few days she will cruize against the enemy as a British ship of war.

There are besides five ships and vessels

vessels of war, from 14 to 26 guns, all complete and ready for service.

A Dutch convoy, consisting of 30 sail of merchant ships richly loaded, having sailed from St. Eustatia under the protection of a 60 gun ship about 36 hours before my arrival, I detached capt. Reynholds, of his majesty's ship Monarch, with the Panther and Sybil, to pursue them as far as the latitude of Bermudas, should he not intercept them before he got that length.

All the magazines and storehouses are filled, and even the beach covered with tobacco and sugar.

The islands of St. Martin and Saba have surrendered, no terms whatever having been allowed them.

[The summons and answers were the same as those inclosed in general Vaughan's letter.]

*Copy of a letter from admiral Sir George Brydges Rodney to Mr. Stephens, dated Sandwiche, St. Eustatius, Feb. 6, 1781.*

S I R,

Since my letter of the 4th instant, by the diligence and activity of captain Reynolds, the Dutch convoy, which had sailed from St. Eustatius before my arrival, has been intercepted. I am sorry to acquaint their lordships, that the Dutch admiral was killed in the action.

Inclosed I have the honour to send a copy of captain Reynolds's letter; and am, with great regard,

S I R,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

G. B. RODNEY.

(C O P Y.)

*Monarch, off Saba, 5th Feb. 1781.*

S I R,

I have the pleasure to inform you, that yesterday morning I fell in with the convoy you did me the

honour to send me in pursuit of. About ten o'clock I ordered the Mars, a Dutch ship of war of 60 guns, to strike her colours, which she refusing to do, occasioned some shot to be exchanged. The Monarch received no damage excepting three men wounded: I am not informed of the number the Dutch had killed and wounded; but among the former is their admiral, though his flag was not hoisted at the time of the action.

From some shot in her masts, I have ordered the Panther to take her in tow.

By the activity of captain Hervey and my lord Charles Fitzgerald, we were enabled to take possession of the whole, and to make sail with them by four o'clock in the afternoon.

I have put Mr. Drury, the first lieutenant of the Monarch, into the Mars, and I beg leave to recommend that gentleman to your notice, as an officer of great merit.

I have dispatched the fastest sailing vessel to give you this information, and am concerned it is not in my power to be more particular.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

F. REYNOLDS.

*Sir George Brydges Rodney, bart. &c. &c. &c.*

*Extract of a letter from admiral Sir George Brydges Rodney to Mr. Stephens, dated Sandwiche, St. Eustatius Bay, February 6, 1781.*

I beg you will inform their lordships, that since the capture of St. Eustatius, three large Dutch ships from Amsterdam have been taken and carried into St. Christopher's. As their cargoes consist of all kind of naval stores, I shall order them instantly up to English Harbour,

(C)

Antigua,

Antigua, for the use of his majesty's fleet.

The acquisition of this island seems every day to be of more and more consequence to his majesty's service, and of distress to his enemies. A convoy from Guadaloupe for this island, for stores, have been seized, and are now safe in the bay.

14. The following is a list of his majesty's ships on the Jamaica station, which were lost or damaged in the late hurricane, viz. Stirling Castle of 64 guns lost, the captain and about 50 people were saved. Phoenix of 44 guns lost on the Cuba shore, most of the people saved. Scarborough of 20 guns lost at sea, and every person perished. Hector of 74 guns lost all her guns and masts. Grafon of 74 guns, lost all her masts. Egmont of 74 guns, ditto. Trident of 64 guns, ditto. Ruby of 64 guns, ditto. Bristol of 50 guns, ditto. Endymion of 44 guns, ditto. Ulysses of 44 guns, ditto. Pomona of 28 guns, ditto. Thunderer of 74 guns lost.

15. On Tuesday last was tried at Salisbury assizes, before Mr. baron Perryn, and a special jury of the county of Wilts, a cause wherein Samuel Petrie, esq. was plaintiff, and Mr. John Bristow, defendant. This action was brought against the defendant, as agent to lord Porchester, for bribery and corruption at the last general election for Cricklade, when after a hearing of upwards of seven hours, the jury found a verdict for the plaintiff, with 500*l.* damages.

*Vienna, Jan. 30.* The emperor, in order to obviate the complaints of his subjects, on account of the new tax laid on beer last May, hath ordered that each of the members who compose the assembly of the states of Lower Austria, shall send

him his opinion in writing on that important object, that he may determine, after having weighed their different sentiments, on the most proper steps to be taken. His imperial majesty has already had several conferences with counsellor Greiller, author of the plan for that tax; and, for fear of influencing the opinions of the assemblies which are to be held on this occasion, his majesty hath ordered, that the counsellor shall not be present at any of them.

17. Number of houses in certain towns, laid before the house of commons by the tax-office by order of the house :

Exeter	—	—	1474
Plymouth	—	—	1510
York	—	—	2285
Hull	—	—	1370
Sheffield	—	—	2022
Liverpool	—	—	3974
Manchester	—	—	2519
Norwich	—	—	2302
Lynn	—	—	662
Yarmouth	—	—	682
Newcastle	—	—	2219
Bristol	—	—	3247
Bath	—	—	1173
Ipswich	—	—	1244
Birmingham	—	—	2291
Cambridge	—	—	1925
Oxford	—	—	2316
Dover	—	—	1193
Nottingham	—	—	1533
Northampton	—	—	706
Shrewsbury	—	—	904

21. A dreadful fire broke out, on the 18th instant, at a billiard hotel in St. Omer's, by which many capital houses in one quarter of the town were burnt down, several lives lost, and the damage sustained there to individuals immense, as there are no insurance-offices in that town.

*York, March 22.* Tuesday morning came on at Guildhall the trial of

of William Meyer, esq. for the murder of Joseph Spink, assistant to Mr. Meggison, sheriff's officer (in whose custody he had been left), by shooting him with a pistol. After a hearing of about seven hours he was found guilty, and received sentence of death. Mrs. Meyer, who was also tried as being accessary in the above murder, was acquitted. Mr. Meyer was ordered to be executed, and his body dissected and anatomized yesterday, but was afterwards respited till Thursday the 29th inst. This unfortunate young gentleman's family name is Meek, which he changed to Meyer for an estate. He is a handsome young man, of 29 years of age, and is nephew to col. George Tuffnell, and William Jolliffe, esq. late high sheriff of Yorkshire.

26. On Friday came on at Kingston assizes, before Mr. justice Ashurst, the long depending cause between Mr. Colman and other gentlemen of Richmond, and the city of London, against whom an action of trespass on the case was brought for erecting a horse towing-path in the bed of the river Thames, and thereby taking away the communication between the garden of Mr. C. as well as other inhabitants of Richmond from the said river. The facts were not materially disputed on either side; but the counsel for the plaintiff dwelt on the unauthorized injury arising from the horse towing-path and embankment; while the city counsel contended that the work was not only executed under the authority of certain acts of parliament, and was an undoubted public benefit, but even of great use and advantage to the plaintiff. During the trial, many thought that the powers of the city under the statute in question, would probably

be submitted to the court of King's Bench in a special verdict; but the learned and ingenious judge, from his summing up the evidence, and occasional comments on the acts of parliament, seemed to think such a reference unnecessary. He said that Mr. C. urged no right to the soil of the river; that the claim of *Fron- tage* was a visionary right, being neither land, tenement, nor hereditament; that the legislature had indeed protected the gardens of proprietors by the side of the river, forbidding any towing-path, horse or foot, to be made *over, through, or upon* them, but had not added the word *adjoining*, which was the exact description of the present towing-path and embankment at the end of the plaintiff's gardens; for which reasons, though some inconvenience might arise to the plaintiff, he did not think there was ground to maintain an action of trespass; on which account Mr. C. had brought an action of trespass on the case. The jury withdrew for a short time, and without taking particular notice of the acts of parliament, returned with a general verdict in favour of the defendants.

27. On Sunday evening, about seven o'clock, T. Mackenzie, esq. of Somerset street, Portman-square, was stopped by a highwayman near Shooter's-hill, who attempting to rob him, Mr. Mackenzie fired at the highwayman, and shot him in the belly.

30. Yesterday Mr. Burke brought into the house the two commissioners from India, and the two Persians, who as ministers were introduced to the upper part of the house, and stood by the fire-place to see his majesty. The Indians bowed to the king most respectfully, and placed their hands on the ground as a token

of obeisance; the Armenians did not bow. The Indians were dressed in long rich habits, over which they wore a fine muslin in the form of a child's frock; their heads were covered with shawls, the corners of which fell on their shoulders.

Yesterday came on at Warwick the trial of John Donnellan, Esq. late master of the ceremonies at the Pantheon, &c. for the wilful murder of Sir T. E. A. Boughton, bart. by poison, when, after a hearing of near twelve hours, in which six of the most eminent surgeons in the kingdom were examined with respect to the nature of poisons, captain Donnellan was capitally convicted, and sentenced to be hung at Warwick on Monday next, and his body to be anatomised.

31. Yesterday the two Persian agents and two Bramins, who had been in town some time on a treaty relative to the Ragabo chief in India, were at court at St. James's, and introduced to their majesties by the assistant master of the ceremonies.

*Whitehall, March 31, 1781.*

By the mail of the Sandwich packet, which sailed from Charles Town the 28th of February, despatches were this day received by lord George Germain, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, from earl Cornwallis and lieutenant-colonel Balfour, of which the following are extracts and copies:

*Camp on Turkey Creek, Broad-river.*

My Lord, *Jan. 18, 1781.*

I think it necessary to transmit to your lordship a copy of my letter to Sir Henry Clinton, lest the exaggerated accounts from the Rebels should reach Europe before your

lordship could hear from New-York. I shall only say, in addition to what I have said to Sir Henry Clinton, that this event was extremely unexpected; for the greatest part of the troops that were engaged, had, upon all former occasions, behaved with the most distinguished gallantry.

*Extract of a letter from earl Cornwallis to Sir Henry Clinton, dated camp on Turkey-Creek, Broad-river, Jan. 18, 1781.*

In my letter of the 6th of this month I had the honour to inform your excellency that I was ready to begin my march for North Carolina, having been delayed for some days by a diversion made by the enemy towards Ninety-six. General Morgan still remained on the Pacolet: his corps, by the best accounts I could get, consisted of about 500 men, continental and Virginia state troops, and 100 cavalry under colonel Washington, and six or seven hundred militia; but that body is so fluctuating, that it is impossible to ascertain its number, within some hundreds, for three days following. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, with the legion and corps annexed to it, consisting of about 300 cavalry and as many infantry, and the 1st battalion of the 71st regiment, and one three-pounder, had already passed the Broad-river for the relief of Ninety-six. I therefore directed lieutenant-colonel Tarleton to march on the west of Broad-river to endeavour to strike a blow at General Morgan, and, at all events, to oblige him to pass the Broad-river. I likewise ordered that he should take with him the 7th regiment, and one three-pounder, which was marching to re-inforce the garrison of Ninety-six, as long as he should think

think their services could be useful to him. The remainder of the army marched between the Broad-river and Catawbaw. As general Green had quitted Mecklenburgh county, and crossed the Pedee, I made not the least doubt that general Morgan would retire on our advancing.

The progress of the army was greatly impeded by heavy rains, which swelled the river and creeks; yet lieutenant-colonel Tarleton conducted his march so well, and got so near to general Morgan, who was retreating before him, as to make it dangerous for him to pass the Broad-river, and came up with him at eight o'clock A. M. on the 17th cur. Every thing now bore the most promising aspect; the enemy were drawn up in an open wood, and, having been lately joined by some militia, were more numerous; but the different quality of the corps under lieutenant-colonel Tarleton's command, and his great superiority in cavalry, left him no room to doubt of the most brilliant success. The attack was begun by the first line of infantry, consisting of the 7th regiment, the infantry of the legion, and corps of light-infantry annexed to it: a troop of cavalry was placed on each flank; the 1st battalion of the 71st, and the remainder of the cavalry, formed the reserve. The enemy's line soon gave way, and their militia quitted the field; but our troops having been thrown into some disorder by the pursuit, general Morgan's corps faced about, and gave them a heavy fire: this unexpected event occasioned the utmost confusion in the first line.

The two three-pounders were taken, and I fear the colours of the 7th regiment shared the same fate.

In justice to the detachment of royal artillery I must here observe, that no terrors could induce them to abandon their guns, and they were all either killed or wounded in defence of them. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton assembled fifty of his cavalry, who, being animated by the bravery of the officer who had so often led them to victory, charged and repulsed colonel Washington's horse, retook the baggage of the corps, and cut to pieces the detachment of the enemy that had taken possession of it, and, after destroying what they could not conveniently bring off, retired with the remainder unmolested to Hamilton's ford, near the mouth of Bullock's Creek.

The loss of our cavalry is considerable, but I fear about 400 of the infantry are either killed, wounded, or taken. I will transmit the particular account of the loss as soon as it can be ascertained.

I shall direct lieutenant-colonel Balfour to transmit a copy of this letter, by the first opportunity, to the secretary of state.

*Extract of a letter from lieutenant-colonel Balfour to lord George Germain, dated Charles-Town, Feb. 18, 1781.*

By the letter in which I had the honour to address your lordship on the 16th of January last, you will have been informed of the situation of affairs here to that period, and by lord Cornwallis's despatch, dated the 18th of the same month, of lieutenant-colonel Tarleton's unfortunate action on the preceding day. I am now to give your lordship such farther informations as have been received since, either immediately from earl Cornwallis, lord Rawdon, or major Craig, or by intelligence through the country.

Notwithstanding the unexpected and untoward event of the 17th ult. lord Cornwallis still continued his movements, and pressed hard on general Morgan, without being able to come up with him, who, with his prisoners, pushed for the Catawbow, and by crossing that river high up, there is cause to believe accomplished his junction with general Green's army. It was not till the 1st ult. that lord Cornwallis could pass it: this he then did at a private ford, four miles below Bratty's, though strongly opposed by a body of militia, who were routed, and general Davidson, who commanded them, killed. On this occasion, his lordship observes, "the guards behaved gallantly, crossing the river under a heavy fire, without returning a shot till they were over and formed."

On the same day, colonel Tarleton had the good fortune to defeat another corps of the enemy's militia, that had assembled under colonel Pickings, killing and taking many, and entirely dispersing the rest.

In relating these circumstances to your lordship, it is no small satisfaction to add, that on both occasions the loss sustained by the king's troops is inconsiderable; and that, except colonel Hall of the guards, who is killed, no officer was hurt.

After gaining these advantages, lord Cornwallis proceeded to Salisbury, of which town he possessed himself on the 4th ult.

Hitherto general Green had remained in his position on the eastern banks of the Pedee; and by thus hanging on the frontiers of the province, and having with him a force in cavalry, was enabled to make inroads into the heart of it, which were greatly distressing to the

inhabitants, and obliged me to detach, to cover the communications between this and Camden, prevent the enemy's taking post on this side the Santee, and hinder insults in our vicinities; but on the news of lord Cornwallis's late successes, he called in his out-parties, and by a precipitate movement reached the Moravian settlements in North-Carolina, where, by the last accounts, he has taken a station to cover the passage of the Yadkin.

By my last letter your lordship was informed of an expedition being then to sail under major Craig, of the 82d regiment: the force employed on that service, and the objects of it, I have now the honour to communicate to your lordship: he had taken possession of Wilmington without opposition on the 29th ult. But finding that a body of the enemy had posted themselves at Heron's bridge, about twelve miles from that town, to cover as well this pass as the shipping in the river, and to show a force for the militia to form on, major Craig, by an immediate and well-timed exertion, surprised the rebels in this very strong position, and by dislodging them from it, has cleared that part of the country; gained, in co-operation with his majesty's ships of war, possession of their vessels; and taken on board them and in their camp several military stores, the want of which may be much felt, should they attempt again to raise any force in these parts.

Major Craig farther informs me, that he is exerting every means to put the very essential post of Wilmington into a state of defence, and eventually to communicate with the army under lord Cornwallis.

*Ex-*

*Extract of a Letter from lieutenant-colonel Balfour, to lord George Germain, dated Charles-Town, Feb. 25, 1781.*

Since the date of my despatch, No. 2, captain Barclay, with the Blonde, arrived here from Cape Fear, where he left every thing in a state of security, and the works for the protection of Wilmington nearly perfected.

No accounts since my last have been received immediately from lord Cornwallis; but lord Rawdon has favoured me with some farther intelligence respecting the operations of the army, which his lordship derived from a man who quit- ted it on the 9th current, and who is come into Camden.

At that period it appears, lord Cornwallis was advanced six miles beyond Salem; the farthest of the Moravian settlements in North Carolina, and to the eastward of the Yadkin, which points out by what uncommon exertion and rapid move- ments his lordship must have reach- ed that distance, in so small a space of time, through a strong and in- tricate country.

By crossing the Yadkin so high up, the army has got above Green, who, by this intelligence, was ad- vancing on Deep River, and some way removed to the rear of lord Cornwallis's right; general Mcr- gan, with his corps, being advan- ced, and on the left. With this last there were some hopes lord Cornwallis would soon be able to come up; and, on the whole, it will be clear to your lordship, that, by this movement, the junction of the enemy's force, of which in my last I was apprehensive, is for the present frustrated.

*Admiralty-Office, March 31, 1781.*

*Extract of a Letter from capt. Bar-*

*clay, commander of his majesty's Ship Blonde, to Mr. Stephens, dated Charles-Town, South Carolina, Feb. 24, 1781.*

In the letter I wrote to you, dated the 15th of January last, by the Antelope packet, I mentioned I was preparing to proceed to Cape Fear, upon an expedition, at the requisition of lord Cornwallis.

I think I should be remiss in my duty if I did not remit, for their lordships information, by this op- portunity of the packet's sailing, the events that have taken place there; as their lordships will re- ceive it much sooner than by the reports I have sent to vice-admiral Arbuthnot, at New York.

A body of troops being embark- ed, consisting of about two or three hundred men, under the command of major Craig, of the 82d regi- ment, I got over the bar of Charles- Town the 21st of January, and ar- rived in Cape Fear river the 25th: contrary winds, and the intricate navigation of the river, prevented us getting to the place where the landing was determined upon, till the 28th.

Colonel Balfour, commandant of Charles-Town, not being able to spare more troops from the defence of Charles-Town, induced me to land the marines of the Blonde, Delight, and Otter, consisting of 81 men, under the command of lieutenant Griffiths, of the Blonde, with orders for him to join major Craig.

On the evening of the 27th, de- putations came from Wilmington, with proposals for delivering up the town: I herewith inclose a copy of their proposition with major Craig's and my answer.

The next morning the troops landed at Ellis's plantation, nine  
(C 4) miles

miles below the town : at the same time I pushed up the river with the gallies and gun-boats. In the afternoon of the same day we took possession of the town of Wilmington, without the least opposition ; the rebels, who were in arms, consisting of about one hundred and fifty men, marched out early in the morning of the same day.

We found two batteries erected towards the river ; one of ten guns, twelve and nine-pounders ; the other of seven twelve-pounders, most of them spiked. We having received information of several vessels being sent up the N. E. river with provisions, ammunition, and the effects of the rebels in arms, and likewise the effects of some Spaniards and French who had settled at Cape Fear, major Craig marched out with a detachment of the troops : at the same time I sent one of the gallies, with two gun-boats, up the river : they were fortunate to get possession of those vessels the next morning, which they brought down with them, except a schooner and a sloop, laden entirely with provisions and ammunition, which they were obliged to burn.

The inhabitants remaining in town, and in the neighbouring posts, have delivered up their arms, and have given their paroles. They most ardently wish once more to enjoy the blessings of peace, and a re-union with the mother country.

The having possession of Wilmington and Cape Fear river, is of the utmost importance to lord Cornwallis's army. The works being all closed in, and the different batteries completed, I proceeded to this port to put the admiral's orders in execution.

A P R I L.

3. Yesterday Capt. Donellan, con-

victed of the murder of Sir Theodosius Boughton, about seven in the morning, was carried in a mourning coach from Warwick gaol to the place of execution, and hanged according to his sentence ; after which his body was given to the surgeons, to be dissected. Before he was turned off he addressed the spectators, and said, " That as he was then going to appear before God, to whom all deceit was known, he solemnly declared, that he was innocent of the crime for which he was to suffer."

*Constantinople, February 16.* The plague shows itself from time to time in every part of this residence, and its environs : it still exists at Smyrna, Salonica, Adrianople, and in some of the islands of the Archipelago.

4. An account of coals imported into the port of London in ten years, ending at Christmas, 1779 :

Chaldrons.	Chaldrons.
1770 - 615,330	1775 - 672,785
1771 - 694,003	1776 - 700,207
1772 - 725,008	1777 - 694,437
1773 - 624,781	1778 - 647,361
1774 - 623,727	1779 - 587,895

*Utrecht, April 2.* The following act of generosity of the English East-India company, deserves notice. They having been informed that M. Van Rayen, the pastor of Noordwyk, at the hazard of his own life, saved the pilot of the general Barker, wrecked on that coast, that company ordered Mess. Clifford and Teyffett, their agents at Amsterdam, to present that pastor with 200 guineas, and to distribute 100 more among the men who saved the crew of that ship.

5. Men raised in Great Britain and Ireland, for his majesty's land forces on the British establishment, militia and sensibles not included ;

as delivered by the secretary at war  
to the House of Commons:

Sept. 1774 to Sept. 1775	3575
1775 to — 1776	11,063
1776 to — 1777	6,882
1777 to — 1778	23,978
1778 to — 1779	16,154
1779 to — 1780	15,233
	<hr/>
	76,885

Men raised for the navy.

From 29th Sept. 1774	—	345
1775	—	4735
1776	—	21,565
1777	—	37,475
1778	—	41,847
1779	—	41,831
1780	—	28,210
		<hr/>
		176,008

Killed in the navy, from	}	
1776 to 1780 —		1243
Ditto, died —		18,545
Ditto, deserted —		42,069

Delivered by the navy board.

6. Wm. Meyer, Esq; convicted at York assizes of the wilful murder of Joseph Spinke, bailiff's follower, to whose custody he was entrusted, was executed according to his sentence. He complained of the hardship of his sentence, declaring he had no intention of murdering the man, who had been an old servant in his father's family. It should seem, that the judge thought favourably of his case, as he had all possible indulgence granted him; for though he was convicted on the 20th of March, he was not executed (though a murderer) till the 6th of April.

*East-India Intelligence.*

*From the BENGAL GAZETTE of*  
Oct. 7, 1780, by Letters from  
*Madras.*

*Friday, September 22, 1780.*

10. By the Nymph sloop of war, which arrived in the river this day from Madras, we had the following disagreeable advice from that presidency.

That lieutenant colonel Baillie, returning from the northward, with intention to join the grand army under major general Sir Hector Munro, had been attacked by the son of Hyder Ali, whom he defeated. His detachment consisted of 300 European infantry, some artillery, three battalions of seapoys, and ten pieces of cannon: but hearing afterwards that Hyder in person, with the main body of his forces, had got between him and Sir Hector Munro, he thought proper to halt where he was, and immediately dispatched several letters by different routes to that general, acquainting him of his situation, and begging that he would make a motion with the army under his command, to favour his junction. Notwithstanding this interesting news, and the repeated intreaty of lord M'Leod, and the rest of the principal officers, no notice was taken until an elapse of three days, when instead of making a movement with the grand army, a detachment was formed under lieutenant colonel Fletcher. It consisted of the company of gentlemen cadets, the grenadiers and light infantry companies of the Highland regiment, under the orders of major Elphinstone, two companies of grenadiers, and ten companies of grenadier seapoys. This detachment, by making a circular route and a forced march, joined colonel Baillie, who next day marched on with the two detachments, in hopes of completing his junction with the grand army. His disposition was  
excel-

excellent : he formed the troops in a kind of oblong square; the grenadiers leading, and the baggage in the centre ; and although the enemy's cavalry hovered round them in the whole march, no impression could be made.

About noon, when the troops were much fatigued with their march, they arrived at a tape, which they were necessarily obliged, from the situation of the country, to pass through. Here Hyder had laid an ambush, which succeeded to his wish. The troops, not suspecting any thing, entered the grove, but were very soon convinced of their error ; for they were saluted shortly after by a very heavy fire from three masked batteries, one in front, and one on each flank, which played furiously upon them ; and, at the same time, a prodigious number of rockets being thrown amongst them, set fire to one of the tumbrils, and the flames communicating to three others, the whole blew up. This threw the seapoys into the utmost disorder : however, the Europeans moved briskly on, and attacked and carried one of the batteries with great bravery ; but the fire from the other two was so hot, that they were obliged to abandon it. They then formed themselves into a compact body, and maintained their ground with great gallantry and resolution, until their ammunition was expended, when they were soon broken, and the greatest part, some say the whole, were put to the sword.

General Munro, it is said, was within seven miles of the scene of action ; and, as soon as he was certified of the fate of the day, he retreated with great precipitation to Chinglepar, being 26 miles, leaving his baggage, some say his ar-

tillery, behind him, which consequently must have fallen into the hands of the enemy. The council at Madras have written for succours of every kind, men, money, stores, and provisions.

*Saturday, Sept. 23.* Orders were sent to capt. Nutt, commander of the Kingston Indiaman, to have his ship ready to sail in five days for the coast of Coromandel ; and fifteen lacks of rupees were packed up by the treasury ready for embarkation. An embargo, at the same time, was laid on all the ships in the river.

*Monday, Sept. 25.* The council met on Madras affairs, but came to no determination. Captain Nutt having informed the board, that his ship could not possibly be got ready before the 8th of October, all the captains of the other Indiamen, viz. Abercrombie, of the Walpole ; Blackburn, of the Fox ; and Timbrell, of the True Briton, were ordered to attend the council, to give their opinion if there was any just cause, why captain Nutt could not comply with his orders. They all declared that he could not possibly be ready before the 8th of next month, as the ship was unrigged, and scarcely any water on board.

The following particulars, in addition to the foregoing, are given in several letters received from Madras.

The Tryal packet, capt. Dempster, left Madras on the 4th of December last ; but Hyder Ali had entered the Carnatick near six months before. The Nabob had given the government at Madras repeated intelligence of this invasion from the beginning ; but no regard was paid to his representation till Hyder's horse appeared within  
fight

fight of the flag-staff of Fort George. General Munro, at length, took the field, and encamped at Conjaveram; but colonels Baillie and Fletcher, who were on their way to join with 550 Europeans and 3000 seapoys, were attacked on their march within about six miles of his camp. The action lasted several hours: at length they were overpowered by numbers; Hyder's cavalry having broken in upon their line, when a great slaughter ensued. All the Europeans were either cut to pieces or taken; and about 2000 seapoys lay dead on the spot. Hyder, however, lost more than double that number. After this fatal event, general Munro retreated immediately towards Madras, near which place he remained when the packet set sail for Europe. In the mean time Hyder took Arcot, the capital of the province, after an obstinate siege of 75 days; and soon after he was in possession of all the open country for many miles round.

But, notwithstanding these disasters, a change for the better was daily expected. General Coote had arrived with 1500 Europeans; and 12,000 more troops were soon expected by land, through the northern circars. In consequence of these arrangements, it was supposed that general Coote would take the field, with a great army, by the beginning of February. And, as general Goddard was ordered to attack Mangalore, on the Malabar coast, with the Bombay forces, so as to place Hyder between two fires, it is to be hoped that, long before this time, he is not only expelled from the Carnatick, but even dispossessed of the greatest part of his own country.

We are sorry to add to the above,

that the devastations of foreign enemies are not more likely to prove ruinous to the company's settlements in India, than the internal dissensions amongst their own servants.

We are informed, through the same channel, that Mr. Whitehill, governor of Madras, has been deposed by the supreme council; and that Mr. Francis had challenged Mr. Hastings, and is shot through the body, but is in a fair way of recovery.

Hyder Ali took Arcot by assault the 31st of October; the fort capitulated on the 3d of November, 1780.

*Hague, April 4.* The following is the answer of the court of justice, to the province of Holland, concerning the affair of Van Berkel, and bears date the 27th ult.

“ Noble, great, and mighty lords,

“ As we continued our deliberations on the question, proposed in the resolves of your noble and great mightinesses, dated the 21st of December, 1780, it appeared unto us, on the one hand, from the memorials of the Chevalier Yorke, then ambassador from the British court, as also from the general tenor of the said question, that the occasion of proposing it is (as it seems) the punishment insisted upon in the said memorials, in the name of his Britannick majesty; and that of course, in order to comply with the said requisition of your N. and G. M. it was our duty to enquire whether, in consequence of the rights subsisting between his majesty and the republic, that is, according to the rights of nature and nations, and the respective duties then incumbent on both countries (which are hinted at in the said memorials) as well as in conformity to our constitution

stitution and the placards of this country (which constitution is also appealed to in the said memorials, though upon an assertion which seems to us erroneous, namely, that "the aforesaid king is the guarantee of our constitution;") whether, we say, in consequence of the said constitution, &c. applied to facts on which the said king grounds his complaints, and which placards, &c. as the burgomasters and regents of Amsterdam maintain, in their memorials sent to us also by your noble and great mightinesses, do contain nothing illegal, it were expedient or not to enter into a criminal prosecution?

"The matter appeared to us in the clearest light, noble, great, and mighty lords, when in the contra-manifesto published during our session, and approved of on the 12th current (March) by their high mightinesses the States-General of the United Provinces, no doubt with the consent of your noble and great mightinesses, we observed, that the said requisition was therein presented, under the same point of view; since it was said or implied in substance, as follows: that the aforesaid question propounded to us by your noble and great mightinesses was a means adopted by you, to set on foot a preliminary inquest, before satisfaction should be granted (saving the constitution and privileges of the burghers) to the demands of his Britannic majesty, concerning the punishment by him insisted upon.

"But, on the other hand, we took into our consideration, that by attacking this republic in an hostile manner, since your said resolution of the 20th of December last, the requisition for a punishment, and of course the apparent

cause of the said question seems to be at an end, and that therefore, the following law-maxim is applicable to the present case, "that where no one impeaches there can be no judge to pronounce," whilst farthermore, in our opinion (with due respect be it said) it would appear rather strange and ill-timed, now that the Republic is at war with Great Britain, to examine, out of mere compliment to an enemy, whether, in consequence of rights and obligations, for which the said enemy has no farther regard, a prosecution should have been entered into, and whether the constitutional laws of the Republic would have authoris'd it?

"This difficulty has appeared to us in so important a light, that we thought it our duty to acquaint you with it; most respectfully praying to be farther informed of the intentions of your noble, and great mightinesses, in regard to this affair.

"Upon which, noble, great, and mighty lords, we pray God to continue you in a long and prosperous government."

Given at the Hague, March 27.

*Bengal, Sept. 30.* We have the following account of the loss of the Royal Admiral, captain Munro, when she sailed from Bombay. By the new deck which they laid on her, and the great quantity of cotton they had stowed on the said deck, the vessel became so very crank, that it alarmed all the officers, the ports not being caulked in, by which she shipped a great quantity of water; but they freed her, and got her down so as to carry her safe off Catwar-Head, near which place, we are informed, she met with a hard squall of wind at about nine o'clock at night, which

which laid her down on her beam-ends. The captain and officers who were in the cabin ran out, but too late, the ship was then sinking; on which they returned to the cabin, and the vessel sunk almost instantly. The captain's butler and two Lafcars, jumped out of the cabin windows, and were saved by the boat, which had been cast loose, and which they found full of water after the ship went down.

*Midnapore, May 3.* The following extraordinary accident happened here some days ago: its authenticity may be depended upon: a poor woman carrying dinner to her husband, who was employed cutting woad in a tape about a mile from Mr. Pearce's house, was seized on the way by a tiger. Her cries were heard by the husband, who flew immediately to her assistance: upon approaching the place, he beheld his wife in the clutches of the dreadful animal, who had her head in his mouth, and was dragging her into the jungle. Almost frantic at seeing her in so alarming a situation, the honest native, regardless of danger, rushed upon the monster with his hatchet, and struck him twice. The beast quitted his intended prey, and retired growling into the woods. The woman was brought in; her head was hurt, but not dangerously; she received every assistance from the gentlemen here, and is now perfectly recovered.

*Extract of a Letter, dated Vienna, April 12.*

"His Imperial majesty has issued out two ordinances, the first dated March 24, strictly forbidding all religious orders within his dominions, keeping up any correspondence in spiritual or temporal matters, with their chiefs, when re-

siding in any foreign parts, ordering that they shall be governed solely by their provincial superiors, subject to the authority of archbishops, bishops, and even the temporal governors of provinces.

"The second ordinance bears date, March 26, and enacts, that no bull, brief, &c. issued out by the apostolic see, shall be of any force within the dominions of his Imperial majesty, unless they have received the *regium exequatur*."

*Canterbury, April 18.* Yesterday morning, about a quarter before ten o'clock, the corn-mill and dusting-house, belonging to the royal powder-mills at Faversham, containing, as supposed, about ninety barrels of gunpowder, by some unknown accident, suddenly blew up. The fragments were scattered round with great violence in every direction, and three men, who were at work in them, lost their lives. Two only of the bodies have as yet been found: one of them was taken up about forty rods from the mill, without a head, legs, or arms.

By the explosion, all the surrounding mills, working-houses, and buildings, were either wholly, or in part, unroofed: in some the floors and chimnies were entirely broken down; in others the window-frames were forced out; and in all the glass was shivered to pieces. Some houses near the mill are totally destroyed, and all the furniture and effects of the inhabitants rendered useless. In one of them, which stands about twenty rods from the spot where the mill blew up, a man, his wife, and two children, luckily escaped unhurt, tho' the windows, with their frames, and all the household furniture, were broken in pieces, the doors forced off the hinges, and part of the chimney

chimney beaten down. Another person, an attendant upon a mill then at work, who was writing upon a bench on the outside, was instantly covered with the ruins; which, however, being all large pieces of timber, fell in such a manner as to do him no injury, except his being rendered senseless for a short time after: the bottle which contained the ink, was shivered in pieces. We do not learn that any other persons, except the above, were either wounded or bruised, though bricks, tiles, mortar, &c. fell in almost every direction.

Most of the houses in West-street, and the adjoining parish of Davington (the church of which is unroofed) are greatly damaged, and some so shattered, as to require a repair little short of rebuilding. The windows in the western part of the town of Feverham, are mostly broken, and the glass forced into the street: the other parts have suffered, but not very materially.

#### EAST-INDIA HOUSE,

*April 19, 1781.*

The 24th of July, 1780, advice was received at Fort St. George, that Hyder Ali's cavalry had entered the Carnatic in different places, whereupon the troops in cantonments were ordered to assemble at St. Thomas's Mount; and a strong detachment under colonel Baillie, who commanded in the Guntoor Circar, was ordered to the presidency. In the mean time Hyder himself, with the main body of his army, entered by the pass of Changamah, reduced Pollour, Chittapet, and Ornee, and on the 22d of August sat down before Arcot.

The 25th of August, Sir Hector

Munro took the field, and moved towards Conjeveram.

The 6th of September, the general was informed, that a large detachment from Hyder's army had attacked colonel Baillie at Perambancum, and been repulsed; but as colonel Baillie was thereby weakened, he found it not in his power to join the general: it was therefore resolved to reinforce colonel Baillie with a strong detachment, and colonel Fletcher was ordered on that service.

The 10th of September, the general was informed, that colonel Baillie had been attacked and entirely defeated; whereupon it was resolved to fall back to Chingleput, and afterwards to St. Thomas's Mount, where general Munro arrived the 14th of September.

The loss sustained by the unfortunate defeat of lieutenant-colonel Baillie's detachment, amounts, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, to about 508 Europeans, 3300 seapoys.

As soon as intelligence of the above disaster reached Madras, requisition was made to Bengal for a suitable reinforcement to be sent from thence with all expedition; whereupon it was resolved, that a supply of money should be sent to the relief of Fort St. George, and that a large detachment of European infantry and artillery should also proceed thither immediately; and likewise that lieutenant-general Sir Eyre Coote should sail directly to take upon himself the command of the army on the coast.

It was also resolved to detach a large body of seapoys, for the farther protection and defence of the country, as soon as the season should permit of their marching by land.

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In consequence of the above resolutions, general Coote left Calcutta the 13th of October, 1780, and arrived at Fort St. George the 5th of November following, with two companies of European artillery, 660 Lascars, six companies of European infantry, and one company of volunteers; but Arcot had unfortunately surrendered to Hyder two days before the arrival of general Coote at Madras.

The army under general Coote was formed into three grand divisions, on Choultry Plain, between three and four miles southward of Madras, during the north-east monsoon. The general took up his residence with one of them, in order to be in readiness to embrace the first opportunity that should offer of gaining advantage over the enemy, and has given the strongest assurance that his utmost endeavours shall be used to re-establish the interest of the company, and to support the honour of the British arms on the coast, and he hopes by the next opportunity to be able to transmit more agreeable accounts.

*Extract of a Letter from Madras, Oct. 24, 1780.*

“After the late fatal action with Hyder Ali, lord M<sup>c</sup>Leod sent him a letter by a flag of truce, recommending, in the name of the king of Great Britain, humanity to the prisoners; expressing, at the same time, a wish to know their numbers, and particularly the names of the officers, and concluding with a request that some papers might be returned which his lordship had lost, but which could be of no consequence only to himself. To this Hyder returned, verbatim, the following haughty answer:

“Colonel Baillie and officers, are alive, excepting colonel Fletcher,

who was slain in battle. They will be treated accordingly well. Had I an army consisting of a few, I might find your papers; but with an army amounting to 100,000 horse, how can you think I am able to get them for you? What can I say more?”

*Admiralty-Office, April 23, 1781.*

Captain Douglas, of his majesty's ship the *Venus*, arrived at this office yesterday afternoon from St. Eustatius, with despatches from admiral Sir George Bridges Rodney, baronet, knight of the Bath, and commander in chief of his majesty's ships at the Leeward Islands, to Mr. Stephens, of which the following are extracts and copies.

*Extract of a Letter from Sir George Brydges Rodney bart. to Mr. Stephens, dated Sandwich, at Eustatius, March 17, 1781.*

I am happy in congratulating their lordships, that in addition to the islands of St. Eustatius, St. Martin's, Saba, and the French island of St. Bartholomew (which surrendered yesterday) has been added to his majesty's dominions the very valuable acquisition of the two Dutch colonies of Demerary and Issequibo, upon the Spanish main; and although those colonies had surrendered upon the supposed terms given to St. Eustatius, yet general Vaughan and myself thought they ought to be put quite on a different footing, and not treated as an island, whose inhabitants, though belonging to a state, who by public treaty was bound to assist Great Britain against her avowed enemies, had nevertheless openly assisted her public enemy, and the rebels to her state, with every necessary and implement of war and provisions, perfidiously breaking the treaties they had sworn to maintain.

We, therefore, to ease the minds of the inhabitants of those colonies, and to enable them to experience the happiness and security of British government, dispatched their deputies back with the enclosed terms, which we flatter ourselves will meet with his majesty's royal approbation.

Great merit is due to general Cunningham, governor of Barbadoes, who sent a summons by captain Pender, of his majesty's sloop Barbuda, and the Surprise, captain Day, whom I had ordered to be stationed off that coast, in order to blockade those rivers.

Enclosed I have the honour to send their lordships an account of the present infant produce of the colonies of Demerary and Isequeibo, as given me by the gentlemen sent as deputies to general Vaughan and myself.

These colonies, in the hands of Great Britain, if properly encouraged, in a few years will employ more ships, and produce more revenue to the crown, than all the British West India islands united.

P. S. The Dutch ships seized by the privateers at Demerary, are droits to the admiralty, the privateers having no commission to take them.

*Extract of another Letter from Sir George Brydges Rodney, bart. to Mr. Stephens, dated Sandwich, at St. Eustatius, March 17, 1781.*

The surrender of the island of St. Bartholomew, will prevent the French privateers from sheltering themselves under it, and distressing the trade of his majesty's subjects.

The capture of St. Eustatius has distressed the French islands beyond conception: they are greatly in want of every species of provisions and stores; I will use my best en-

deavours to blockade them in such a manner as I hope will prevent their receiving any. The only danger is from the British islands, whose merchants, regardless of the duty they owe their country, have already contracted with the enemy to supply them with provisions and naval stores. My utmost attention shall be used to prevent their treason taking place.

*Copy of a Letter from his excellency governor Cunningham, to his excellency P. Vansebullenburgh, Demerary.*

SIR, Barbadoes, Feb. 18, 1781.

Having received information from Mr. Clark, who lately arrived from Demerary, that, upon the supposition that hostilities were likely to commence between Great Britain and the States General of the United Provinces, your excellency was apprehensive that the settlement under your government might possibly fall a prey to privateers, as you were in no condition to resist; and that, to avoid the consequences of their irregularity, you are willing to surrender to one of his majesty's ships of war; I therefore, to comply with your wishes, have sent lieutenant Forrest, an officer of the 90th regiment, with a flag of truce, which flag the commander of the king's ship will convey to you, and afford you an opportunity of surrendering the government under your command to the king of Great Britain, which will entitle you to the same terms as those granted by admiral Sir George Brydges Rodney, and general Vaughan, to St. Eustatia, Saba, and St. Martin's.

Captain Pender, of his majesty's ship Barbuda, I flatter myself will be able to accomplish this object, who will acquaint me with your resolution: when a proper force shall

shall be sent to keep possession for the king my master.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. A. CUNNINGHAM.

His excellency P. Vanschuylenburgh, Demerary.

*Copy of a Letter from the governor and council of Demerary, to his excellency Sir George Brydges Rodney.*

SIR,

We having surrendered our colony to the captains G. Day and F. Pender, commanding his majesty's ships the *Surprize* and *Barbuda*, and likewise having received a letter from general Cunningham, offering, in case we would give our colony up to his Britannic majesty, the same terms to us as your excellency has granted to St. Eustatius, to which letter and our answer we take the liberty to refer; which gentlemen have taken the same in name of his Britannic majesty: but as they could not show us those terms, we have taken the liberty to commit two gentlemen of this river, being Joseph Bourda, esq. member of the council, and J. Haslin, esq. one of the principal inhabitants, with directions to proceed to your excellency with captain Pender, who offered a passage to them; and although the time of his departure was very short at hand, we have gladly embraced this opportunity, as the first to inform your excellency of the real situation of this colony, and propose your excellency to grant in some article for the benefit of the same, which we have reason to expect from your excellency's known humanity and universal benevolent character.

We hope that your excellency will approve of this proceeding, and allow these gentlemen all pro-

1781.

tection that they may want during the time of their commission.

We recommend ourselves to your excellency's protection, and have the honour to be, Sir,

Your excellency's most obedient and very humble servants,  
Commander and Council of Demerary.

Demerary, P. Van Schuylenburgh.  
March 2, D. Creests.

1781. L. J. D. Van Grovestins.  
By order of the honourable council,  
J. L. C. Van Baerle, secretary.  
His excellency Sir G. B. Rodney.

C O P Y.

*By Sir George Brydges Rodney, bart. knight of the Bath, admiral of the white, and commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels employed, and to be employed, at Barbadoes, the Leeward Islands, and the seas adjacent; and by the honourable general John Vaughan, commander in chief of his majesty's land forces employed in the West Indies, &c. &c. &c.*

Whereas the inhabitants of Demerary, and the river Iſſequibo, and dependencies, have surrendered at discretion to the arms of his Britannic majesty; it is hereby granted to the inhabitants to remain in full possession of their property, and to be governed by their present laws till his majesty's pleasure is known.

All the property, stores, &c. belonging to the Dutch West India company, to be delivered up to his Britannic majesty's officers.

The inhabitants to take the oaths of allegiance to, and be admitted under the protection of, the crown of Great Britain; and will be allowed to export their produce to Great Britain, or the British islands of Tobago and Barbadoes, in Bri-

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tish bottoms, and treated in all respects as British subjects, till his majesty's pleasure be known.

The commandant and the other officers have leave to go to Holland in a cartel, taking with them all their effects of whatever nature : the troops to have the same indulgence.

Given under our hands at St. Eustatius, this 14th day of March, 1781.

G. B. RODNEY.

JOHN VAUGHAN.

The present annual produce of the infant colonies of Demerary and Iſſequibo :

Ten thousand hogshheads of sugar; rum in proportion.

Five million of pounds of coffee.

Eight hundred thousand pounds of cotton.

Cocoa and indigo not ascertained as yet.

It appears by the letters received by captain Douglas, that several British privateers had entered the river Demerary before the arrival of his majesty's sloops Surprise and Barbuda, and taken possession of a large number of Dutch merchant ships in that river.

*Admiralty-Office, April 24, 1781.*

Capt. Balfour arrived this morning with despatches from vice-admiral Arbuthnot, commander in chief of his majesty's ships in North-America, to Mr. Stephens, of which the following are copy and extract :

*Copy of a Letter from vice-admiral Arbuthnot, to Mr. Stephens, dated Royal Oak, in Lynne Haven Bay, March 20, 1781.*

My letter of the 15th ult. by the Mercury packet, will have acquainted their lordships with the loss of the Culloden and dismasture of the Bedford, in a gale of wind, on the 23d of January, at the east

end of Long Island, and of the absence of the America, which at that time was driven to sea, but returned without damage on the 8th ult.

In the mean while every possible exertion was made to get the lower masts out of the Culloden for the Bedford; but the weather was so exceedingly severe and tempestuous, that it was not effected until the 1st. curt.

The enemy deriving courage and confidence from these misfortunes at one time, during the absence of the America, and believing that the Bedford also was lost, meditated an attack upon us, which, however, they laid aside, after their emissaries had reconnoitred our position in Gardiner's Bay.

An attempt was next made against our naval force employed to co-operate with brigadier-general Arnold in Virginia. I received early intimation of their intentions, and accordingly put these officers upon their guard. This was to have been executed by the Eveille, a coppered 64, and two frigates, which sailed from Rhode-Island on the 8th of February; but finding it impossible to succeed in that quarter, left it on the 19th following.

I had, on the communication of this intelligence, despatched the Charles-Town to Carolina, to order the Chatham (of whose arrival I had been informed) with the Roebuck, Romulus, and some frigates, to proceed to Virginia, and endeavour to cut off their return; which, however, was rendered abortive by the shortness of their stay. I am sorry to add, that they fell in with and captured the Romulus on their passage back, off the Capes of Virginia, as she was proceeding thither from Charles-Town, to relieve the

the *Charon*; having failed in consequence of a prior engagement before the *Charles-Town* could reach her.

It was now necessary, from the discontents in the rebel army, and among the minds of the people, to attempt something to revive a drooping cause. The danger of Virginia from the enterprising spirit of brigadier-general Arnold, had he been strengthened, which was likely to happen, must become imminent: the plan, therefore, adopted by the rebels and their allies, was, by a combined operation to attack him, and, by reducing him and his detachment, to set at liberty the whole force of the southern provinces, to act against lord Cornwallis in Carolina. The parties from Mr. Washington's army, under the Marquis de la Fayette, were to proceed down the Elk by the way of Maryland; whilst a large body of Virginian militia, under a Mr. Nelson, in this colony, were collecting to attack him in concert with the French troops, commanded by the Count de Rochambeau. I had the honour to give information of these designs to Sir Henry Clinton, at New-York; and as my intelligence from Rhode-Island was frequently and accurately repeated, the objects for the service of the squadron became clear and open to my view.

The season the enemy chose to execute this measure, was while the *Bedford* was remasting. The lower masts of the *Culloden* having been brought into Gardiner's Bay, she hauled along-side the *London*, and got them in on the 5th inst. and was completely rigged and ready for sea the 9th.

The enemy, I presume, were very soon apprised of the *Bedford* being entirely stripped, and conceiv-

ing this work would take up a considerable time, began to embark troops on the 5th: by the 8th, near 2000 of their troops were put on board the squadron, which had been previously prepared in other respects, and pushed to sea with a strong easterly gale the evening of the same day.

On the 9th, the whole of his majesty's squadron under my command, fell down to the entrance of Gardiner's Bay; and the next morning, just before I weighed, I received corroborative information from Sir Henry Clinton, that very considerable detachments were sending to the southward from Mr. Washington's army; but his excellency did not appear to have any immediate idea of re-inforcing brigadier-general Arnold with troops. Supposing, however, that he might afterwards judge it necessary, as his situation would become extremely critical, I directed captain Hudson of the *Richmond*, the senior officer at New-York, to take his excellency's sentiments on the subject; and, should it be deemed proper, to take under his convoy the troops that might be sent to aid those already employed in Virginia; but, should his excellency think such relief unnecessary, he was to join me off the Chesapeake, with the *Richmond*, *Orpheus*, and any others of his majesty's ships that might arrive at New-York in the interim.

On the 10th, I cleared the coast of Long Island with the squadron, and proceeded to the southward as expeditiously as possible, in the hope of being able to fight the enemy before their entry into the Chesapeake, or, if practicable, to attack them there.

On the 13th, in lat. 39, 30 north,  
(D 2) within

within a few leagues of the coast, I spoke with a vessel from London for New-York, which had seen the French squadron the day before a degree to the southward, consisting of eight sail of large ships, three frigates, and a tender. I parted from her the same evening, and steered such a course as would best enable me to intercept it.

On the 16th, at six, A. M. the Iris made the signal for discovering five strange sail to the N. N. E. and soon afterwards hailed, that they were large ships steering for the Capes of Virginia, and supposed to be distant about three miles. I immediately concluded it must be the enemy I was in search of, and accordingly prepared the squadron for battle, by forming the line a-head a cable's length asunder, on a wind which was then fresh, and proceeding towards them with a press of sail: at this time Cape Henry bore S. W. by W. distant about 14 leagues, wind at west; the French bearing from us N. N. E. the weather so hazy that the length of the British line could scarcely be discerned.

At a quarter of an hour after eight A. M. the wind veered to N. W. by W. and soon after to N. by W. which gave the enemy the advantage of the weather-gage. About this time several of the enemy's ships were discovered to windward, manœuvring to form their line.

At 25 minutes after eight, the Guadaloupe ranged up under our lee, bringing the same intelligence with that already given by the Iris, and was ordered to make sail, and endeavour to keep sight of the enemy.

At 35 minutes after eight, I directed the Iris, by signal, to make

sail a-head and keep sight of the enemy, as the haze appeared to thicken. The British line was, by this time, completely formed, and close hauled on the larboard tack.

At 20 minutes after nine, the headmost of the French ships tacked, as did the rest in succession, and formed the line on the starboard tack.

At 35 minutes after nine, the weather being very squally, I formed the line a-head at two cables length asunder.

At a quarter of an hour after ten, I made the signal for the squadron to tack, the headmost and weathermost first, and gain the wind of the enemy.

At a quarter of an hour after eleven, the headmost of the French line tacked; but one of them having missed stays, the rest wore, and formed the line on the larboard tack.

At 40 minutes after eleven, I reformed my line, at one cable's length asunder.

At twelve o'clock, there being a prospect of the van of my line reaching the enemy, the whole of my line tacked by signal, the van first, and the leading ship continuing to lead on the other tack.

At ten o'clock, the French squadron having completed their form in a line a-head, consisting of eight two-deckers, bore E. by S. the British line close hauled, steering E. S. E. wind at N. E.

At half an hour after one o'clock, the enemy being very apprehensive of the danger and inconvenience of engaging to windward from the high sea that was running, and squally weather, wore and formed their line to leeward of the British line.

At two o'clock the van of my squadron

squadron wore in the line, and in a few minutes the Robust, which led the fleet, and afterwards behaved in the most gallant manner, was warmly engaged with the van of the enemy. The ships in the van and centre of the line were all warmly engaged by half an hour past two, and by three o'clock the French line was broken: their ships began soon after to wear, and to form their line again, with their heads to the south-east into the ocean.

At 20 minutes after three I wore and stood after them. I was sorry to observe the Robust, Prudent, and Europe, which were the headmost ships, and received the whole of the enemy's fire at their rigging as they bore down, so entirely disabled, and the London's main-top-sail-yard being carried away, (the two first unmanageable laying with their heads from the enemy) as to be incapable of pursuit, and of rendering the advantage we had gained decisive.

At half after four the haze came on so very thick, as entirely to intercept the enemy from my view. The Medea joined me soon after, which I directed to follow, and observe the route of the enemy, while I proceeded with the squadron to the Chesapeake, in the hope of intercepting them should they attempt to get in there.

At seven o'clock I brought to with the squadron, to put the disabled ships in a situation to execute these intentions.

Next morning I made sail, and the same evening (the Robust being towed by the America, and the Prudent by the Adamant) anchored with the whole squadron about three leagues to the eastward of Cape Charles, within Cape Henry:

the evening after, the whole squadron anchored in Lynne-Haven Bay.

I cannot but regret that the early flight of the enemy prevented the action from becoming general.

I have had a conference with brigadier-general Arnold, and find his forces began to be prest for provision, as well as by the formidable combination against him. Fayette's continental detachment is blocked up at Annapolis by his majesty's sloops the Hope and General Monk. The Rebel militia, disaffected to the service, will speedily disperse; and the Count de Rochambeau must seek another opportunity of visiting Virginia. The plan of the Rebel campaign is entirely disconcerted; and I flatter myself these events will be productive of very solid advantages to his majesty's service.

I have detached frigates after the enemy, and shall put to sea immediately with the squadron to follow their movements, and bring them if possible to a second action. In this first they must have lost great numbers of men, though their rigging suffered little to appearance.

I have the honour to enclose a return of the killed and wounded, list and disposition of the squadron, and line of battle.

Capt. Balfour, who is charged with the delivery of this letter, served as a volunteer for six weeks on board the Royal Oak, and was with me in the day of action.

I have the honour to be, &c.

M. ARBUTHNOT.

*Extract of a Letter from vice-admiral Arbuthnot, to Mr. Stephens, dated Royal Oak, in Lynne-Haven Bay, March 30, 1781.*

In continuation of my letter of the 20th instant, I have the honour

(D 3)

to

to acquaint you that I put to sea with the squadron under my command on the morning of the 24th, and steered a course for the Delaware, where it was conceived likely the enemy might endeavour to take refuge; but as the state of the weather towards noon appeared to indicate a gale, which is generally expected at this season, I judged it advisable to return to the bay, where I anchored the same evening.

On the 26th a re-inforcement of troops, in number about 2000, commanded by major-general Phillips, arrived from New York, under the Escort of capt. Hudson, of the Richmond, with the ships and vessels named in the Margin.\* At the same time the Iris and Pearl, which had been detached to observe the route of the enemy, returned without having discovered them; the former had sprung her main-mast in the late gale.

The Medea was immediately despatched to reconnoitre the Delaware.

The army under major-general Philips was immediately forwarded to Portsmouth; and the junction effected between the forces at present there under brigadier-general Arnold.

I wait with great impatience to embrace the first opportunity to put to sea, which I shall seize the moment it offers. For these last two days the weather has been so squally, as to preclude all communication by boats between the ship of the squadron.

Return of the killed and wounded in the action between the British and French squadrons off the

Capes of Virginia, March 16, 1781.

	Killed. Wounded.	
Robust	— 15	21
Europe	— 8	19
Prudent	— 7	24
Royal Oak	— —	3
London	— —	3
Adamant	— —	—
Bedford	— —	—
America	— —	3
Total	30	73

#### OFFICER KILLED.

Hon. lieutenant Lyttelton, of the Robust.

#### OFFICER WOUNDED.

Master of the America.

Royal Oak,  
Lynne-Haven Bay,

March 28, 1781.

M. ARBUTHNOT.

#### LINE of BATTLE.

Marriot Arbuthnot, Esq. vice-admiral of the white, commander in chief.

The America to lead with the starboard, and the Robust to lead with the larboard tacks on board.

Rates.	Ships.	Guns.	Men.
3.	America Capt. Thompson	64	500
	Bedford Capt. Affleck	74	600
4.	Adamant Capt. Johnston	50	350
2.	London { RearAd. Graves } { Capt. Graves }	90	768
3.	Royal Oak { V. Adm. Arbuthnot } { Capt. Swiney }	74	624
	Prudent Capt. Burnet	64	500
	Europe Capt. Child	64	500
	Robust Capt. Cosby	74	600

#### FRIGATES.

Guadaloupe, Pearl, to repeat signals, Iris.

Given on board his majesty's ship the Royal Oak, in Gardiner's Bay, Feb.

13, 1781.

M. ARBUTHNOT.

A list

\* Orpheus, Chatham, Savage, Hallifax, Bonetta, Vulcan fire-ship.

A list of the French ships composing the enemy's squadron, on the 6th of March, 1781.

Ships.		Guns.
Neptune (coppered)	—	84
Burgoyne (coppered)		84
Conquerant	—	74
Provence	— —	64
Ardent	— —	64
Jafon	— — —	64
Eveille (coppered)	—	64
Romulus	— —	40

Frigates: Hermione, Gentile, Fantafque, en Flute.

Royal Oak,

Lynne Haven Bay,

March 28, 1781. M. ARBUTHNOT.

[This Gazette contains also an additional instruction from his majesty, dated April 21, instant, to all ships of war and privateers, not to prevent the interruption of trade and navigation in the Baltic, as follows: "We do hereby strictly charge and enjoin the commanders of our ships of war, and the commanders of all ships and vessels having letters of marque and reprisal, that they do not, by virtue of their commissions, or under colour thereof, stop or detain any ship or vessel in the Baltick, for the purpose of making prize of the same; but that they suffer all such ships and vessels as they shall meet in those seas, to proceed on their respective voyages without interruption.]

*Whitehall, April 25, 1781.*

Despatches were this day received from Sir Henry Clinton, knight of the Bath, to lord George Germain, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, brought by the Mercury packet, from New-York to Falmouth, of which the following are extracts:

*New-York, March 1, 1781.*

My Lord,

In a letter of the 24th of February (which was sent to England

by the Adventure brig, and of which a duplicate is transmitted herewith) I had the honour of giving your lordship all the information I could with propriety do, by such an uncertain conveyance. I therein told your lordship that the packet waited only for the admiral's despatches for Europe. But circumstances began to assume such an appearance at the time of their arrival, that I thought it proper to detain her a little longer, in hopes of being able to give your lordship a clearer detail of events (which seemed to promise the most important consequences) than was then in my power to do.

On the 16th ult. I received information from vice-admiral Arbuthnot, that the French fleet at Rhode Island were all ready for sailing, supposed for the Chesapeake; and that a number of troops were embarked in transports to accompany them. I immediately upon this directed a large proportion of troops, most of them the elite of my army, to be ready at a moment's warning to embark, with major-general Philips, under such convoy as the vice-admiral should think proper to appoint. Though I must at the same time confess to your lordship, that I then imagined their object to be an attack of our fleet in Gardiner's Bay (in its weak state, from the entire loss of one 74, the absence of a ship of the line, and a 50, and another of 74 being dismasted) and I was the more inclined to form this opinion (which I had also given to the admiral) from the rebels having made no movements whatsoever in their camp, which indicated any intention of detaching to the southward.

I was, however, on the 19th, alarmed by information from brigadier-

gadier-general Arnold, dated the 14th, that a French 64, and two frigates, blocked the Chesapeake, and had placed themselves in a situation to favour a co-operation against our post at Portsmouth. I despatched this intelligence to the admiral without delay; but I am apprehensive that he had no certain information of these ships being part of the Rhode-Island squadron until the 21st (though they sailed from thence the 9th) as he suggested to me nothing of such a movement before his letter of that date (which was only two days before their return thither with the *Romulus* man of war, which they had taken at the entrance of the Chesapeake) else I am persuaded the admiral would have sent to Virginia an adequate detachment from his fleet, which was now become more respectable by its being rejoined by the two missing ships, and the *Bedford's* having got in her jury masts.

*March 1.* At this time I received information, that the rebel general Washington, had made a considerable detachment to the southward under the Marquis de la Fayette, clearly marking an intention of either attempting something against our posts on Elizabeth river, or re-enforcing the army under the rebel general Green. Of this I likewise sent immediate notice to vice-admiral Arbuthnot; and (tho' I had indeed taken for granted he had already detached a proper number of ships to clear the Chesapeake) submitting to him, if he had not done it, the propriety of doing it directly.

*March 4.* I now immediately embarked the troops destined for this service; and I directed them to be placed in a situation from whence

they might proceed to sea at a moment's notice, having reason every hour to expect the admiral's appearing with his squadron to escort them, especially as I had just received a letter from him, dated the 2d, to that effect; and acquainting me that he had that morning received undoubted intelligence that 1000 French troops embarked the 25th, to which more were to be added, and that they were supposed to have sailed for the Chesapeake on the 27th.

On the 7th, I received another letter from the admiral, dated the 4th, saying, "He would move immediately with the ships, sending a frigate to reconnoitre Rhode-Island in passing, and regulate his measures with respect to calling off the Hook, by what is discovered there; and that he had ordered the *Richmond*, *Orpheus*, and *Savage*, to proceed with the re-inforcement, in case he should not call off the Hook."

From these letters I was induced to expect, that I should either see or hear from the admiral before the expedition moved from hence: but, by his orders to the naval commanding officer in this port (of the same date, and sent, I suppose, at the same time with his letter to me of the 4th) "directing him to proceed with the transports to the Chesapeake, with all possible expedition; and if I declined sending any reinforcement to Virginia, requiring him positively to join the admiral in the Chesapeake with all possible despatch;" it seemed to appear, that the admiral was already failed to that bay. Captain Hudson, who commanded the king's ship, understood this also as a positive order for him to proceed immediately. I however thought it singular,

singular, that captain Hudson should receive from the admiral such positive orders to sail immediately to the Chesapeak, when his letter to me of the same date (recapitulating these orders) only says, that he is directed to do so, in case the admiral does not call off the Hook. Having therefore no means of ascertaining, whether the admiral was gone to the Chesapeak or no, or whether he had even sailed from Gardiner's Bay, or whether the whole or any part of the French fleet had moved from Rhode-Island to the Chesapeak, I thought it right to submit to captain Hudson the propriety of staying a little longer, in expectation of this matter being cleared up, either by the admiral's appearance off the Hook, or at least a message from him declaratory of his intentions, as, during our present uncertainty, I did not think it advisable to let the troops go before I heard again from the admiral, with which he was so obliging as to acquiesce.

I immediately after this wrote again to the admiral, informing him, that the expedition to the Chesapeak only waited for his orders; and earnestly requesting that he would, without loss of time, favour me with his positive advice respecting this very serious and interesting subject; because, as long as I had reason, from his information, to suppose that part of the French fleet were gone to the Chesapeak, I could not think of risking such a corps of troops under the convoy of only two frigates, unless I was assured that he was in a situation to cover them.

*March 11.* Soon after this letter was despatched, information arrived from brigadier-general Arnold,

dated the 8th, that the Chesapeak was entirely clear of a French naval force. By which, being persuaded that the report of one having sailed thither from Rhode-Island on the 27th ult. was not well founded, I did not hesitate a moment to give it to captain Hudson, as my opinion, that the expedition should sail, without loss of time, under the convoy the admiral had allotted for it, suggesting to him, at the same time, whether he had not better take with him all the king's ships now here, or which he might fall in with on his passage. I was also more strongly confirmed in this opinion by a letter I received from the admiral, dated the 8th, informing me, "That in consequence of undoubted intelligence, received at two o'clock that afternoon, that the French fleet and troops are evacuating Newport with the greatest expedition, and that their destination is certainly for Virginia."

*March 14.* This day a letter, dated the 11th at sea, was brought to me from the admiral by the Halifax sloop of war, captain Bowers, who fortunately fell in with him off Montack Point, the 10th inst. In addition to what the admiral says, captain Bowers informs me, that the whole French fleet sailed from Newport on the 8th instant. I am not without hopes, that, as the admiral is clear of all incumbrance, notwithstanding they had two days start of him, he will overtake them before they get the length of the Chesapeak, should that be really their destination. But should the vice-admiral be so fortunate as to overtake the French fleet before they reach the Chesapeak, I have every hope of his success,

cess, which so fine a fleet, and the abilities of its commander can give me.

From brigadier-general Arnold's letter to me, your lordship will perceive he is under no apprehensions of any sudden misfortune: and, with respect to the rebel troops marched to the southward under Fayette, I have no doubt their progress (at least by water) will be impeded, if the officer commanding the king's ships in the Chesapeake has availed himself of the information I have sent him; nor do I think they can arrive near our posts before the 20th at soonest. The reinforcements under general Phillips, wait only for a wind to go to sea. I wish it could have been stronger, but I have not another transport left: those sent to Virginia with general Arnold, remaining still there, I suppose for want of convoy to bring them back.

The best information which my late letters from the southward, and intelligence from the rebel country, enable me to give your lordship, respecting lord Cornwallis's situation, is, that having forced the passage of the Catawba, and dispersed the militia who opposed him, his lordship had penetrated into North-Carolina as far as Hillsborough, driving before him the rebel generals Green and Morgan, who fled towards Virginia with the utmost precipitation: and general Arnold's late despatches give me reason to think, that his lordship has even reached the banks of the Roanoke.

*Windsor, April 26.*

Yesterday afternoon an inhuman affray happened at an ale-house in this town: a soldier drinking in company with two or three indifferent people, and the man of the house refusing to draw him any

more liquor, he took and shot him dead, and with his bayonet fixed made at another person, who fortunately escaped through the window, and immediately went to the guard room in the castle, and gave information: when a party came down, the soldier had retired to his apartment, reloaded his firelock, and on the appearance of the first man to apprehend him, shot him dead. His comrade, on seeing this, levelled and shot the delinquent dead on the spot.

M A Y.

1. This day began to be held, at the Horse-guards, a court-martial, appointed to examine into the conduct of major Corbet, lieutenant-governor of the island of Jersey.

2. Yesterday was holden, at Sion College, the anniversary meeting of the London clergy, when a Latin sermon was preached in St. Alphage church, by their president, the Rev. James Waller, D.D. After which the following gentlemen were elected officers for the year ensuing: the Rev. John Douglas, D.D. president; Peter Whalley, LL.B. and William Romaine, M.A. deans; Thomas Weales, D. D. Samuel Carr, M.A. George Stinton, D.D. and Henry Whitfield, D. D. assistants.

*Extract of a Letter from lord Rawdon to lord George Germain, dated Camden, South Carolina, March 23, 1781.*

My LORD,

Your lordship may probably expect, that, as circumstances have allowed me the honour of writing to you, I should not neglect to mention the state of affairs in the district

district which lord Cornwallis has committed to my charge. Some daring but ill-supported efforts have been made by generals Sumpter and Martin, to excite an insurrection in this province. They have failed in every attempt, and have been repeatedly routed by our detachments; but as every man in both their corps is mounted (part being armed with swords, as cavalry, and part with firelocks) they quickly re-assemble. The difficulty of getting proper appointments in Charles-Town, and the labour of transporting them through such a distant and precarious communication, have prevented my being able to establish a cavalry sufficiently numerous to cope of themselves with the force of either Sumpter or Martin. As the enemy have no baggage, our infantry can rarely get up to them, and can never force them to a decisive contest in a country penetrable in every part. As yet, therefore, we have not been able to crush these invaders. Their enterprizes, however, though very troublesome, are not very serious; and as their prospects of support must now abandon them, I hope that this petty warfare may soon expire of itself.

16. A messenger arrived yesterday morning, about six o'clock, express at the Admiralty, from the right hon. Mr. Eden, secretary to the lord lieutenant of Ireland, with the following disagreeable advice, viz. that the French squadron, consisting of six ships of the line, and two frigates, under the command of Monsi. de la Motte Piquet, fell in with the St. Eustatia fleet, on the 2d inst. to the westward of Scilly; that commodore Hotham, immediately on descrying the enemy, made a signal for the fleet and con-

voy to disperse; in consequence of which, eight of the merchantmen, and fortunately the whole of the king's ships, viz. the Vengeance, and Prince Edward men of war, Alcmena and Mars frigates, got safe into Beer-Haven; a ninth merchantman has since arrived at Plymouth; but the remainder have fallen into the enemy's hands. The captured specie, to a very considerable amount, was fortunately on board the Vengeance man of war.

*St. James's, May 18.* The following intelligence was this day received from Bombay, dated January 11, 1781.

That it having been resolved to lay siege to Bafan, on the coast of Malabar, general Goddard, with the forces under his command, with great difficulty completed his march from Surat, so as to arrive before the place on the 13th of November, where he was joined by reinforcements and stores from Bombay. The general finding it very strong, and defended by a numerous garrison, under the command of Visagee Punt, determined to carry on his operations with regularity and precaution. On the 28th, in the morning, he had completed a battery of six guns and six mortars, within 900 yards of the place, and, under cover of the fire, carried on his approaches to the spot where he erected the grand battery of nine twenty-four pounders, which was opened the 9th of December in the morning, within 500 yards of the wall; besides which, a battery of 20 mortars, of different sizes, was opened upon one of the flanks of the parapet. These were served with such effect, that on the 10th, in the morning, a practicable breach being nearly completed, a message was sent from the fort, offering

fering to surrender ; and, after some demur on the part of the enemy, which obliged the general to renew the fire from the batteries, the place surrendered the next day at discretion. The garrison marched out, and laid down their arms in front of the fort, being allowed only to carry away their own private effects. It adds greatly to the satisfaction which this important acquisition gives, that the loss we sustained is very small, one officer only, lieut. Sir John James Gordon, who, having been wounded, is since dead, and about 12 men killed and wounded, of whom four only were Europeans. A considerable quantity of ammunition was found in the fort, 220 pieces of cannon, and ten brass mortars, of which 19 pieces of brass cannon, several of a very large calibre, 128 pieces of the iron ordnance, and all the mortars, have been reported serviceable.

*Admiralty-Office, May 22, 1781.*

The following are extracts of Letters received by Mr. Stephens, from vice-admiral Darby, commander in chief of a squadron of his majesty's ships employed to the westward.

*Britannia, off Scilly, May 16, 1781.*

I have only just time to acquaint their lordships, that the *Nonfuch*, which parted from us the evening of the 13th, has joined us since dark, having fallen in that night with a French man of war of 80 guns, supposed to be the *Languedoc*. She had 27 men killed, and 50 or 60 wounded, and is much shattered.

*Britannia, to the westward of the Start, May 19, 1781.*

I mentioned in my Letter of the 16th inst. the *Nonfuch's* having fallen in alone with a French ship of

war of at least 80 guns. I now inclose a copy of Sir James Wallace's narrative to me of that great and spirited action.

*Transactions on board the Nonfuch, in an engagement between the 14th and 15th of May, 1781, received in vice-admiral Darby's Letter of the 19th.*

On the 14th, being the look-out ship from the van squadron, at eight A. M. saw three sail in the N. E. Made the signal, chased : soon after we saw a sail in the E. S. E. which we took to be a French line of battle ship ; chased, gained upon her. At about half past ten at night came along side of her : she gave us her broadside, we returned it ; she dropped astern, we wore and raked her ; we continued the action for near an hour, during some part of which we were on board one another ; she carried away our sprit-fail-yard, and our anchor hooking her quarter carried away the flukes of them. All this time she had so much the worst of the action, that she took the opportunity of our heads being different ways to make all the sail she could to get away ; we wore, and chased her again : our mizen-mast being entirely disabled prevented our getting up with her before five A. M. It being day-light, we could distinguish one another plainly : she appeared to be a French 80 gun ship, in good order for battle.

Some people on board us, who pretend to know, say she is the *Languedoc*. At five we began the action again, and continued till half past six, when finding our ship much disabled, the fore-yard coming down, all the masts, yards, sails, and rigging, much hurt, guns dismounted ; the wreck of these, and dead and wounded men filling the deck,

deck, I thought it proper to haul our wind, in order to clear it. The enemy kept on her course for Brest.

Our loss in men is 26 killed, and 64 wounded\*.

(Signed) J. WALLACE.

25. The following is an exact account of the annual supply of sugar, which has been refined or consumed raw, in England, for the last fifty years, distinguishing each year:

Years.	Cwt.	Years.	Cwt.	Years.	Cwt.
1731	722,445	1748	866,141	1765	1,074,467
1732	700,940	1749	805,313	1766	1,372,480
1733	899,510	1750	807,471	1767	1,313,347
1734	650,747	1751	782,167	1768	1,382,929
1735	833,740	1752	789,389	1769	1,282,935
1736	819,022	1753	958,371	1770	1,577,171
1737	510,121	1754	816,304	1771	1,254,926
1738	814,815	1755	1,072,305	1772	1,569,826
1739	887,924	1756	832,994	1773	1,571,569
1740	639,803	1757	1,138,423	1774	1,777,414
1741	817,674	1758	914,707	1775	1,640,698
1742	681,179	1759	1,030,066	1776	1,478,140
1743	744,008	1760	1,202,614	1777	1,207,097
1744	666,213	1761	1,128,013	1778	1,324,140
1745	472,052	1762	1,120,821	1779	1,378,337
1746	642,523	1763	1,350,456	1780	1,221,795
1747	556,523	1764	1,246,890		

26. Richard Cumberland, esq. who has for some time resided at Madrid, arrived in London, and has brought with him two Spanish horses, as a present from his Catholic to his Britannic majesty.

30. On Monday last, a dreadful fire broke out at Great Harwood, in Buckinghamshire, which spread with such rapidity that in little more than half an hour, 60 houses were all in flames together. The distress of the inhabitants is beyond description deplorable. Another fire happened the same night at

Ramsberry, in Hants, which did considerable damage.

31. The three general officers, appointed to enquire into the conduct of governor Morris, on the loss of the island of St. Vincent, have made their report, that the governor's conduct was not only irreproachable, but meritorious.

## J U N E.

3. Yesterday the sessions ended at the Old Bailey, when sentence was passed on fourteen capital convicts.

*Copy of the sentence of a general court-martial upon the trial of lieutenant-governor Corbett, June 2.*

“The court having duly considered and weighed the evidence given in support of the charge against the prisoner,

\* Among the former are no officers; but among the latter are, Mr. Spry 1st, Mr. Falconer 3d, Mr. Market 4th lieutenants, Mr. Williams, acting lieutenant; Mr. Stone, master; Mr. Hotham, boat-swain.

prisoner, lieutenant governor Moses Corbett, with that produced by him in his defence, are of opinion, that he, the said Moses Corbett, is guilty of the whole charge exhibited against him; and doth adjudge, that he be therefore superseded in his commission of lieutenant-governor of the island of Jersey."

*Whitchall, June 4, 1781.*

This morning captain Broderick, aide du camp to lieutenant-general Cornwallis, arrived from Charles-Town, South-Carolina, with despatches from his lordship, and lieutenant-colonel Balfour, to the right honourable lord George Germain, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, of which the following are copies and extracts:

*Guilford, March 17, 1781.*

My Lord,

Having occasion to despatch my aide du camp, captain Broderick, with the particulars of the action of the 15th, in compliance with general directions from Sir Henry Clinton, I shall embrace the opportunity to give your lordship an account of the operations of the troops under my command, previously to that event, and of those subsequent, until the departure of captain Broderick.

My plan for the winter's campaign was to penetrate into North-Carolina, leaving South-Carolina in security against any probable attack in my absence.

Lord Rawdon, with a considerable body of troops, had charge of the defensive, and I proceeded about the middle of January upon the offensive operations. I decided to march up the upper, in preference to the lower roads, leading into North-Carolina, because fords being frequent above the forks of the river, my passage there could

not easily be obstructed; and general Greene having taken post on the Pedee, and there being few fords in any of the great rivers of this country below their forks, especially in the winter, I apprehended being much delayed, if not entirely prevented from penetrating by the latter route. I was the more induced to prefer this route, as I hoped in my way to be able to destroy or drive out of South-Carolina the corps of the enemy commanded by general Morgan, which threatened our valuable district of Ninety-six; and I likewise hoped by rapid marches to be between general Greene, and Virginia, and by that means force him to fight, without receiving any reinforcement from that province, or, failing of that, to oblige him to quit North-Carolina with precipitation, and thereby encourage our friends to make good their promises of a general rising to assist me in re-establishing his majesty's government.

The unfortunate affair of the 17th of January was a very unexpected and severe blow: however, being thoroughly sensible that defensive measures would be certain ruin to the affairs of Britain in the southern colonies, this event did not deter me from prosecuting the original plan.

That general Greene might be uncertain of my intended route as long as possible, I had left general Leslie at Campden, until I was ready to move from Wynneborough, and he was now within a march of me. I employed the 18th in forming a junction with him, and in collecting the remains of lieutenant colonel Tarleton's corps; after which great exertions were made by part of the army, without baggage, to re-take our prisoners, and

and to intercept general Morgan's corps, on its retreat to the Catawba: but the celerity of their movements, and the swelling of the numberless creeks in our way, rendered all our efforts fruitless. I therefore assembled the army on the 25th at Ramsoure's Mill, on the south fork of the Catawba; and as the loss of my light troops could not be remedied by the activity of the whole corps, I employed a halt of two days in collecting some flour, and in destroying superfluous baggage, and all my waggons, except those laden with hospital stores, salt, and ammunition, and four reserved empty in readiness for sick or wounded. In this measure, though at the expence of a great deal of the officers baggage, and of all prospect in future of rum, and even a regular supply of provisions to the soldiers, I must, in justice to the army, say, that there was the most general and chearful acquiescence.

In the mean time, the rains had rendered the North Catawba impassable, and general Morgan's corps, the militia of the rebellious counties of Rowan and Mecklenburgh under general Davidson, or the gang of plunderers usually under the command of general Sumpter, not then recovered from his wounds, had occupied all the fords in the space of more than forty miles upwards from the fork. I approached the river during its height, by short marches, so as to give the enemy equal apprehensions for several fords; and, after having procured the best information in my power, I resolved to attempt the passage at a private ford (then slightly guarded) near M'Cowan's ford, on the morning of the 1st of February.

Lieutenant-colonel Webster was detached with part of the army, and all the baggage, to Beatie's Ford, six miles above M'Cowan's, where general Davidson was supposed to be posted with 500 militia, and was directed to make every possible demonstration, by cannonading and otherwise, of an intention to force a passage there; and I marched at one in the morning, with the brigade of guards, regiment of Bose, 23d regiment, two hundred cavalry, and two three-pounders, to the ford fixed upon for the real attempt. The morning being very dark and rainy, and part of our way through a wood, where there was no road, one of the three-pounders, in front of the 23d regiment and the cavalry, overset in a swamp, and occasioned those corps to lose their line of march; and some of the artillery men belonging to the other gun (one of whom had the match) having stopped to assist, were likewise left behind. The head of the column, in the mean while, arrived at the bank of the river, and day began to break. I could make no use of the gun that was up, and it was evident, from the number of fires on the other side, that the opposition would be greater than I had expected. However, as I knew that the rain then falling would soon render the river again impassable, and I had received information the evening before, that general Greene had arrived in general Morgan's camp, and that his army was marching after him with the greatest expedition, I determined not to desist from the attempt; and therefore, full of confidence in the zeal and gallantry of brigadier general O'Hara, and of the brigade of guards under his com-

command, I ordered them to march on ; but, to prevent confusion, not to fire, until they gained the opposite bank. Their behaviour justified my high opinion of them ; for a constant fire from the enemy, in a ford upwards of five hundred yards wide, in many places up to their middle, with a rocky bottom and strong current, made no impression on their cool and determined valour, nor checked their passage. The light infantry, landing first, immediately formed, and, in a few minutes, killed or dispersed every thing that appeared before them, the rest of the troops forming and advancing in succession. We now learned that we had been opposed by about 300 militia, that had taken post there, only the evening before, under the command of general Davidson. Their general, and two or three other officers, were among the killed ; the number of wounded was uncertain, and a few were taken prisoners. On our side lieutenant-colonel Hall and three men were killed, and thirty-six wounded, all of the light infantry and grenadiers of the guards. By this time the rear of the column had joined, and the whole having passed with the greatest despatch, I detached lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, with the cavalry and 23d regiment, to pursue the routed militia : a few were soon killed or taken, and lieutenant-colonel Tarleton having learned that 3 or 400 of the neighbouring militia were to assemble that day at Tarrank's house, about ten miles from the ford, leaving his infantry, he went on with the cavalry, and finding the militia as expected, he, with excellent conduct and great spirit, attacked them instantly and totally routed them, with little loss on his side,

and on their's between 40 and 50 killed, wounded, or prisoners. This stroke, with our passage of the ford, so effectually dispirited the militia, that we met with no farther opposition on our march to the Yadkin, through one of the most rebellious tracts in America.

During this time, the rebels having quitted Beattie's Ford, lieutenant-colonel Webster was passing his detachment and the baggage of the army : this had become tedious and difficult by the continuance of the rain and the swelling of the river ; but all joined us soon after dark, about six miles from Beattie's Ford. The other fords were likewise abandoned by the enemy. The greatest part of the militia dispersed ; and general Morgan with his corps, marched all that afternoon, and the following night, towards Salisbury. We pursued next morning, in hopes to intercept him between the rivers, and after struggling with many difficulties, arising from swelled creeks and bad roads, the guards came up with his rear, in the evening of the 3d, routed it, and took a few waggons, at the trading fort of the Yadkin. He had passed the body of his infantry in flats, and his cavalry and waggons by the ford, during that day and the preceding night ; but at the time of our arrival the boats were secured on the other side, and the ford had become impassable. The river continuing to rise, and the weather appearing unsettled, I determined to march to the upper fords, after procuring a small supply of provisions at Salisbury. This, and the height of the creeks in our way, detained me two days ; and in that time Morgan having quitted the banks of the river, I had information from our friends, who crossed

crossed in canoes, that general Greene's army was marching with the utmost despatch to form a junction with him at Guildford. Not having had time to collect the North-Carolina militia, and having received no reinforcement from Virginia, I concluded that he would do every thing in his power to avoid an action on the south side of the Dan; and it being my interest to force him to fight, I made great expedition, and got between him and the upper fords; and being assured that the lower fords are seldom practicable in winter, and that he could not collect many flats at any of the ferries, I was in great hopes that he would not escape me without receiving a blow.

Nothing could exceed the patience and alacrity of the officers and soldiers under every species of hardship and fatigue, in endeavouring to overtake him; but our intelligence upon this occasion was exceedingly defective, which with heavy rains, bad roads, and the passage of many deep creeks, and bridges destroyed by the enemy's light troops, rendered all our exertions vain: for upon our arrival at Boyd's Ferry, on the 15th, we learned that his rear-guard had got over the night before, his baggage and main body having passed the preceding day, at that and a neighbouring ferry, where more flats had been collected than had been represented to me as possible. My force being ill suited to enter by that quarter so powerful a province as Virginia, and North Carolina being in the utmost confusion, after giving the troops a halt of one day, I proceeded by easy marches to Hillsborough, where I erected the King's standard, and invited, by proclamation, all loyal subjects to repair to

it, and to stand forth and take an active part in assisting me to restore order and constitutional government. As a considerable body of friends were said to reside between the Haw and Deep Rivers, I detached lieutenant-colonel Tarleton on the 23d, with the cavalry and a small body of infantry, to prevent their being interrupted in assembling. Unluckily a detachment of the rebel light troops had crossed the same day, and by accident fell in with about 200 of our friends, under colonel Pyle on their way to Hillsborough, who, mistaking the rebels for lieutenant-colonel Tarleton's corps, allowed themselves to be surrounded, and a number of them were most inhumanly butchered, when begging for quarter, without making the least resistance. The same day I had certain intelligence that Greene, having been reinforced, had crossed the Dan, which rendering it imprudent to separate my corps, occasioned the recall of lieutenant colonel Tarleton's detachment; and forage and provisions being scarce in the neighbourhood of Hillsborough, as well as the position too distant (upon the approach of the rebel army) for the protection of the body of our friends, I judged it expedient to cross the Haw, and encamped near Allemance Creek, detaching lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, with the cavalry, light company of the guards, and 150 men of lieutenant-colonel Webster's brigade, a few miles from me on the road to Deep River, more effectually to cover the country.

General Greene's light troops soon made their appearance; and on the 2d a patrolle having reported, that they had seen both cavalry and infantry near to his post, I directed

lieutenant-colonel Tarleton to move forward, with proper precautions, and endeavour to discover the designs of the enemy. He had not advanced far when he fell in with a considerable corps, which he immediately attacked and routed; but being ignorant of their force, and whether they were supported, with great prudence desisted from the pursuit: he soon learned from prisoners, that those he had beat were Lee's legion, 3 or 400 Back Mountain men under colonel Preston, with a number of militia; and that general Greene, with part of his army, was not far distant. Our situation for the former few days had been amongst timid friends, and joining to inveterate rebels: between them, I had been totally destitute of information, which lost me a very favourable opportunity of attacking the rebel army. Gen. Greene fell back to Thompson's House, near Boyd's Ford, on the Reedy Fork; but his light troops and the militia still remained near us, and as I was informed that they were posted carelessly at separate plantations, for the convenience of subsisting, I marched on the 6th to drive them in, and to attack general Greene, if an opportunity offered. I succeeded completely in the first, and at Weizell's Mill on the Reedy Fork, where they made a stand, the Back Mountain men, and some Virginia militia, suffered considerably, with little loss on our side; but a timely and precipitate retreat over the Haw prevented the latter. I knew that the Virginia reinforcements were upon their march, and it was apparent that the enemy would, if possible, avoid risking an action before their arrival.

The neighbourhood of the fords

of the Dan in their rear, and the extreme difficulty of subsisting my troops in that exhausted country, putting it out of my power to force them; my resolution was to give our friends time to join us, by covering their country as effectually as possible, consistently with the subsistence of the troops, still approaching the communication with our shipping in Cape Fear River, which I saw it would soon become indispensably necessary to open, on account of the sufferings of the army, from the want of supplies of every kind. At the same time I was determined to fight the rebel army, if it approached me; being convinced that it would be impossible to succeed in that great object of our arduous campaign, the calling forth the numerous loyalists of North Carolina, whilst a doubt remained on their minds of the superiority of our arms. With these views I had moved to the Quaker Meeting House, in the Forks of Deep River, on the 13th, and on the 14th I received the information, which occasioned the movements that brought on the action at Guildford, of which I shall give your lordship an account in a separate letter.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) CORNWALLIS.

*Guildford, March 17, 1781.*

My Lord,

I have the satisfaction to inform your lordship, that his majesty's troops under my command obtained a signal victory on the 15th instant, over the rebel army, commanded by general Greene.

In pursuance of my intended plan, communicated to your lordship in my dispatch No. 7, I had encamped on the 13th instant, at the Quaker Meeting, between the  
1 Forks

Forks of Deep River. On the 14th I received information that general Butler, with a body of North Carolina militia, and the expected reinforcements from Virginia, said to consist of a Virginia state regiment, a corps of Virginia eighteen months men, 3,000 Virginia militia, and recruits for the Maryland line, had joined general Greene; and that the whole army, which was reported to amount to 9 or 10,000 men, was marching to attack the British troops. During the afternoon, intelligence was brought, which was confirmed in the night, that he had advanced that day to Guildford, about 12 miles from our camp. Being now persuaded that he had resolved to hazard an engagement, after detaching lieutenant-colonel Hamilton with our waggons and baggage, escorted by his own regiment, a detachment of 100 infantry, and 20 cavalry, towards Bell's Mill on Deep River, I marched with the rest of the corps at day break, on the morning of the 15th, to meet the enemy, or to attack them in their encampment. About four miles from Guildford our advanced guard, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, fell in with a corps of the enemy consisting of Lee's legion, some Back Mountain men, and Virginia militia, which he attacked with his usual good conduct and spirit, and defeated: and continuing our march we found the rebel army posted on rising ground, about a mile and a half from the Court House. The prisoners taken by lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, having been several days with the advanced corps, could give me no account of the enemy's order or position, and the country people were extremely inaccurate

in their description of the ground. Immediately between the head of the column, and the enemy's line, was a considerable plantation, one large field of which was on the left of the road, and two others, with a wood of about 200 yards broad between them, on our right of it; beyond these fields, the wood continued for several miles to our right. The wood beyond the plantation in our front, in the skirt of which the enemy's first line was formed, was about a mile in depth, the road then leading into an extensive space of cleared ground about Guildford Court House. The woods on our right and left were reported to be impracticable for cannon: but, as that on our right appeared to be most open, I resolved to attack the left wing of the enemy, and whilst my disposition was making for that purpose, I ordered lieutenant-colonel Macleod to bring forward the guns, and cannonade their centre. The attack was directed to be made in the following order:

On the right, the regiment of Bose, and the 71st regiment, led by major-general Leslie, and supported by the 1st battalion of guards; on their left the 23d and 33d regiments, led by lieutenant-colonel Webster, and supported by the grenadiers and 2d battalion of guards, commanded by brigadier-general O'Hara; the Yagers and light infantry of the guards remained in the wood on the left of the guns; and the cavalry in the road, ready to act as circumstances might require. Our preparations being made, the action began about half an hour past one in the afternoon; major-general Leslie, after being obliged, by the great extent of the enemy's line, to bring up the

the 1st battalion of guards to the right of the regiment of Bose, soon defeated every thing before him; lieutenant-colonel Webster having joined the left of major-general Leslie's division, was no less successful in his front, when, on finding, that the left of the 33d was exposed to a heavy fire from the right wing of the enemy, he changed his front to the left, and being supported by the Yagers and light infantry of the guards, attacked and routed it; the grenadiers and 2d battalion of guards moving forward to occupy the ground left vacant by the movement of lieutenant-colonel Webster.

All the infantry being now in the line, lieutenant-colonel Tarleton had directions to keep his cavalry compact, and not to charge without positive orders, except to protect any of the corps from the most evident danger of being defeated. The excessive thickness of the woods rendered our bayonets of little use, and enabled the broken enemy to make frequent stands, with an irregular fire, which occasioned some loss, and to several of the corps great delay; particularly on our right, where the first battalion of guards and regiment of Bose were warmly engaged in front, flank, and rear, with some of the enemy that had been routed on the first attack, and with part of the extremity of their left wing, which by the closeness of the wood had been passed unbroken. The 71st regiment and grenadiers, and 2d battalions of guards, not knowing what was passing on their right, and hearing the fire advance on their left, continued to move forward, the artillery keeping pace with them on the road, followed by the cavalry. The 2d battalion

of the guards first gained the clear ground near Guildford Court-House, and found a corps of continental infantry, much superior in number, formed in the open field on the left of the road. Glowing with impatience to signalize themselves, they instantly attacked and defeated them, taking two six-pounders, but, pursuing into the wood with too much ardour, were thrown into confusion by a heavy fire, and immediately charged and driven back into the field, by colonel Washington's dragoons, with the loss of the six-pounders they had taken. The enemy's cavalry was soon repulsed by a well-directed fire from two three-pounders just brought up by lieutenant Macleod; and by the appearance of the grenadiers of the guards, and of the 71st regiment, which, having been impeded by some deep ravines, were now coming out of the wood, on the right of the guards, opposite to the Court-House. By the spirited exertions of brigadier-general O'Hara, though wounded, the 2d battalion of guards was soon rallied; and, being supported by the grenadiers, returned to the charge with the greatest alacrity. The 23d regiment arriving at that instant from our left, and lieutenant-colonel Tarleton having advanced with part of the cavalry, the enemy were soon put to flight, and the two six-pounders once more fell into our hands; two ammunition waggons, and two other six-pounders, being all the artillery they had in the field, were likewise taken. About this time the 33d regiment and light infantry of the guards, after overcoming many difficulties, completely routed the corps, which was opposed to them, and put an end to the action in this quarter.

The

The 23d and 71st regiments, with part of the cavalry, were ordered to pursue; the remainder of the cavalry was detached with lieutenant-colonel Tarleton to our right, where a heavy fire still continued, and where his appearance and spirited attack contributed much to a speedy termination of the action. The militia, with which our right had been engaged, dispersed in the woods; the continentals went off by the Reedy Fork, beyond which it was not in my power to follow them, as their cavalry had suffered but little. Our troops were excessively fatigued, by an action which lasted an hour and a half; and our numerous wounded, dispersed over an extensive space of country, required immediate attention. The care of our wounded, and the total want of provisions in an exhausted country, made it equally impossible for me to follow the blow next day. The enemy did not stop until they got to the iron-works on Troublesome Creek, 18 miles from the field of battle.

“From our own observation, and the best accounts we could procure, we did not doubt but the strength of the enemy exceeded seven thousand men; their militia composed their line, with parties advanced to the rails of the fields in their front; the continentals were posted obliquely in the rear of their right wing. Their cannon fired on us whilst we were forming, from the center of the line of militia, but were withdrawn to the continentals before the attack.

“I have the honour to inclose your lordship the list of our killed and wounded. Captain Schutz’s wound is supposed to be mortal; but the surgeons assure me, that none of the other officers are in

danger, and that a great number of the men will soon recover. I cannot ascertain the loss of the enemy, but it must have been considerable; between two or three hundred dead were left upon the field; many of their wounded that were able to move, whilst we were employed in the care of our own, escaped, and followed the routed enemy; and our cattle-drivers and foraging parties have reported to me, that the houses in a circle of six or eight miles round us are full of others; those that remained, we have taken the best care of, in our power. We took few prisoners, owing to the excessive thickness of the wood facilitating their escape, and every man of our army being repeatedly wanted for action.

“The conduct and actions of the officers and soldiers that compose this little army, will do more justice to their merit, than I can by words. Their persevering intrepidity in action, their invincible patience in the hardships and fatigues of a march of above six hundred miles, in which they have forded several large rivers and numberless creeks, many of which would be reckoned large rivers in any other country in the world, without tents or covering against the climate, and often without provisions, will sufficiently manifest their ardent zeal for the honour and interests of their sovereign and their country.

This part of the country is so totally destitute of subsistence, that forage is not nearer than nine miles, and the soldiers have been two days without bread: I shall therefore leave about seventy of the worst of the wounded cases at the New Garden Quaker Meeting House, with proper assistance, and move the re-

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mainder

mainder with the army, to-morrow morning, to Bell's mill. I hope our friends will heartily take an active part with us, to which I shall continue to encourage them, still approaching our shipping by easy marches, that we may procure the necessary supplies for farther operations, and lodge our sick and wounded, where proper attention can be paid to them.

This despatch will be delivered to your lordship by my Aid de Camp, captain Brodrick, who is a very promising officer, and whom I beg leave to recommend to your lordship's countenance and favor.

I have the honour to be, &c.

CORNWALLIS.

Return of the killed and wounded. on the march through North Carolina, in the various actions preceding the battle of Guildford.

1 lieutenant-colonel, 11 rank and file, killed; 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 7 serjeants, 79 rank and file wounded.

Officers names killed and wounded. Brigade of guards. Lieutenant-colonel Hall, killed.

23d regiment, Lieutenant Chapman wounded.

33d ditto. Capt. Ingram, wounded.

Return of the killed, wounded, and missing of the troops under the command of Lieutenant-general Earl Cornwallis, in the action at Guildford, March 15, 1781.

1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 lieutenants, 2 ensigns, 13 serjeants, 75 rank and file killed; 2 brigadier-generals, 2 lieutenant-colonels, 9 captains, 4 lieutenants, 5 ensigns, 2 staff officers, 15 serjeants, 5 drummers, 369 rank and file, wounded; 1 serjeant, 25 rank and file, missing.

Officers names killed and wounded. Royal artillery. Lieutenant O'Hara, killed.

Brigade of guards. Honourable lieutenant-colonel Stuart, killed; brigadier-generals O'Hara and Howard, and captain Swanton, wounded; captains Schutz, Maynard, and Goodricke, wounded, and since dead; captains lord Dunglafs and Maitland, ensign Stuart and adjutant Colquhoun, wounded.

23d foot. Second lieutenant Robinson, killed; captain Peter wounded.

33d foot. Ensign Talbot, killed; lieutenant-colonel Webster (since dead); lieutenants Salvin, Wynyard, ensigns Kelly, Gore, and Hughes, and adjutant Fox, wounded.

71st foot. Ensign Grant, killed.

Regiment of Bosc. Captains Wil-mousky (since dead), Fichenbrodt, lieutenants Schwener and Gaife, ensign De Trott (since dead) wounded.

British legion. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton wounded.

J. DESPARD, Dep. Adj. Gen. Wilmington, April 17, 1781.

Return of the ordnance, ammunition, and arms taken at the battle of Guildford, March 15, 1781.

BRASS ORDNANCE.

Mounted on travelling carriages, with limbers and boxes complete,

Four six pounders.

Shot. Round fixed with powder, 160 six pounders. Case fixed with ditto, 50 six pounders. 2 ammunition waggons, 1300 stands of arms distributed among the militia, and destroyed in the field.

J. MACLEOD, lieutenant, and commanding officer of artillery.

*Extract of a letter from Earl Cornwallis, to Lord George Germain, dated Wilmington, April 18, 1781.*

I marched from Guildford on the morning of the 1<sup>th</sup> of March, and next day arrived at Bell's Mill, where I gave the troops two days rest, and procured a small supply of provisions. From thence I proceeded slowly towards Cross Creek, attending to the convenience of subsistence, and the movement of our wounded.

From all my information, I intended to have halted at Cross Creek, as a proper place to refresh and reit the troops; and I was much disappointed, on my arrival there, to find it totally impossible. Provisions were scarce, not four days forage within twenty miles, and to us the navigation of the Cape Fear River to Wilmington impracticable; for the distance by water is upwards of 100 miles: under these circumstances, I was obliged to continue my march to this place, in the neighbourhood of which I arrived on the 7<sup>th</sup> inst.

I have been busy since my arrival in disposing of our sick and wounded, and in procuring the necessary supplies, to put the troops in a proper state to take the field.

Captain Schutz died a few days after the action, as we expected; but I am sorry to inform your lordship, that, notwithstanding the flattering appearances, and the assurances of the surgeons, colonel Webster (whose loss is severely felt by me and the whole army), captain Maynard of the guards, captain Wilmoufky and ensign De Trott of the regiment of Bose, are since dead.

*Extract of a letter from Lieutenant-colonel Balfour to lord George Ger-*

*main, dated Charles-Town, May 1, 1781.*

My Lord,

By lord Cornwallis's despatches, which are herewith transmitted, your lordship will be informed, that after the action at Guildford, general Greene, being obliged to retreat from before the king's army, turned his views towards this province, as the more vulnerable point, in the absence of lord Cornwallis.

With this idea, on the 19<sup>th</sup> ultimo he came before Camden, having with him near 1500 continental, and several corps of militia; lord Rawdon having charge of that post, and about 800 British and Provincial troops to sustain it.

For some days general Greene kept varying his position, waiting, as is supposed, to be reinforced by the corps under brigadier Mifflin and colonel Lee, which were on their way, being ordered to join him.

Judging it necessary to strike a blow before this junction could take place, and learning that general Greene had detached to bring up his baggage and provisions, lord Rawdon, with the most marked decision, on the morning of the 25<sup>th</sup> marched with the greater part of his force to meet him, and about ten o'clock attacked the rebels in their camp at Hobkirk's with that spirit, which prevailing over superior numbers, and an obstinate resistance, compelled them to give way; and the pursuit was continued for three miles. To accident only, they were indebted for saving their guns, which being drawn into a hollow, out of the road, were overlooked by our troops in the flush of victory and pursuit, so that their cavalry, in which they greatly exceeded us,

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had

had an opportunity of taking them off.

My lord Rawdon states the loss of the enemy on this occasion, as upwards of 100 made prisoners, and 400 killed and wounded, his own not exceeding 100, in which are included one officer killed, and 11 wounded.

After this defeat general Greene retired to Rugeley's Mills, (twelve miles from Camden) in order to call in his troops, and receive the reinforcements; but as lieutenant-colonel Watfon, of the guards, who had been for some time detached by lord Rawdon, with a corps of 500 men, to cover the eastern frontiers of the province, is directed, by me, to join his lordship, I am in hopes he will be able speedily to accomplish this.

## J U N E.

*Admiralty-Office, June 5.* By a letter from sir George Collier, of his majesty's ship Canada, there is advice of his having taken, after a chase of full 70 leagues, the Leocadia Spanish frigate, coppered, supposed to be bound express to the South Seas. She has ports for 40 guns, yet mounts only 34. She was commanded by Don Francisco de Wenthuisen, Knt. of St. Jago, who lost his life in the action.

6. This day the following malefactors were executed at Tyburn, viz. Jane Vincent William Russell, William Archer, Peter Boys, Richard Sheering, and John King, alias Reed.

*St. James's, June 8, 1781.*

*Extract of a letter from commodore George Johnstone to the earl of Hillsborough, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, dated Romney, in Port Praya Road, in*

*the island of St. Jago, April 30, 1781, brought by captain Lindsey, of the Porto sloop of war.*

My Lord,

On the 16th of April, at half past nine o'clock in the morning, being at anchor in Port Praya, in the island of St. Jago, with the squadron of his majesty's ships under my command\*, together with the East-India ships, transports, and victuallers, who sailed with us from England, the Isis (which ship lay the farthest to leeward) made the signal for seeing eleven sail in the Offing, towards the N. E.

I was then absent in a boat, giving directions for moving some ships which had been driven too near each other.

As soon as I saw the signal for so many strange ships, I instantly returned on board the Romney, and made the signal for all the persons to come from the shore, and to repair on board their respective ships, having at that time not less than 1500 persons absent from the fleet, who were employed in watering, fishing, and embarking live cattle, with other occupations necessary to the dispatch in refitting so many ships, besides a number of the officers and troops who were taking the recreation of the shore.

As soon as the signal was made, and enforced by the repeated firing of guns, and after a boat had been dispatched to the shore, to give more expedition and effect to the embarkation, a signal was made to unmoor, and another to prepare for battle.

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\* Romney, 50; Hero, 74; Monmouth, 64; Jupiter, 50; and Isis, of 50 guns; Terror bomb vessel; Infernal fire-ship, and Rattle-Snake cutter.

I went

I went on board the *Isis*, to make my observations on the strange ships, as they could only be seen from that ship, on account of the east point of land which intervened.

From the *Isis* I plainly discovered five large ships of the line, and several smaller ships, standing in for the land; the large ships being separated from the convoy, and making signals by superior and inferior flags which plainly denoted that they were French.

Upon this I returned on board the *Romney*, calling to the East-India ships, as I passed and re-passed, to prepare for battle; for most of them were yet heedless of the signals which had been made.

At a quarter before eleven o'clock the strange ships appeared, coming round the east point of land, drawn up in a line, and leading into the bay. His majesty's ships of war (excepting as to the people who were absent on shore) were by this time prepared to receive the enemy, if they should offer any insult.

We plainly perceived they intended an attack, by the springs which were passed to their cables along the outside of the ships; and we knew the small regard which the French usually pay to the law of nations, when they are possessed of a superior force; or find it convenient to dispense with such obligations; and in this our expectations were not disappointed: for with much courage and seeming determination the French commodore led on within two cables length of the *Monmouth*, *Jupiter*, and *Hero*, passing the *Diana*, *Terror* bomb, and *Infernal* fire-ship, who lay without the rest of the ships: here he hoisted his broad pendant, and displayed the French colours; he then hauled up his courses, and

fired two shot at the *Isis* from his larboard bow as he luffed up, and immediately after, permitting his ship to shoot up in the wind, as far as the force with which the ship was sailing enabled her, he dropped his anchor a-breast of the *Monmouth*, and began to fire away among the ships as fast as he could discharge and load. His sails, however, were still flying about in great confusion, so that the spring on the cable did not hold when the ship was checked to bring up, and he drove a-breast of the *Hero*.

After the two guns mentioned above had been discharged with shot, the fire from his Majesty's ships opened upon the enemy with great power and effect.

The next French ship which followed their commodore anchored a-head of him; the third endeavoured to pass through for the *Romney*; but being unable to weather the different ships, he anchored a-stern of his commodore, and continued there for a short space, driving about with his sails loose, until he boarded the *Fortitude* and *Hinchinbroke* East-India ships, and then went to sea. The fourth ship ran on different lines, luffing and bearing up as he passed among the skirt of our ships, and firing and receiving fire as he sailed along, but seemingly in great confusion also, and at last, with much difficulty, he wore clear of the reef on the west point without us.

The fifth ship ran among the merchant vessels also, firing at all, and attempting to board two or three as she passed along, without success.

In a quarter of an hour after the first gun, several of our East-India ships had recovered the alarm, and were firing at the enemy, and some

of them in well directed lines : two or three however had struck their colours, and thrown the Company's packets overboard, and others prudently put to sea.

The Romney could only fire in two openings, and this under a precision which was cautiously observed ; neither could she veer away cable to open a larger space, as the Jason lay right a-stern of her. Seeing the Romney was like to have little share in the action, after the fourth ship had passed her, I ordered the barge to be manned, to go on board the Hero. General Meadows and captain Saltern insisted they should accompany me, with a degree of generosity and good humour which I could not resist. It is pleasant to be near the general at all times, but on the day of battle that satisfaction is felt in a peculiar degree. We were received by captain Hawker with as cheerful and affable civility as if we had come to dinner, while the Hero kept up a constant, awful, heavy discharge of artillery.

The action bordered upon a surprise, and the nature of the service in which we were engaged, rendered us liable to much confusion ; yet upon the whole, until the enemy were beat off, I saw nothing on our part but steady, cool, determined valour.

Captain Alms, of the Monmouth, kept up a well-directed fire.

Captain Paisley had worked hard from the beginning of the business, and had got a spring on his cable, by which effort every shot told from the Jupiter.

The French commodore now found his situation too hot, and he cut his cable in three quarters of an hour, and went away through the ships, as his second a-stern had

done before him ; the other a-head was now left behind, an object to be fired at by all the ships in our fleet, who could get guns to bear upon him. In this situation he remained for fifteen minutes, hardly firing a gun during the whole time : such a spectacle of distress I never before beheld.

I am satisfied myself he struck his colours, and that they were not merely shot away, as some alledge ; and this I believe, because different ships thought he struck at the same time ; but it was impossible to get all the ships to cease firing at once ; and one gun being afterwards discharged from the enemy's ship, the firing began again even from such of our ships as had left off.

Whether his cable was shot away, or he cut the cable, I cannot say ; but off the ship went round upon the heel, her stern falling close to the broadside of the Isis ; her masts were tottering ; her yards were hanging different ways ; her sails were flying about in rags, and full of holes. First fell the mizen mast, next went the main-mast, and lastly the fore-mast and the outer end of the bowsprit tumbled into the water.

I instantly returned to the Romney, and made the signal for all the captains, and after hearing the condition of every ship, I directed the men of war to cut and slip as fast as they could get to sea, to follow up the victory, with orders to make any India ships which lay in their way, to cut their cables also, that they might not be impeded.

I ordered the merchant ships to lie fast and repair their damages, until we joined them again.

As soon as the Jason was out of the way, the Romney was cast by a spring on the cable, and she went

out

out to sea under the acclamations of the whole fleet.

The *Jupiter* instantly followed, and we ran between our scattered ships and the enemy. Perceiving neither the *Isis* nor *Diana* making any signs to follow, though both of them lay in clear births for so doing, their several signals were made. The *Diana* answered, and soon after followed; but although gun after gun was fired to enforce the signal to call out the *Isis*, she still remained without any signs of obedience to my signals then abroad. At last the *Hero* came under our stern, with a message from captain Sutton, saying that his masts and yards, and sails and rigging, were so wounded, that he could not come out without repairing them, but that he would follow as fast as he could.

My answer was, all this is no excuse for disobeying my positive orders; besides, I think his damages immaterial to a man of any resources.

Captain Sutton's signal was therefore again enforced by another gun; he then hoisted his answering flag, and came out, after three hours delay.

All the ships being now come out, the signal was made to form the line a-head on the larboard tack. The French ships had before this collected and taken the disabled ship in tow, and they had raised a stump forward, and fixed a sail upon it, with which they had wore the hulk, and put before the wind in a line of battle a-breast, and sent off their convoy under all the sail they could set.

When the *Isis* joined us she ran under our stern, and repeated an account of her distress and her damages, particularly the want of a

mizen-top-sail-yard, which I told the captain was nothing at all.

The signal was now made to bear up in a line of battle a-breast. At that instant the *Isis* lost her fore-top-mast above the top-sail-yard, which yard was not injured by the fall, nor was the sail hurt, or any other damage sustained, to prevent the ship from working, the fore-top-sail being close reefed and set.

I immediately shortened sail to give time to the *Isis* to clear the wreck, which was done in half an hour or forty minutes.

This increased our distance from the enemy. As soon as I saw the *Isis* could make sail, I bore up and set the fore-sail, and made the signal for the line a-breast. When we came near the enemy, I found the *Isis* and *Monmouth* had dropped a-stern between two and three miles, though both of them sailed much better than the *Romney*: their signals were therefore made to call them to their stations; the *Monmouth* immediately answered, and made sail accordingly, but the *Isis* still kept behind.

By these various obstructions and delays, added to a strong lee current, the enemy had drawn us far to leeward of St. Jago. The sun was set; the sea had increased; I could not propose a decisive action in the night. If I followed until day-light, my prospects were great and tempting; but I must then determine to leave my convoy in distress, and separate from the troops, without any fixed determination concerning them or their destination; and I must also have relinquished the object of the present expedition; because, after getting so far to leeward that we could not fetch the islands of Bravo or Fogo, it is a well known fact that no ship can

can bear up against the N. E. winds and the S. W. currents which always prevail here, much less after such an action as must be expected.

On the other hand, if the principal force of the enemy should arrive before us at the place of our destination, it might prove equally fatal to the object of the expedition.

The dilemma was great indeed, and I felt the cruel situation with an anguish which I never before experienced; but after maturely weighing the subject in all its consequences with those persons on whose judgement I have most confidence, I thought myself bound to return to join the ships under my protection, and to pursue the object of the expedition, it being most probable that the enemy must either send off two of their disabled ships of war to the West-Indies, in which case I shall have a superior naval force, or they must touch at the Brazils for water and repairs; and perhaps they will be obliged to do both; in either of which cases we shall have a great advantage by the preceding action.

Next day we retook the Hinchinbroke East-India ship, with 25 Frenchmen on board; and I learn from them that the squadron who attacked us was composed of

L'Heros, 74, M. de Suffrein, brigadier des armées, grand commandant de Malte.

L'Annibal, 74, M. de Tremigon, capitaine de vaisseau.

L'Artesien, 64, M. de Cardillac, chevalier de Malte.

Le Sphynx, 64, M. de Duchillon, capitaine de vaisseau.

Le Vengeur, 64, M. le chevalier de Forbin, capitaine de vaisseau.

La Fortune, 16, Corvette.

M. de Castries, commandant de l'armée de terre.

Regiment de Pondicherry, deux bataillons.

Detachment du Regiment d'Austrasie.

4 vaisseaux des Indes, viz.

- |                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| 1. Le Brisson,       | } et cinq vaisseaux<br>de transport<br>armée en flûte;<br>all doubled<br>with copper. |
| 2. Le Trois Amis,    |   |
| 3. L'Isle de France, |   |
| 4. Pondicherry,      |   |

The Hannibal was the ship which was dismasted, and the Hero led in, and suffered damages next in proportion to the Hannibal; the Artesien, Sphynx, and Vengeur came in according as they are named, but the last three did not receive much injury. The captain of the Artesien, to which ship the prisoners belong, was killed by a grape shot on the shoulder.

They informed me that they sailed from Brest the 22d of March, with Mons. le Grasse and 20 sail of the line, three of which are of three decks, bound to Martinique, besides the Sagittaire frigate of fifty guns, bound to North America.

That they separated off Madeira, and their purpose was to attack the squadron under my command, wherever they could find it, of which they had received a correct list at Brest: that the Artesien first discovered us lying in the road, and tacked towards Mons. Suffrein to acquaint him of it; that he instantly ordered them to prepare for the attack; and being asked by Mons. Cardillac, the captain of the Artesien, what they should do if the Portuguese forts should fire upon them? he desired them to fire at the Portuguese forts also.

After an action of such a length, in such a situation, in smooth water, with large ships so near each other,

other, it is surprising to find how few men have been killed, and what slight damages his Majesty's ships have received.

The Monmouth lying within a cable's length, had not a man killed, and only six wounded.

The Jupiter had two wounded.

The Isis had four killed and five wounded.

The Romney had seven wounded; and the other ships according to the list enclosed.

The Jason and Latham East-India ships, which lay at the farthest distance from the enemy, had four killed and 14 wounded; among the number of the killed is lieutenant Keith of the Jason, a brave and worthy officer.

Several of the last India ships have suffered in their masts, yards, and rigging, but nothing that will impede the voyage, or which cannot be repaired even here with security.

The fate of the Infernal fireship, and Terror bomb, deserves to be particularly related: they had come from the Isle of May two days before, and lay to the eastward, without all the ships, notwithstanding my orders in writing had been strictly given, and punctually communicated, for all the small ships to anchor within the rest. The Terror had sprung her bowsprit, and was fishing it, with her rigging loose, when the enemy appeared, and one of the sixty-four gun ships had her on board.

The Terror caught fire, and the enemy durst not take possession of her, though often invited to do so by captain Wood. She then cut her cable, and drove to sea, where she lost her bowsprit and foremast.

One of the French ships again followed her in this miserable con-

dition, and fired several shot at the Terror; yet captain Wood, seeing us preparing to come out, would not strike his colours, but bravely contrived to set some stay-sails, and slide off in that shattered condition.

The fireship went to sea, and was taken by the enemy, by what means I cannot relate; but I have good reason to believe she was afterwards abandoned by the enemy, or retaken by the crew, as the Jupiter saw her the next day to leeward, and standing towards us, with her distinguishing vanes and answering-flag abroad.

The Fortitude India ship behaved with uncommon bravery. She was boarded by the Artesien, who fired many guns into her; several of the enemy's crew jumped on board the Fortitude; yet in this situation captain Jenkinson, of the 98th regiment, kept up a constant fire with small arms; several of the enemy were shot on the shrouds, and two were forced overboard, and taken up again into the Fortitude, after the two ships had separated.

The Hinchinbroke was also miserably cut and mangled by the Artesien, before she was taken.

Many of the other India ships suffered considerable damages, particularly the Lord North, Osterly, and Asia; and the Edward victualler was nearly sunk and carried out to sea, though afterwards abandoned.

With great difficulty, after turning many days, we recovered this bay with the Fortitude, and we towed in the Hinchinbroke and Edward.

Every possible exertion has been used since to repair the various damages which the ships had sustained, and the whole convoy are now

as completely refitted as circumstances will allow; in the execution of which service I am chiefly indebted to the indefatigable attention of captain Paisley, whose zeal on this, and every other occasion, I wish may be represented to his majesty.

To add to our embarrassment, the Porto sloop, who joined us the day we got back, ran foul of the Hero, and lost her foremast and bowsprit.

I have judged it proper to put captain Sutton, of the Isis, under an arrest.

Since writing the above account, the Infernal fireship has joined us. The enemy had abandoned her on our approach, having taken away captain Darby and five seamen, and nine soldiers of the 98th regiment.

Lieutenant Hamilton has been ever since turning up to gain this port, which shews the impossibility of joining the convoy if I had followed the enemy.

The fireship has sustained little or no damages.

We shall sail from this island tomorrow; and the Porto sloop will be ready to proceed for England the day after with these despatches.

I am, with the greatest respect,

My lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient

And most humble servant,

GEO. JOHNSTONE.

*Total of the killed and wounded in the ships and vessels under the command of commodore Jobson, in an action with a French squadron commanded by Monsieur de Suffren, on the 16th of April, 1781, in Port Praya Road in the island of St. Jago.*

16 Seamen or petty officers killed; 77 ditto wounded; 4 ditto since dead of their wounds; 11 ditto taken prisoners.

20 Soldiers or marines killed; 63 ditto wounded; 4 ditto since dead of their wounds; 9 ditto taken prisoners.

OFFICERS killed.

George Keith, first lieutenant of the Jason.

Captain Crawford, of the 100th regiment, on board the Osterly East Indiaman.

Lieutenant M'Donald, of ditto, on board ditto.

Lieutenant Griffin, of the 98th regiment, on board the Pondicherry armed transport.

Lieutenant Morris of ditto, in a boat coming from the shore.

Henry Roach, master of the Porpoise armed transport.

The surgeon of the Osterly East India ship.

OFFICERS wounded.

Lieutenant Donald Campbell of the Terror bomb vessel.

Lieutenant Hind of the 98th regiment.

Ensign Scott of ditto, on board the Fortitude East Indiaman.

PRISONER.

Captain Henry D'Esterre Darby, commander of his majesty's fireship Infernal, taken prisoner by the French.

GEO. JOHNSTONE.

16. On the 3d inst. the town of Cagli, in the Pope's dominions, was almost buried in ruins by an earthquake, in which more than 800 inhabitants perished, among whom was the bishop of Berlozzi, as he was employed in the duties of his sacred function.

18. On the 11th inst. the emperor of Germany arrived at Ostend in the evening; and in three hours after arrived in the same city the duke of Gloucester. Next day his highness set out for Bruges, where he had an interview with his imperial majesty, and returned the same day.

day. This interview has occasioned much speculation.

15. *Extract of a letter from Paris.*

"The great Theatre of the Opera, built by the famous Servandoni, has been entirely reduced to ashes. It was accidentally set on fire after the representation, the moment the curtain was dropped. The audience had all time to escape, but forty people behind the scenes perished in the flames. Some of the bodies have been taken out so disfigured and miserably burnt, that it is impossible to ascertain whether they are men or women. The celebrated Daubervault, who danced at the King's Theatre in the year 1764, is supposed to have been one of the unfortunate victims, having suddenly disappeared after this terrible disaster. The loss is said to amount to four millions of livres and upwards."

*Admiralty-Office, June 15, 1781.*

*Extract of a letter, received the 12th curt. from vice-admiral Sir Edward Hughes, K. B. and commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels in the East-Indies, to Mr. Stephens, dated at Bombay, Jan. 2, 1781.*

On the 17th of October I sailed from Madras Road, intending to proceed to the relief of Tellicherry on this coast (closely invested by the Nairs, and a detachment of Hyder Ali's troops) and from thence to this port, to clean and refit the ships.

I arrived in Tellicherry Road on the 27th of November, where I found two of the company's armed snows, and a transport ship, which had brought stores and ammunition to the garrison a few days before: in the mean time, the armed boats of the ships in Calicut Road cut

out and brought away one of Hyder Ali's ships, and forced the other on shore: but, in the course of their operation the Sartine frigate, being warped into shoal water to cannonade the enemy's ships, struck on the rocks at low water, and filled, so that she was totally lost; a part of her sails, top-masts, booms, and some other stores, being all that could be saved out of her.

After having left a captain of marines, with four officers, and 108 rank and file, with 1000 barrels of powder, at Tillicherry, for its defence, until a reinforcement should arrive from Bombay, I sailed with all the squadron towards Bombay on the 5th of December last.

On the 8th of December, being off Mangalore, the principal seaport of Hyder Ali, on the Malabar Coast, I saw two ships, a large snow, three ketches and many smaller vessels, at an anchor in the road, with Hyder Ali's colours flying on board them; and standing with the squadron close into the road, found them to be vessels of force, and all armed for war; on which I anchored as close to the enemy's vessels as possible, with safety to the ships, and ordered the armed boats of the squadron to attack and destroy them, under cover of the fire of the company's two armed snows, and of the prize ship cut out of Calicut-road, which were anchored in shoal water, and close to the enemy's ships. This service was conducted, on the part of our boats, with a spirit and activity that do much honour to the officers and men employed in them; and in two hours they took and burnt the two ships, one of 28, the other of 26 guns; one ketch of

12 guns was blown up by the enemy at the instant our boats were boarding her; another ketch of 10 guns, which cut her cables, and endeavoured to put to sea, was taken; and the third ketch with the smaller vessels, were forced on shore, the snow only escaping into the harbour, after having thrown every thing overboard to lighten her. On this service the squadron lost lieutenant Gomm, of the Burford, and ten men killed; lieutenant Sutton, of the Superb; lieutenant Maclellan, of the Eagle, and 51 men wounded, many of them since dead.

On the 20th of December I arrived with the squadron in this harbour, and immediately set about the docking and refitting the ships for service, which I hope to accomplish all in the month of March.

*Vienna, March 26.* A little before his departure the Emperor granted to the Jewish nation, settled in his estates, among other privileges which they have not hitherto enjoyed, that of exercising all kinds of arts and trades, of applying themselves to agriculture, of resorting to the universities, and of enjoying in general all the advantages of other citizens.

*Brussels, June 14.* The Emperor arrived here about eleven o'clock on Thursday night, and since that time has been almost continually employed in attending to the petitions and requests of his people. On Friday he saw only two or three of the principal ministers. On Saturday he received the public bodies; and yesterday and this day he has given audience to every one who demanded it. It is not merely the rich and noble who find admittance to the imperial presence; the poor of every deno-

mination are received with equal grace and favour; every claimant has the privilege of telling his own story in his own way to the father of his people, who receives them all unattended by a single person, and lays aside every form which might awe the modest and the humble from making their wants or distresses known to him.

23. Advices were this day received from sir Henry Clinton, by lord George Germain, that major-general Philips, and brigadier-general Arnold had destroyed in Virginia, during the month of April, a considerable number of armed vessels belonging to the Americans, a range of barracks for two thousand men, several ware-houses and magazines, some hundred barrels of flour, and many thousand hog-heads of tobacco.

## J U L Y.

5. Yesterday the late printers of the London Courant and Noon Gazette, and the publisher of the Morning Herald, with the printer of the Gazetteer, received sentence in the court of King's Bench, for having published a libel against the Russian ambassador: viz. the late printer of the London Courant, as the original publisher, to be imprisoned a year, and to stand in the pillory for one hour at the Royal Exchange; the late printer of the Noon Gazette, to pay a fine of 100l. and to be imprisoned a year, and, for an aggravating paragraph, to be imprisoned for an additional six months, and pay a fine of 100l. The publisher of the Morning Herald was fined 100l. and imprisoned for a year; and the printer of the Gazetteer (being a female) was fined 50l. and imprisoned for six months.

6. Yesterday

6. Yesterday the printers of the *Whitehall Evening Post*, *Middlesex Journal*, and *St. James's Chronicle*, received sentence for the same offence; when each was fined 100*l.* and the two former were imprisoned for a year.

*Extracts of a letter from the right hon. gen. Elliot, governor of Gibraltar, to the earl of Hillsborough, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, dated Gibraltar, June 11, 1781.*

I have no new occurrences to report to your lordship, only that on the 9th the enemy's laboratory took fire, with first a great explosion, succeeded by the bursting of shells, resembling a close running fire of musketry, intermixed with different blasts, for near twenty minutes, and followed by a conflagration, which lasted near three hours. We suppose the damage to have been very considerable, probably a thousand fixed shells, besides powder, implements, and stores.

When it is calm, the gun and mortar boats repeat their nightly visits, doing us no great harm, only depriving the troops sometimes of their natural rest, which is no great evil in this climate, as evidently appears by the health of the garrison.

14. This day the sessions at the Old Bailey, which began on the 11th, ended, when sixteen convicts received sentence of death.

At this sessions, M. de la Motte was tried and convicted for carrying on a treasonable correspondence with the enemies of this country. The sentence passed upon him was, "To be hanged by the neck but not till dead, then to be cut down, and his bowels taken out and burnt

before his face, his head to be taken off, his body cut into four quarters, and to be at his Majesty's disposal." The Prisoner received the awful doom with great composure, but inveighed against Mr. Lutterloh in warm terms.

M. de la Motte is about five feet ten inches in height, and of a comely countenance: his deportment is exceedingly genteel, and his eye is expressive of strong penetration. He wore a white cloth coat and a linen waistcoat, worked in tambour. After sentence Mr. Akerman's servants prepared to reconduct him to prison, but being ignorant of their design, he sat in the chair in which he had sat during almost the whole of the trial; but upon the matter being explained to him, he rose, made a polite bow to the court, and retired.

28. Yesterday M. Francis Henry De la Motte was, by an order from lord Hillsborough, delivered into the custody of the sheriffs of London and Middlesex, who conveyed him from the Tower to Newgate, from whence, about a quarter after nine, he set out for the place of execution, being preceded by the city marshal, the two sheriffs in their carriages, attended by their officers, and a prodigious number of constables.—M. De la Motte was dressed in a suit of black. His deportment was manly and serious: he seemed to have fixed his attention on the awful scene before him, and to be totally abstracted from surrounding objects, as he scarcely ever took his eyes from a devotional book he held in his hands. Upon his arrival at the place of execution, he was immediately removed from the sledge into a cart, which was drawn under the gallows. He continued therein about two

(F)

minutes,

minutes, which he seemed to employ in fervent devotion; when bowing respectfully twice to the sheriffs, he turned to the executioner, and desired him to perform his office immediately. After hanging 57 minutes, the body was cut down, and laid on a block, when (the fire being previously kindled) the executioner severed the head from the trunk, and making an incision from his breast, took out the heart, which after a slight exposure, was committed to the flames. The body was after this, being first slightly scored, together with the head, put into a very handsome coffin, and delivered to an attendant undertaker for interment.

30. The two following letters were published as authentic at Paris about ten days ago:

*Sir George Rodney to the Marquis de Bouillé.*

I have received the letters which your excellency did me the honour to write to me; and I am hurt that a person of so distinguished a rank and character as the marquis de Bouillé, should, in consequence of information, which he confesses he received through indirect channels, demean himself so far as to descend to menaces: British admirals are unacquainted with fear! and know not what it is to threaten: they are responsible for their conduct to none but their king and their country: they never look for glory in insulting their enemies: they have always treated them with respect and humanity. But a perfidious people, wearing the masque of friendship, traitors to their country, and rebels to their king, are not entitled to indulgencies or respect: and shall

never meet with either at my hands.

I am, &c.

*The Marquis de Bouillé to Admiral Rodney.*

I am satisfied that a British admiral and a French general ought to be responsible only to their king and their country. To both I owe reprisals; and cruel as it may be to have recourse to them, you set the example at St. Eustatius, and I must pursue it. You laid down the law, and I shall strictly adhere to it. Your excellency, no doubt, forgot that you were writing to a French general, who, from the events of war, has been for some time in the habit of despising British insolence. I had the honour to write to your excellency that I would not exchange any more prisoners: they shall all, without exception, be sent to France. I repeat once more, that you may act as you please towards our flags of truce; to quiet your apprehensions on that head I shall send no more. In future, the interpreters of our sentiments shall be our cannon: by those means we shall avoid all political disputes, so factitious and disgusting in themselves, and which are more in the department of ambassadors than of soldiers.

I am, &c.

31. On Thursday evening Messrs. Gouverneur and Curson, partners and late merchants in the island of St. Eustatius, were brought in custody of two of his majesty's messengers from on board the Vengeance man of war at Spithead, to the earl of Hillsborough's office in Cleveland-Row; where, after undergoing an examination, they were ordered into the custody of Mr. Mann, the messenger; and on Friday

day night at ten o'clock they were brought to the American department at Whitehall, where their conduct underwent a more severe and regular enquiry before the attorney and solicitor-generals, Messrs. Chamberlayne and White, solicitors; and Mr. Sampson Wright, the presiding magistrate at Bow street. This examination lasted a considerable time, and several papers were produced and read; after which Mr. Gouverneur was committed to New Prison, charged with high-treason, in carrying on a correspondence with the American agent, Adams, at Amsterdam, and with furnishing the colonists with ammunition and every other species of military stores for the support of the war. He was conducted to the plate of his confinement by two of the messengers, under a warrant signed by Mr. Wright; but his colleague, Mr. Curson, being very much indisposed, was indulged with the liberty of remaining in the custody of Mr. Mann, the messenger. They are both young men, about 30 years of age, Curson tall and slender, Gouverneur about five feet eight inches, and stout made. They were dressed plainly, but had the entire appearance of gentlemen, in light brown cloaths and white hats. The house, of which they were the heads, was deemed the first in the island of St. Eustatius, and the firm of the partnership was estimated at no less a sum than three hundred thousand pounds.

The unfortunate De la Motte was buried at seven o'clock on Friday evening, in the church-yard of St. Pancras. A very handsome plate was on his coffin, which expressed his age to be 55.

## A U G U S T.

*Whitehall, August 7, 1781.*

*Extract of a letter from major-general Vaughan to lord George Germain, dated Barbadoes, June 16, 1781. Received by the Chilters Schoop.*

My Lord;

On the 10th of May the French fleet, consisting of 24 ships of the line and frigates, landed troops at St. Lucia, and summoned Pigeon-Island to surrender; but upon viewing the Vigie and Morne, with the other parts of that island under military government, they judged it prudent to re-embark their troops, and quitted St. Lucia very quickly.

On this occasion I beg leave to observe, for your lordship's kind representation to his majesty, the very great exertions and attention shown by brigadier-general St. Leger, who commands in that island, to its strength and security, and the great ardour and cheerfulness with which the troops in that important post have executed their duty; and permit me, my lord, to add, that I consider myself and the service much indebted to the alacrity and aid given by captain Robert Linzee and captain Rodney, and the other officers and seamen of his majesty's frigates, posted at the Vigie and Pigeon Island at the time the enemy made their landing.

Nor can I omit taking notice of the very spirited and meritorious part of the merchants, who embodied themselves for the defence of his majesty's island.

On this expedition of the enemy to St. Lucia, the only loss on our part, that I have heard, is a few sick men of the 46th regiment, which,

which, with their comforts and necessities, they carried off.

Upon the 27th, hearing that a flying squadron of the enemy had appeared near Tobago, sir George Rodney dispatched rear-admiral Drake, with six sail of the line and some frigates, in which I had the 69th regiment, a flank company of the 60th, and a volunteer company under the command of brigadier-general Skeene, to succour and relieve that island. On the rear-admiral's approach, finding the whole French fleet had invested the island, he apprised sir Geo. Rodney of it, and returned with his squadron to form a junction with the rest of the fleet: on receiving this information the 2d curt. I immediately embarked with admiral Rodney, who sailed on the 3d, with the whole fleet, to the relief of Tobago. Arriving on the 4th near the island, we sent on shore an officer to procure the necessary intelligence, and guides to conduct the troops to relieve the garrison. On his return I was informed that the island had capitulated, a circumstance I learned with concern.

*Admiralty-Office, August 9, 1781.*

Lieutenant Rivett, of his majesty's cutter the *Surprize*, arrived here this afternoon, with a letter from vice-admiral Parker to Mr. Stephens, of which the following is a copy:

*Fortitude at sea, August 6, 1781.*

S I R,

Yesterday morning we fell in with the Dutch squadron, with a large convoy, on the Dogger Bank. I was happy to find I had the wind of them, as the great number of their large frigates might otherwise have endangered my convoy. Having separated the men of war from the merchant ships, and made a signal to the last to keep their wind,

I bore away with a general signal to chase. The enemy formed their line; consisting of eight two-decked ships, on the starboard tack; our's, including the *Dolphin*, consisting of seven. Not a gun was fired on either side, until within the distance of half musquet shot. The *Fortitude* being then a-breast of the Dutch admiral, the action began and continued, with an unceasing fire, for three hours and forty minutes: by this time our ships were unmanageable. I made an effort to form the line, in order to renew the action, but found it impracticable. The *Bienfaisant* had lost his main-top-mast, and the *Buffalo* his fore-yard; the rest of the ships were not less shattered in their masts, rigging and sails: the enemy appeared to be in as bad condition. Both squadrons lay to a considerable time near each other, when the Dutch, with their convoy, bore away for the Texel: we were not in a condition to follow them.

His majesty's officers and men behaved with great bravery, nor did the enemy show less gallantry. The *Fortitude* was extremely well seconded by captain Macartney in the *Princess Amelia*, but he was unfortunately killed early in the action: lieutenant Hill has great merit in so well supporting the conduct of his brave captain.

As there was great probability of our coming into action again, captain Macbride very readily obliged me by taking the command of that ship; and I have appointed Mr. Waghorne, my first lieutenant, to the command of the *Artois*. This gentleman although much hurt in the action, refused to leave my side while it lasted. Captain Græme, of the *Pretton*, has lost an arm.

Enclosed

Enclosed I transmit a return of the killed and wounded, and an account of the damages sustained by the ships.

The enemy's force was, I believe, much superior to what their lordships apprehended. I flatter myself they will be satisfied that we have done all that was possible with our's.

I am Sir, your most obedient,  
And most humble servant,  
H. PARKER.

P. S. The frigates this morning discovered one of the Dutch men of war sunk in twenty-two fathom water; her top-gallant masts were above the surface, and her pendant still flying, which capt. Patton has struck, and brought to me on board. I believe she was the second ship in the line of 74 guns.

*A return of the killed and wounded in the action on the 5th of August, 1781.*

*Number of Men.*

<i>Ships names.</i>	<i>killed.</i>	<i>wounded.</i>	<i>total.</i>
Fortitude,	20	67	87
Bienfaisant,	6	21	27
Berwick,	18	58	76
Princess Amelia,	19	56	75
Preston,	10	40	50
Buffalo,	20	64	84
Dolphin,	11	33	44
	104	339	443

#### OFFICERS.

Fortitude. Lieutenants Waghorne, Harrington, Hinckley, the boatswain, and pilot, wounded.

Bienfaisant. Gunner wounded.

Berwick. Lieutenants Skipsey and Maxwell, Captain Campbell, and lieutenant Stewart, of marines, and six midshipmen, wounded; pilot and two midshipmen, killed.

Princess Amelia. Captain Macartney and gunner, killed; lieutenants Hill, Smith, and Legget, wounded.

Preston. Capt. Græme, and third lieutenant, wounded.

Buffalo. First lieutenant and boatswain, wounded.

Dolphin. Lieutenant Dalby, killed; boatswain wounded.

N. B. Lieutenant Rivett relates, that the homeward bound trade from the Baltick, consisting of upwards of 100 sail, proceeded on their way to England, under proper convoy, before the action began, and may be hourly expected. Admiral Parker's Squadron, at the time of action, consisted of the under-mentioned ships and frigates, viz.

<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>
74	Fortitude	{ Vice-Ad. Parker Capt. Robertson
80	Princess Amelia	Macartney
74	Berwick	Ferguson
64	Bienfaisant	Braithwaite
60	Buffalo	Truscott
50	Preston	Græme
44	Dolphin	Blair
40	Artois	M'Bride
38	Latona	Sir H. Parker
36	Belle Poule	Batton
32	Cleopatra	Murray
10	Surprize (cutter)	Lient. Rivett

*Whitehall, Aug. 10, 1781.*

*Copy of a letter from Peter Chester, Esq. late Governor of West-Florida, to Lord George Germain, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, dated Charles-Town, July 2, 1781.*

My Lord,

I had not an opportunity, before I left Pensacola, of writing to your lordship, to acquaint you of the entire surrender of West-Florida to the arms of Spain. The enemy appeared the 9th of March, and in a few days after entered the harbour of Pensacola. The whole particulars of the siege I must beg leave to defer till my arrival in England, which I hope will be soon, as I shall

F 3

embrace

embrace the next opportunity of sailing, either in the flag of truce that I came in from Pensacola, which is very leaky, and must be repaired before she can proceed to sea, or in the next packet, which ever is first ready. We were obliged to capitulate the 8th of May; the articles were signed the 9th. The capitulation would not have taken place so soon, had it not been from a very fatal accident on the morning of the 8th, by having our principal advanced work blown up by a shell which entered the magazine; many lives were lost; the few that remained unhurt spiked up the guns, and retreated to the fort. General Campbell thinking (as I imagine) that the rest of the works were not tenable against such a superior force, with so large a train of artillery, hoisted the white flag, and sent one of his aid-de-camps to the Spanish general to treat upon terms of capitulation, which I hope your lordship will think are as favourable as could be obtained in our distressed situation. Gen. Campbell, with captain Deans, of the navy, are sent to the Havannah; and major of brigade Campbell is ordered to New Orleans. The rest of the prisoners of war are gone for New-York, but were first to go to the Havannah for provisions.

I have the honour to be, &c.

PETER CHESTER.

*Extract of a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Balfour, commandant of Charleston in South Carolina, to Lord George Germain, dated Charles-Town, June 27, 1781.*

After the advantage gained by lord Rawdon, on the 25th of April, over Gen. Greene's army, of which your lordship was informed by my dispatch of the 1st ult. the general

state of this province rendering it expedient to relinquish the post at Camden, lord Rawdon therefore quitted that place, after having again offered battle to general Greene, who, secured in a strong position, behind Sawney Creek, could by no efforts be induced from it.

On the corps under lord Rawdon falling back towards this town, the enemy, by detachments, invested the posts at Motte's-House, Congarees, and Augusta, having previously taken that at Wright's Bluff. These posts, my lord, had been established for controlling the country, and preserving its communications. Unfortunately, from the superiority of the enemy, and the impossibility of immediate relief, as affairs were then circumstanced, these garrisons were obliged to surrender, though gallantly defended: however, I have the satisfaction, to inform your lordship, that the stores in them were but inconsiderable, and the troops have since been exchanged, under a cartel which has lately taken place between lord Cornwallis and major-general Greene, for the release of all prisoners of war in the southern district.

Having accomplished these smaller purposes, general Greene combined his force, and laid close siege to Ninety-six, the most commanding and important of all the posts in the back country, and which was therefore maintained by about three hundred and fifty men, exclusively of militia, and put under the charge of lieutenant-colonel Cruger, an able and zealous officer.

Thus circumstanced was this province, when a reinforcement of three regiments from Ireland arrived;

arrived; and, as soon as the necessary arrangements could be made, lord Rawdon, having under him a corps of near two thousand men, proceeded to the relief of Ninety-six: an undertaking, from the unfavourableness of the climate at this season, which your lordship knows must have been attended with many difficulties, and much fatigue; but which the zeal and exertion of the troops enabled them to surmount.

General Greene, on finding this corps approaching him, took the resolution of attempting to storm the garrison, as an expedient less dangerous and decisive than coming to action with lord Rawdon. On the morning of the 19th instant he therefore made the experiment; but by the gallantry of the troops was repulsed, having, as acknowledged by the enemy, at least seventy-five killed, and one hundred and fifty wounded. On this occasion, and during the siege, our loss was truly inconsiderable, though, at present, I am unable to specify to your lordship the particulars of it.

Thus disappointed in his views, general Greene the ensuing day, raised the siege, and retired with his army behind the Saluda, to a strong situation, within sixteen miles of Ninety-six, at which post lord Rawdon arrived on the 21st.

The essential service done by the troops under colonel Cruger, in his gallant defence of the post, which was closely pressed by the enemy, and the noble spirit with which they repelled the assault of all Greene's army, is much too obvious to require any tribute I could pay to such distinguished merit.

*Aug. 11.* This day an account was received at the admiralty, con-

tained in a letter from Sir Samuel Hood to admiral Rodney, of an engagement between the fleet under the command of the former, and the French fleet under the command of Monsieur de Grasse, on the 28th of April, 1781. Admiral Hood's squadron consisted of eighteen ships of the line, and the French of twenty-one. It was a kind of drawn battle, no ship being taken on either side. On board the English fleet 36 were killed, and 161 wounded.

24. On the 20th inst. the Sophia Albertina, a Swedish man of war of 72 guns, Johan Gustaaf Schiold, commander, convoy to a fleet of seven merchantmen bound to Cadiz, was wrecked on the Haaks on the coast of Holland, and of 554 men, of whom the crew consisted, only 26 were saved on pieces of the wreck.

The violence of the storm in which this ship perished was irresistible, and several Portuguese ships, as well as those of Holland and other nations, which happened to be on the coast at the same time, shared the same fate.

30. Yesterday a young grampus was caught in the Thames near London bridge.

## S E P T E M B E R.

4 Yesterday a desperate attempt was made by the prisoners in New Prison Clerkenwell, to overpower the keepers, and to make their escape. By means of notching knives one against another, they had made instruments with which they had sawed off their irons; and being furnished with hangers and clubs, they made an open attack upon the turnkey, wounded him, and would soon have dispatched him, had not the serjeant of the guards

that attends for the protection of the prison taken the alarm, and run to his assistance: three of the ring-leaders were shot dead upon the spot, and 12 others were wounded before the insurgents were subdued, who have been since more closely confined.

*East India House, Sept. 17, 1781.*

By accounts received over land from Bombay, dated the 31st of March and 30th of April, 1781, the East India Company are informed, that the terms offered to the Marattas for peace had not been accepted:

That every acquisition proposed by the government of Bombay to be made in the course of the war having been accomplished, they had taken measures, in concert with general Goddard, to confine their future operations to a mere plan of defence; to the security and preservation of those acquisitions, and of the company's other possessions; to the safety of Bombay; to the reduction of their extraordinary military charges; to rendering assistance, so far as in their power, to the Presidency of Fort St. George; for which purpose preparations was making to send back all the troops of that Presidency; and by which measure the army under general Coote would be considerably strengthened.

The last advices relative to the affairs of Fort St. George are also contained in the above letters from Bombay; and confirm accounts, that the French fleet left the coast of Coromandel in February, without landing any assistance for Hyder Ali, or doing any material damage. The position of general Coote's army, and his having burnt all the boats at Pondicherry, prevented the French from getting any supply of

provisions from the shore, for which they seemed much distressed.

The letter of the 31st of March states, that general Coote had retaken Carangoly, and the enemy withdrawn the troops, with which for many weeks they had been besieging Velore, Permacoil, and Wandiwash: that Hyder was also employed in removing his heavy cannon and stores from Arcot; but it then seemed to be the general opinion he would not withdraw his army without hazarding a battle.

The letter of the 30th of April states, that country intelligence, collected by Mr. Stewart at Goa, mentions Hyder having quitted the Carnatic.

The letter of the 30th of April concludes with an account of colonel Camac having gained a very complete victory over Mhadage Scindia. The colonel had been obliged to retreat, and was harassed for four days together by a very powerful army. After the fourth day's retreat, the colonel counter-marched a detachment from his army in the night, with which he got in the rear of the enemy, and attacked their camp, which was forced and plundered, and two guns, four elephants, and a large booty fell into his hands. Several accounts concur, that the enemy's loss amounted to 8000 men, and Scindia himself escaped with difficulty to Seronge, attended by only a few horsemen.

20. Yesterday the sessions ended at the Old Bailey, when seven prisoners were tried, four of whom were convicted of larceny, and three acquitted.

The trials being ended, 22 capital convicts received judgment of death.

27. Yef-

25. Yesterday there was a quarterly general court of proprietors of East India stock, at their house in Leadenhall-street, pursuant to their charter for calling quarterly courts.

As soon as the clerk had read over the minutes of the last meeting, the chairman acquainted the court that the quarterly accounts were prepared to be read to them, which the clerk accordingly read, and which stated all the several items of debtor and creditor of the company from the 1st of March to the 1st of September, 1781; when there appeared a balance in favour of the company of above 700,000*l.* besides nearly as much more in cash, which, by their late agreement with government, was to be reserved in the hands of the company for extraordinary exigencies.

### O C T O B E R.

10. Last night a dreadful fire broke out at Mr. Ballard's, hatter, near the New Church in the Strand, which burnt with the greatest fury, and speedily communicated to several other houses in the neighbourhood, which, consisting for the most part of lath, plaister, and timber, spread to Holywell-street, and burnt on, through the Five-Bells tavern, up to Wych-street. Notwithstanding the most indefatigable labour of several engines, and a great number of very active firemen, upwards of 30 houses were burnt. The iron-railing of the New Church in the Strand was broken down in several places by the fall of two of the houses.

15. This day capt. Duncan, of his majesty's frigate *Medea*, arrived at the Admiralty-office, from North-America, with an account of an action between the English fleet

under the command of rear-admiral Graves, and the French fleet under Monsi. du Barras, off Cape Henry, on the 6th of September, in which the *Terrible*, an English man of war of 74 guns, was so much damaged, that it was found necessary to destroy her. The English had 90 men killed in the action, and 246 wounded. The English fleet retired to New-York, and the French fleet anchored in the Chesapeake.

*St. James's, Oct. 15, 1781.*

Capt. Home, late captain of his majesty's ship *Romney*, dispatched from commodore Johnstone in the *Lark* sloop, arrived at the earl of Hillsborough's office, yesterday morning, with dispatches from the commodore, dated the 21st of August last, of which the following is an extract:

On the 12th of June we were in the latitude of 26: 9 S. and longitude 20: 24 deg. W. and here I detached the *Jason*, *Active*, *Rattlesnake*, and *Lark*, to precede the fleet, in order to gain intelligence.

On the 9th of July in the evening, being in the rendezvous given to the above-named ships, they joined us, together with the prize *Heldwoltemade*; a Dutch East-India ship, lately commanded by captain Vrolyk, bound to Ceylon, laden with stores and provisions, and about forty thousand pounds in bullion.

This prize, *Heldwoltemade*, had come last from Saldanha bay; she sailed the 28th of June: she struck to the *Active* on the 1st of July.

From Capt. Pigot I received a body of intelligence, digested by lieutenant d'Auvergne, a very promising young officer; it contained, as your lordship will observe, a certain account, that Monsi. Suffrein had arrived in False Bay, on the 21st of

of June, with his five ships of the line, and the greatest part of his transports, and that there were five Dutch East-India ships at anchor in the bay of Saldanha: I therefore resolved to enter that bay; I steered to the north of the harbour towards St. Martin's Point, otherwise called the bay of St. Helen's. I took the charge of pilotage on myself, and ran in shore under cover of the night, judging my distance by the lead; the weather was very foggy, and continued so till the morning of the 21st of July; the wind was at north-east. At eight o'clock in the morning we had a clear sight of the land, distance about four miles, and bore up for Saldanha Bay. We were forced to turn by traverses into the bay; nevertheless our arrival was so unexpected, and our movements so rapid, by carrying every sail we could bear, that the Dutch had just time to cut their cables, to loose their fore-top-sails, which were kept bent for this purpose, and to run their ships on shore, and set them on fire, as the Romney dropt anchor; but our boats boarded them so quickly, and our people behaved so gallantly, that the flames in all of them were soon extinguished, except in the Middleburg; she burnt with incredible fury, and, becoming light as she consumed, she got a-float when her masts tumbled, and had nearly drifted on board two of the other prizes: however, by an exertion of the boats of the squadron, she was towed off, stern foremost, in which the general in person assisted. The boats had not left the Middleburg ten minutes when she blew up close by the south point of Hotties Bay.

At this time also a boat was seen rowing to our ship, filled with people

in the eastern garb, making humble signs of submission: they proved to be the kings of Ternate and Tidore, with the princes of their respective families, whom the Dutch East-India company had long confined on Isle Robin, with different malefactors, but had lately removed them from that island to Saldanha.

Before midnight we had got all the prizes afloat, and next day we got them rigged and ready for sea, having got the principal sails from the hooker, which lay concealed under Schapin Island, where the sails had been lodged, in hopes we never should have discovered them.

This hooker had been seized by the Rattlesnake in surprize, according to my order in the disposition of attack.

The names of the prizes are:

	Guns.	Tons.
The Dankbaarheyt, captain Steetsfel, from Bengal,	24	1000
The Paerl, captain Plokkel, from China, — —	20	1100
The Hoocoop, captain Laud, from ditto,	20	1000
The Hoogearispel, captain Harmeyer, from ditto,	20	1100
The Middleburg, captain Van Geunip, which was burnt, came also from China,	24	1100

There were also two large hookers, which I could not conveniently bring away; and, to avoid leaving any marks of barbarity towards a settlement where our wants had been so often relieved, I would not permit them to be burnt or destroyed.

16. *Prague, Aug. 29.* Ten days ago this city was visited by the most dreadful storm in the memory of the oldest inhabitant. Incessant peals of thunder, accompanied by a heavy shower of hail, occasioned very considerable damage, several houses having been consumed by lightning, in different parts of the

the

the city, whilst the country round about was laid under water by the rain, which lasted about five hours, destroyed six houses, and carried off men, cattle, and three bridges; and the water, being at last drained off, above 200 dead bodies were found in and about the destroyed villages.

Another storm, no less tremendous and destructive, has laid waste several villages in Hungaria, especially that of Szeno Gratz, where above 80 houses were destroyed by lightning.

18. This morning the following malefactors were conveyed from Newgate to Tyburn, and executed there pursuant to their sentence, viz. Elizabeth Hatchet, Jane Fuller, and Mary Bond, for highway robberies, in the first cart; Henry Jones, John Bulkley, and Thomas Shenton, for highway robberies, in the second cart; Francis Waters, James, alias Mouldy Cloak, and John White, for highway robberies, in the third cart; John Stewart, and Charles Atkins, for the like offence, in the fourth cart; and John Burrows, for colouring base metal, so as to resemble shillings and six-pences, on a sledge; John Shepherd, for forgery, was indulged with a mourning coach, and was reprieved just as the executioner was about to tie the rope round his neck.

23. Yesterday the sessions ended at the Old Bailey, when seven convicts received sentence of death.

27. On Thursday last a very alarming fire broke out at Falmouth, by which 25 families were in a few hours reduced to the greatest distress. It began in a stable, in which five horses were burnt to death.

29. On the 22d inst. the young

Dauphin of France was baptized by the name of Louis Joseph Xavier François. The sponsors were the emperor and the princess of Piedmont, represented by the Count de Provence, and Madame Elizabeth.

31. Yesterday the commission for holding the Admiralty sessions at the Old Bailey, was opened and read, and William Payne and William Strange, were put upon their trial for piracy, being, as it was supposed, born in England, and found in arms against their country; and the fact being proved against Payne, he was found guilty, but Strange was acquitted for want of evidence.—Bills were, the same day, found against Luke Ryan and John Coppinger, for the like offence, but their trials were put off.

James Sweetman and Matthew Knight, were likewise tried for fighting against their country. They pleaded that they were compelled to enter, by the owners of a Dunkirk privateer, to whom they were indebted for large sums of money. They were, however, both found guilty.

## N O V E M B E R.

3. Yesterday, six prisoners were tried at the Admiralty Sessions in the Old Bailey; George Hunter, late captain, and William Townsend, first lieutenant of the Rover privateer, were tried for robbing the *Victoria*, a Venetian merchantship, on the High Seas, about seventy leagues from Cape St. Vincent, of a considerable quantity of goods. They were both acquitted: but were afterwards both tried for the murder of Girardo Silvestrini, the master of the said Venetian ship, who was killed by a shot from the

the privateer as she was making sail from them, after having been detained by the privateer for several hours. William Townsend was found guilty of the murder, and received sentence to be executed, and his body to be afterwards dissected.

4. On the 1st inst an express arrived from Bristol, with advice of the Vigilant packet, capt. Drake, being arrived there from Jamaica, which place she left the 6th of September. She brings intelligence of the homeward-bound fleet sailing from Port-Royal on the 20th, 21st, and 22d of August, in three divisions, under the convoy of the following ships: Princess Royal of 90 guns; Albion, Torbay, and Ramilies, of 74; Ruby and Prince William, of 64; and Janus of 44 guns, with several frigates.

The above packet brings the following relation of another violent hurricane, which came on there on the first of August last, from the southward, but soon after veered to different points of the compass: before nine it increased to a perfect hurricane, and continued to rage, with unabating fury, till near eleven, great part of the time blowing from the S. E. accompanied by a heavy and incessant rain; nor did the fury of the storm altogether subside till about two o'clock in the morning. The distressed situation of the shipping in the harbour may be better conceived than described: 73 sail of vessels, including sloops, schooners, and shallops, were on shore between Russel's huiks and the wharf of John Vernon, Esq. and co. and several others to the westward of the town, but being mostly light vessels, the greatest part of them either have been, or will be got off, though not with-

out considerable damage. The water in the harbour is supposed to have risen between four and five feet perpendicular, the plankings of the wharfs, in general, being torn up, and many heavy articles that were upon them entirely carried away; of Mess. Law and Hargreave's wharf, scarcely the vestiges remain. The greatest part of the returned fleet being at Port-Royal, the account from thence is still more deplorable; two loaded ships being either sunk or overset, and 24 run ashore between Salt-ponds and Musquito point.

Many houses and piazzas in this town were blown down, and two negroes found drowned in the streets, in which torrents of water for several hours ran down with great rapidity.

His majesty's ship Pelican was driven upon Morant key, and supposed to be totally lost; the ship's company, excepting four, were providentially saved; she parted with the Comet packet to the northward of the Navassa the preceding day.

His majesty's ship Southampton, after having had an engagement with a French frigate off Cape François, was, by the late storm, dismasted, and driven to Wreck Riff, to the leeward of Port Royal, where she now remains; the Vaughan, and several other vessels, are gone to her assistance.

The storm very unfortunately proves to have been general throughout the island, though not equally violent: in Westmoreland, St. Ann's, and St. Mary's, the canes have received considerable damage, and the plantane walks, which were exposed to the south-east, have almost universally been blown down, from which it is evident the wind

raged

raged with the greatest fury from that point of the compass.

*Whitehall, Nov. 6, 1781.*

Lieutenant-colonel Conway, who sailed from New-York the 1st of last month, in the Duke of Cumberland packet, arrived at this office on the evening of the 3d curt. with dispatches from Sir Henry Clinton, to the right honourable lord George Germain, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, of which the following are extracts :

*Extract of a Letter from Sir Henry Clinton, to lord George Germain, dated New-York, September 7, 1781.*

In my dispatch of the 20th of August, I had the honour to inform your lordship, that general Washington had suddenly quitted his camp at White-Plains: I have now that of communicating to you his subsequent movements.

He passed the Groton on the 19th ult. taking a station within a few miles of it. On the 23d and 24th, he crossed the north river, and, by the position he took, seemed to threaten Staten Island, until the 29th, when he suddenly moved towards the Delaware. At first I judged this to be a feint; but finding that he passed that river with some of his avant guard, and publicly talked of the Comte de Grasse's being every moment expected in the Chesapeak to co-operate with him, I immediately endeavoured, both by land and water, to communicate my suspicions to lord Cornwallis; at the same time assuring his lordship, that I would either reinforce him by every possible means in my power, or make the best diversion I could in his favour.

As rear-admiral Graves failed from hence with his own and Sir

Samuel Hood's Squadron, the 31st ult. in consequence of the intelligence received respecting the Rhode Island fleet, as mentioned to your lordship in my last dispatch; and as lord Cornwallis, in his letters of the 31st ult. and 2d curt. which I received on the 4th, and yesterday, informs me, that the Count de Grasse was in the Chesapeak with a considerable armament, I am in hourly expectation of hearing that rear-admiral Graves has either intercepted Barras, or attacked the fleet in the bay, or perhaps both. In the mean time I have embarked 4000 troops, with which I shall instantly proceed myself to relieve lord Cornwallis, as soon as I know the passage to him is open.

*Extract of a Letter from Sir Henry Clinton, to lord George Germain, dated New-York, Sept. 26, 1781.*

The day after I had closed my dispatch of the 12th curt. I received a letter from the admiral, dated the 9th, to inform me that the enemy being absolutely masters of the navigation of the Chesapeak, there was little probability of any thing getting into York River but by night, and an infinite risk to any supplies sent by water; at the same time acquainting me, that he had on the 5th a partial action with the French fleet of 24 sail of the line, and that the two fleets had been in fight of each other ever since; which making it inexpedient to send off the reinforcement immediately, under such dangerous circumstances, I thought it right to call a council of the general officers on the subject, who unanimously concurred with me in opinion, that it was most advisable to wait until more favourable accounts from rear-admiral Graves, or the arrival of admiral Digby.

rendering the sailing of the reinforcement less hazardous: but our fleet having arrived at the Hook on the 19th, a council of war, composed of the flag and general officers, was assembled as soon as possible, the minutes of which will inform your lordship that the exertions of both fleet and army shall be made to form a junction with the Squadron and army in Virginia. Rear-admiral Digby arrived off the Hook the 24th.

19. On Saturday last, William Townshend, late lieutenant of the Rover privateer of Bristol, was executed at Execution Dock for the wilful murder of capt. Giralmo Silvestini, of the *Victoria*, a Venetian ship, by ordering a gun to be fired into the vessel, which killed the captain. He acknowledged the gun to be fired by his order, but without the least intention to kill any body. He behaved with great penitence.

*Hague, Nov. 24.* The emperor's accession to the armed neutrality was signed at Petersburg the 31st of October by the minister plenipotentiary of his imperial and royal apostolic majesty.

## D E C E M B E R.

4. This day William Payne, James Sweetman, and Matthew Knight, were carried in a cart from Newgate, and hanged at Execution-Dock, for robberies and piracies committed by them on the high seas.

*St. James's, Dec. 4.* By letters from the hon. lieutenant-general Murray, dated St. Philip's Castle, the 12th and 13th of November, information is received, that the duke de Crillon took post at Cape Mole in such a manner as to put it

in the power of the garrison to chase him from thence: and although his whole army advanced to dislodge the troops, they were able to maintain their ground; and when the enemy saw their disposition, they were contented not to attack them, so that they retired quietly into the fort, with 100 prisoners, including a lieutenant-colonel, three captains, and five subaltern officers, having suffered no other loss than one man killed upon the spot, and two who are since dead of their wounds;—that the enemy opened their mortar batteries on the 11th of November, and on the 13th had not damaged a single article, one carriage of a six pounder excepted:—that the enemy's powder magazine, behind Turk's Mount, had been blown up by one of the shells from the castle, by which the mortar battery of the enemy was destroyed; and it was presumed, that their loss of men must be considerable, as a great many were blown up, and a great number of shells burst at the same time: and that the artillery of the castle, which is excellent, had sometime before sunk, at the quay of George-Town a vessel laden with ammunition and stores for the enemy's batteries, which must be a great loss and retardment to them.

11. Yesterday the sessions at the Old Bailey, which began on Wednesday the 5th, ended, when Geo. Townshend, for horse-stealing; Hannah Brown, for robbing the house where she was servant, of laces and other effects to a considerable amount; and Charles Pratt, for a highway robbery, received sentence of death. At this sessions Mr. William Moore was tried for publishing a certain inflammatory paper, intitled 'England in Blood,'

Blood,' and recommending a certain paper then shortly to be printed, intitled 'The Thunderer,' tending to inflame his majesty's subjects against the peace and good government of the kingdom, and dispersed on the memorable night of the 6th of June, when the rioters were proceeding to destroy the gaol of Newgate, and fined 5s. and sentenced to suffer twelve months imprisonment in Newgate.

19. Yesterday dispatches arrived from rear-admiral Kempenfelt, informing the lords of the admiralty, that he had met with a large French fleet, consisting of nineteen ships of the line, besides frigates, and having a number of vessels, laden with troops and stores, under their convoy, on the 12th of December, Ushant then bearing north 61 east, distant 35 leagues. The English fleet, consisting only of 12 sail of the line and some frigates, admiral Kempenfelt did not think it advisable to hazard an action, but took fourteen of the French transports, laden with artillery and ordnance stores, and which had on board upwards of 1000 troops.

*East-India House, Dec. 17.*

Yesterday the following advices were received over land from the East-Indies:

*Extract of a letter from the chief and factors at Anjengo, to the Court of Directors of the East-India Company, dated the 6th of Aug. 1781.*

"This morning the Star Cruiser, from Bombay, having called here on her way to Bassorah, we embrace the opportunity of communicating to your honours the pleasing intelligence of Sir Eyre Coote having entirely defeated the army of Hyder Ali Cawn, in a general engagement between Porto Novo and

Mooteapollam, on the 1st day of last month, the particulars of which your honours will be fully informed of by the accompanying extract of a letter from Sir Eyre Coote, to colonel Braithwaite, at Tanjore, dated the 6th ult.

*Extract of a letter from Sir Eyre Coote, to colonel Braithwaite, dated the 6th of July, 1781, referred to in the above letter.*

"The 3d curt. I had the pleasure to acquaint you of the success of our little army in a general action on the 1st curt. with Hyder Ali, between Porto Novo and Mooteapollam: it lasted eight hours, and was a hard fought day on both sides. The enemy's force consisted of twenty-five battalions of infantry, 400 Europeans, from 40 to 50,000 horse, and above 100,000 matchlock men, Peons, and Polygars, with 47 pieces of cannon, well served. Our second line having occupied some heights, by which our rear was secured, I advanced with the first towards the enemy's guns, many of which, had we had a body of cavalry, must have fallen into our hands. They made repeated attempts to force us with their horse, and kept up a brisk cannonade, which for a long time our heavy fire could not silence. Yielding at length to the steadiness, spirit, and bravery of our comparatively small number of troops, they retreated precipitately, and left us masters of the field. Meer Saib received a mortal wound; and among 4000 killed are many of the principal officers. On our side we lost very few officers, and only three or four hundred killed and wounded. You will be pleased to communicate this fortunate event to all the southern garrisons."

*Annals*

*Extract of a letter from the Select Committee at Bombay, dated July 28, 1781.*

“ We have given orders for dispossessing the Dutch of their factories at Broach in Surar. We have had advice of the latter being effected, and have reason to believe a considerable property will be found belonging to the Dutch East-India Company, which shall be secured for the benefit of the English East-India Company.”

*Whitehall, December 18, 1781.*

*Extract of a letter from Sir Henry Clinton to the right hon. lord Geo. Germain, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state; received, on the 16th instant, by lord Dalrymple, who arrived in the Swallow packet, which left New-York the 17th of November.*

*New-York, Nov. 13, 1781.*

My Lord,

In my last dispatch I had the honour to acquaint your lordship with my fears respecting the fate of the army in Virginia.

It now gives me the deepest concern to inform you that they were too well founded, as your lordship will perceive by lord Cornwallis's letter to me of the 20th ult. a copy of which, and the papers accompanying it, being inclosed for your information.

Had it been possible for the fleet to have sailed from hence at the time it was first imagined they would have been able to do, I have not the least doubt that lord Cornwallis would have been relieved, by the joint exertions of the navy and army; and I therefore cannot sufficiently lament that they could not have been made sooner.

Your lordship will be informed by lord Cornwallis's letter to me (a copy of which accompanies the

dispatch) of the force that was opposed to his lordship in Virginia; besides which, by rebel accounts, which I have the honour to inclose for your lordship's information, general Greene seems still to have an army acting in that quarter; and there are at this instant above 3000 continental troops at West-Point and its vicinity.

My dispatches will be delivered to your lordship by lord Dalrymple: and I cannot part with his lordship without testifying to you the high opinion I have of his merit, and my entire approbation of his conduct since he has been on this service, acting as one of my aids-de-camp, having always shewn the greatest attention to me, and highly distinguished his spirit by attending as a volunteer upon every expedition and excursion which have taken place since his being here.

*Copy of a letter from lieutenant-general earl Cornwallis, to Sir Henry Clinton, dated York-Town, in Virginia, Oct. 20, 1781.*

S I R,

I have the mortification to inform your excellency, that I have been forced to give up the posts of York and Gloucester, and to surrender the troops under my command, by capitulation, on the 19th, as prisoners of war, to the combined forces of America and France.

I never saw this post in a very favourable light; but when I found I was to be attacked in it, in so unprepared a state, by so powerful an army and artillery, nothing but the hopes of relief would have induced me to attempt its defence: for I would either have endeavoured to escape to New-York, by rapid marches, from the Gloucester side, immediately on the arrival of general

neral Washington's troops at Williamsburgh, or I would, notwithstanding the disparity of numbers, have attacked them in the open field, where it might have been just possible, that fortune would have favoured the gallantry of the handful of troops under my command: but being assured by your excellency's letters, that every possible means would be tried by the navy and army to relieve us, I could not think myself at liberty to venture on either of those desperate attempts: therefore, after remaining two days in a strong position in front of this place, in hopes of being attacked, upon observing that the enemy were taking measures which could not fail of turning my left flank in a short time, and receiving on the second evening your letter of the 24th of September, informing me that the relief would sail about the 5th of October, I withdrew within the works on the night of the 29th of September, hoping by the labour and firmness of the soldiers, to protract the defence until you could arrive.

Every thing was to be expected from the spirit of the troops, but every disadvantage attended their labour, as the works were to be continued under the enemy's fire, and our stock of intrenching tools, which did not much exceed 400, when we began to work in the latter end of August, was now much diminished.

The enemy broke ground on the night of the 30th, and constructed, on that night and the two following days and nights, two redoubts, which, with some works that had belonged to our outward position, occupied a gorge between two creeks or ravines, which come from the river on each side of the town.

1781.

On the night of the 6th of October they made their first parallel, extending from its right on the river, to a deep ravine on the left, nearly opposite to the center of this place, and embracing our whole left, at the distance of 600 yards. Having perfected this parallel, their batteries opened on the evening of the 9th against our left, and other batteries fired at the same time against a redoubt advanced over the creek upon our right, and defended by about 120 men of the 23d regiment, and marines, who maintained that post with uncommon gallantry. The fire continued incessant from heavy cannon, and from mortars and howitzers, throwing shells from eight to sixteen inches, until all our guns on the left were silenced, our works much damaged, and our loss of men considerable. On the night of the 11th they began their second parallel, about 300 yards nearer to us. The troops being much weakened by sickness, as well as by the fire of the besiegers, and observing that the enemy had not only secured their flanks, but proceeded in every respect with the utmost regularity and caution, I could not venture so large sorties as to hope from them any considerable effect; but otherwise I did every thing in my power to interrupt this work, by opening new embrasures for guns, and keeping up a constant fire with all the howitzers and small mortars that we could man. On the evening of the 14th they assailed and carried two redoubts that had been advanced about 300 yards, for the purpose of delaying their approaches, and covering our left flank, and, during the night, included them in their second parallel, on which  
they

(G)

they continued to work with the utmost exertion. Being perfectly sensible that our works could not stand many hours after the opening of the batteries of that parallel, we not only continued a constant fire with all our mortars, and every gun that could be brought to bear upon it, but a little before day-break on the morning of the 16th, I ordered a sortie of about 350 men under the direction of lieutenant-colonel Abercromby, to attack two batteries which appeared to be in the greatest forwardness, and to spike the guns. A detachment of guards with the 80th company of grenadiers, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Lake, attacked the one; and one of light infantry, under the command of major Armstrong, attacked the other; and both succeeded, by forcing the redoubts that covered them, spiking 11 guns, and killing or wounding about 100 of the French troops who had the guard of that part of the trenches, and with little loss on our side. This action, though extremely honourable to the officers and soldiers who executed it, proved of little public advantage; for the cannon having been spiked in a hurry, were soon rendered fit for service again, and before dark the whole parallel and batteries appeared to be nearly complete. At this time we knew that there was no part of the whole front attacked, in which we could shew a single gun, and our shells were nearly expended. I had therefore only to chuse between preparing to surrender next day, or endeavouring to get off with the greatest part of the troops; and I determined to attempt the latter, reflecting that though it should prove unsuccessful in its immedi-

ate object, it might at least delay the enemy in the prosecution of farther enterprizes. Sixteen large boats were prepared, and upon other pretexts were ordered to be in readiness to receive troops precisely at ten o'clock: with these I hoped to pass the infantry during the night, abandoning our baggage, and leaving a detachment to capitulate for the town's people and for the sick and wounded; on which subject a letter was ready to be delivered to general Washington. After making my arrangements with the utmost secrecy, the light infantry, the greatest part of the guards, and part of the 23d regiment, embarked at the hour appointed, and most of them landed at Gloucester; but at this critical moment, the weather, from being moderate and calm, changed to a most violent storm of wind and rain, and drove all the boats, some of which had troops on board, down the river. It was soon evident that the intended passage was impracticable, and the absence of the boats rendered it equally impossible to bring back the troops that had passed, which I had ordered about two o'clock in the morning. In this situation, with my little force divided, the enemy's batteries opened at day-break. The passage between this place and Gloucester was much exposed; but the boats having now returned, they were ordered to bring back the troops that had passed during the night, and they joined us in the forenoon without much loss. Our works in the mean time were going to ruin; and not having been able to strengthen them by abatis, nor in any other manner than by a slight fraizing, which the enemy's artillery were demolishing wherever they

they fired, my opinion entirely coincided with that of the engineer and principal officers of the army, that they were in many parts very assailable in the forenoon, and that by the continuance of the same fire for a few hours longer, they would be in such a state as to render it desperate, with our numbers, to attempt to maintain them. \* We at that time could not fire a single gun; only one eight inch, and little more than one hundred cohorn shells remained: a diversion by the French ships of war, that lay at the mouth of North River, was to be expected; our numbers had been diminished by the enemy's fire, but particularly by sickness; and the strength and spirits of those in the works were much exhausted by the fatigue of constant watching and unremitting duty. Under all these circumstances, I thought it would have been wanton and inhuman to the last degree to sacrifice the lives of this small body of gallant soldiers, who had ever behaved with so much fidelity and courage, by exposing them to an assault, which from the numbers and precautions of the enemy, could not fail to succeed. I therefore proposed to capitulate; and I have the honour to inclose to your excellency the copy of the correspondence between general Washington and me on that subject, and the terms of capitulation agreed upon. I sincerely lament that better could not be obtained; but I have neglected nothing to alleviate the misfortunes and distress of both officers and soldiers. The men are well clothed and provided with necessaries, and I trust will be regularly supplied, by the means of the officers that are permitted to remain with them. The treatment

in general that we have received from the enemy, since our surrender, has been perfectly good and proper; but the kindness and attention that has been shewn to us by the French officers in particular, their delicate sensibility of our situation, their generous and pressing offers of money, both public and private, to any amount, has really gone beyond what I can possibly describe, and will, I hope, make an impression on the breast of every British officer, whenever the fortune of war shall put any of them into our power.

Although the event has been so unfortunate, the patience of the soldiers in bearing the greatest fatigues, and their firmness and intrepidity under a persevering fire of shot and shells that I believe has not often been exceeded, deserved the highest commendation and praise.

A successful defence, however, in our situation was perhaps impossible; for the place could only be reckoned an entrenched camp, subject in most places to enfilade, and the ground in general so disadvantageous that nothing but the necessity of fortifying it as a post to protect the navy could have induced any person to erect works upon it: our force diminished daily by sickness, and other losses, and was reduced, when we offered to capitulate, on this side, to little more than 3,200 rank and file fit for duty, including officers, servants and artificers; and at Gloucester about 600, including cavalry. The enemy's army consisted of upwards of 8000 French, nearly as many continentals, and 5000 militia. They brought an immense train of heavy artillery, most amply furnished with ammunition, and perfectly well manned.

manned. The constant and universal cheerfulness and spirit of the officers, in all hardship and danger, deserve my warmest acknowledgments; and I have been particularly indebted to brigadier-general O'Hara and to lieutenant-colonel Abercromby, the former commanding on the right, and the latter on the left, for their attention and exertion on every occasion. The detachment of the 23d regiment and marines, in the redoubt on the right, commanded by captain Apthorpe, and the subsequent detachments commanded by lieutenant-colonel Johnson, deserve particular commendation. Capt. Rochfort, who commanded the artillery, and indeed every officer and soldier of that distinguished corps, and lieutenant Sutherland, the commanding engineer, have merited, in every respect, my highest approbation; and I cannot sufficiently acknowledge my obligations to capt. Symonds, who commanded his majesty's ships, and to the other officers and seamen of the navy, for their zealous and active co-operation.

I transmit returns of our killed and wounded: the loss of seamen and town's people was likewise considerable.

I trust that your Excellency will please to hasten the return of the Bonetta, after landing her passengers, in compliance with the article of capitulation.

Lieutenant-colonel Abercromby will have the honour to deliver this dispatch, and is well qualified to explain to your excellency every particular relating to our past and present situation.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) CORNWALLIS.

*Total of the killed, wounded, and missing of the following corps, from the 28th of September to the 19th of October, 1781.*

2 Captains, 4 lieutenants, 13 serjeants, 4 drummers, 133 rank and file killed.—5 Lieutenants, 1 Ensign, 24 serjeants, 11 drummers, 285 rank and file, wounded.—1 major, 1 captain, 1 subaltern, 3 serjeants, 63 rank and file, missing.

*Officers killed and wounded.*

Hon. major Cochrane, acting aid de camp to lord Cornwallis, killed.

Light infantry.—Lieutenant Campbell, 74th company, killed. Lieut. Lytser, 63d ditto, wounded, since dead. Lieut. Dunn, 63d ditto, wounded, since dead. Lieut. Lightburne, 37th ditto, wounded.

23d Regiment.—Lieuts. Mair and Guyon killed.

33d Regiment.—Captain Kerr killed; Lieut. Curson, wounded.

71st Regiment.—Lieut. Fraser killed.

76th Regiment.—Lieut. Robertson wounded.

Captain Rall killed.—Ensign Sprangenberg wounded. Commissary Perkins killed.

(Signed)

J. DESPARD, dep. adj. gen.

Letters from general Elliot, governor of Gibraltar, dated Nov. 28, and received Dec. 27, advise, that an attempt to storm and destroy the whole of the enemy's advanced works, which were arrived at the highest state of perfection after immense labour and expence, appearing probable, it was judged expedient to carry the same into immediate execution. A considerable detachment was accordingly

formed in three columns, and marched from the garrison upon the setting of the moon, at three o'clock in the morning on the 27th. The columns were severally composed of an advanced corps, a body of pioneers, artillery men carrying combustibles, and a sustaining corps, with a reserve in the rear. The pioneers of the left column were seamen.

The vigorous efforts of his majesty's troops on every part of the exterior front were irresistible; and the enemy, after a scattering fire of short duration, gave way on all sides, and abandoned their stupendous works with great precipitation. The pioneers and artilleryists made wonderful exertions, and spread their fire with such amazing rapidity, that in half an hour two mortar batteries of ten thirteen-inch mortars, and three batteries of six guns each, with all the lines of approach, communication, traverse, &c. were in flames, and are reduced to ashes. The mortars and cannon were spiked, and their beds, carriages, and platforms destroyed. Their magazines blew up, one after another, as the fire approached them.

The enemy, seeing all opposition to be ineffectual, offered no other resistance than an ill-directed fire of round and grape shot from the forts of St. Barbara and St. Philipe, and the batteries on the lines, and remained in their camp spectators of the conflagration.

The whole detachment was in the garrison again by five o'clock, just before break of day, and the loss which they had sustained in this spirited and successful exertion against the enemy was very inconsiderable.

# BIRTHS for the Year 1781.

*Jan.* 14. The lady of sir J. Thorold, bart. was brought to bed of a son.

The queen of France, of a dauphin.

31. The lady of the right hon. the earl of Traquair, of a son and heir.

*Feb.* 22. The lady of William Praed, esq; of twins.

26. The lady of lord Carlow, of the kingdom of Ireland, of a son.

*March* 6. The lady of sir And. Hammond, of a daughter.

*April* 9. Lady Abingdon, of a son and heir.

13. Lady Hope, of a son, at Pinky-house, Scotland.

*May* — The consort of the archduke Ferdinand, of a son, at Milan.

The lady of sir Edward Astley, of a son.

*July* 12. Lady Cadogan, of a daughter.

*August* 4. The lady of the right hon. sir Richard Worsley, bart. of a daughter.

5. The lady of the earl of Radnor, of a son.

22. The lady of lord Stormont, of a son.

*Sept.* 22. Lady Bagot, of a son.

*Oct.* — The lady of lord Weymouth, of a daughter.

Lady Paget, of a daughter.

The lady of sir Harbord Harbord, bart. of a son.

*Nov.* 26. Countess of Harrington, of a son.

*Dec.* 8. Countess of Shelburne, of a daughter.

10. Lady Grantham, of a son and heir.

25. Countess of Percy, of a daughter.

Countess of Carlisle, of a son, at Dublin-Castle.

### MARRIAGES *for the year 1781.*

Jan. 17. The rev. Dr. Josiah Tucher, dean of Gloucester, to Mrs. Crowe, of Gloucester.

25. Sir Jas. Hereford, of Suston-Court, co. Hereford, to Mrs. Fra. Hopton, of Worcester.

31. At Lambeth-chapel, Geo. Ward, esq; nephew of general Ward, and captain in lord Amherst's troop of horse-grenadier guards, to Miss Madan, daughter of the rev. Dr. Madan and niece of earl Cornwallis.

According to the Jewish rites and customs, Wolf Joseph, esq; an eminent Jew merchant, of George-street, to Miss Hannah Turk, daughter of Isaac Turk, esq. On this occasion above 400 invitation cards were sent for dinner, and more than 50 carriages attended to the synagogue.

In Dublin, the right hon. the earl of Lanesborough, to Miss Latouche.

March 6. The hon. lord Althorpe, son of earl Spencer, to Miss Bingham, daughter of lord Lucan.

Sir Thomas Jones, knt. to Miss Fitzgerald, daughter of lady Fitzgerald.

10. Lord Mahon to Miss Grenville, daughter to the right hon. George Grenville, and sister to the present earl Temple.

John Warde, esq; of Squirries, in Kent, to the hon. Miss Grimston, sister to the right hon. lord viscount Grimston.

27. At Canterbury, the rev. Richard Sandys, vicar of Reculver, to the right hon. lady Frances Ali-

cia Aflong, relict of William Aflong, esq. and youngest sister to the earl of Tankerville.

April 7. Major Arch. Erskine, to Mrs. Ogilvy, widow of the late Charles Ogilvy, esq; and niece to the earl of Lauderdale.

9. The Rev. Dr. Richardson, one of the minor canons of Durham Cathedral, to Miss Eden, youngest sister to sir John Eden, bart.

10. Andrew Drummond, esq; to lady Mary Percival, eldest daughter of lady Egmont.

12. Captain Rodney, of the guards, son of sir G. B. Rodney, to Miss Harley, daughter of the right hon. Thomas Harley.

The Rev. Mr. Waddilove, residentiary of Ripon, and rector of Cherry Burton, Yorkshire, to Miss Hope Grant, sister to sir James Grant, bart.

May 19. John Edward Maddocks, esq; to Miss Francis Perryn, youngest daughter of Mr. baron Perryn.

20. The right hon. lord Audley, to Miss Delaval.

25. Mr. Croft, son of Richard Croft, esq; of Pall-Mall, to Miss Smythson, daughter of sir J. Smythson, bart.

26. John Henderson, esq; M. P. son of sir Robert Henderson, bart. to Miss Robertson, daughter of general Robertson, governor of New-York.

June 2. Rev. Henry Jenkin, rector of Ufford, co. Northampton, to the hon. Miss Aug. Evelyn.

14. John Turner, Esq; youngest son of the late sir Edward Turner, bart. to Miss Dryden, niece of the late sir John Dryden, bart.

16. John Vaughan, esq; knight of the shire for the co. Caermarthen,

then, to Miss Maude, daughter of Sir Cornwallis Maude, bart.

The hon. captain Shirley, son of lord Ferrers, to Miss Ward, niece to lord viscount Dudley.

23. Arthur Knox, esq; to lady Mary Brabazon, eldest daughter of the earl of Meath.

*July* 12. William Lowther, esq; eldest son of Sir William Lowther, bart. of Swillington, in Yorkshire, to lady Augusta Fane, daughter of the late earl of Westmoreland.

13. James Croxton, esq; of Chester, to Miss Emma Warburton, youngest sister of Sir Peter Warburton, of Arley, bart.

Thomas Bond, esq; of Wimbledon, Surrey, to Miss Bewicke, daughter of the late Sir Robert Bewicke.

*July* 25. Sir George Collier, bart. to Miss Fryer, daughter of William Fryer, esq; and niece to Mr. Baring.

27. The hon. Horatio Walpole, eldest son of lord Walpole, to Miss Churchill, daughter of Charles Churchill, esq; of Grosvenor-street.

*Aug.* 11. Strickland Freeman, esq; son of John Freeman, Esq; of Chute Lodge, to Miss Strickland, daughter of Sir George Strickland, bart. of Boynton, in the co. York.

15. Sir Peter Warburton, bart. to Miss Alice Parker, second daughter of the Rev. Mr. Parker.

27. The hon. Geo. Napier, to the right hon. lady Sarah Lenox.

28. Signor Zucchi, to Mrs. Angelica Kauffman, the celebrated paintress.

*Sept.* — Sir Foster Cunliffe, of Saughton, bart. to Miss Harriot Kinloch, daughter of Sir David Kinloch, of Gilmerton, bart.

*Oct.* 3. The hon Henry Neville, eldest son of the right hon. George,

lord Abergavenny, to Miss Robinson, only daughter of John Robinson of Sion Hill, in the co. Middlesex, esq;

8. Mr. George Burfey, of Basinghall-street, attorney-at-law, to Miss Bewicke, of Boxley-Abbey, daughter of the late Sir Robert Bewicke, of Closehouse, in the co. Northumberland.

12. Sir Frederick Reynolds, knt. of Hatfield in Hertfordshire, to Miss Maria Townshend, of Hatton Garden.

14. At Aberdeen, Mr. William Lumfden, clerk of the signet, to Miss Anne Gordon, eldest daughter of Sir Alexander Gordon, of Lessimore, bart.

18. Sir Jenkinson Gordon, of Hertford-street, to Miss Hatton, of Northamptonshire.

John Drew, esq; banker, at Chichester, to lady Frankland, of that city.

27. Col. Herbert, of Killarney, in the kingdom of Ireland, to the hon. Miss Sackville, second daughter of lord George Germain.

25. The hon. Mr. Irby, brother to lord Boston, to Miss Gladman, of Savile-row.

30. N. Vincent, esq; of Berkley-square, to Miss Mary Clarges, sister to Sir Thomas Clarges, bart.

Lord viscount Turnour, son of the earl of Winterton, to Miss Chapman, daughter of Richard Chapman, esq;

*Nov.* 8. vice-admiral Duff, of Logie, to Mrs. Morison, of Haddo, daughter of the late general Abercromby.

9. Sir Thomas Turner Slingsby, bart. to Miss Mary Slingsby.

*Dec.* 3. The right hon. the earl of Aylesford, to Miss Louisa Thynne, eldest daughter of lord viscount Weymouth.

In Ireland, Thomas Hughes, esq; of Tipperary, to Miss Dorothea Newenham, daughter of sir Edward Newenham, bart.

# PROMOTIONS *in the Year 1781.*

*Jan. 9.* John Macpherson, esq. to be one of the counsellors of the governor general and council of the presidency of Fort William in Bengal, vice Richard Barwell, esq.

10. Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, promoted from being rear-admiral of the red, to be vice-admiral of the blue; and admiral Kempenfelt, rear-admiral of the blue.

20. Dr. Richard Woodward, dean of St. Macartin Clogher, to the bishoprick of Cloyne.

Rev. William Cecil Perry, M. A. dean of Derry, to the united bishopricks of Killala and Achonry.

William Dean Poyntz, esq. paymaster of the British forces in America.

John Bell, esq. under secretary of state to the earl of Hillsborough.

Walter Farquharson, esq. first commissioner of the office for sick and wounded seamen, and exchange of prisoners.

Marquis of Graham, chancellor of the University of Glasgow.

Captain Wallis, a commissioner of the navy.

Henry Partridge, judge of the Isle of Ely.

Herbert Lloyd, esq. his majesty's chamberlain and chancellor in the counties of Carmarthen, Pembroke, and Cardigan, and of the towns and boroughs of Carmarthen and Haverford West.

Rev. Thomas Ireland, D. D. to a prebend in the cathedral church of Wells, vice Mr. Archdeacon Walker, deceased.

Rev. Dr. George Jubb, regius professor of Hebrew, and Canon of Christ church, Oxford, chancellor of the church of York.

*Feb. 17.* The dignity of a viscount of the kingdom of Great Britain unto the right hon. George lord Edgumbe, and his heirs male, by the name, stile and title, of viscount Mount Edgumbe and Valletort.

The rev. John Hallam, doctor in divinity, one of his majesty's chaplains in ordinary, dean of the cathedral church of Bristol, vice Dr. Cutts Barton, deceased.

Montagu Burgoyne, esq. to be a commissioner for victualling his majesty's navy, vice his father, Sir Roger Burgoyne, bart. deceased.

Captain John Gore (the gentleman who went out with captain Clerk in the Resolution man of war, on a voyage round the world, and on whom the command of the Resolution devolved on the death of Mr. Clerk) to be a captain in Greenwich hospital.

*March 3.* Ralph Heathcote, esq. to be his majesty's minister plenipotentiary at the court of the elector of Cologne, in the room of George Cressengaer, esq. deceased.

William Browne, esq. to be governor of the Bermuda or Summer islands in America, in the room of J. G. Bruere, esq. deceased.

24. The dignity of a baronet of the kingdom of Great Britain unto the following gentlemen, and their heirs, viz. Sir Robert Barker, knt. of Busbridge, in the county of Surry; Joseph Banks, esq. of Revsby-Abbey, in the county of Lincoln; John Ingilby, esq. of Ripley, in the West-Riding of the county of York; Alexander Crauford, esq. of Kilburney, in North Britain; Valentine Richard Quin, esq.

esq. of Adair, county of Limerick, in Ireland; William Lewis André, esq. (captain in his majesty's 26th reg. of foot) of Southampton, county of Southampton; Francis Sykes, esq. of Bafildon, county of Berks; John Coghill, esq. of Richings, county of Buckingham; and John Mosley esq. of Ancoats, county of Lancaster.

*April 12.* Thomas Shirley, esq. to be captain general and governor in chief of the Leeward Caribbee islands in America, in the room of William Matthew Burt, esq. deceased.

The rev. Edward Emily, A. M. to be dean of Derry, vacant by the promotion of the right rev. Dr. William Perry to the bishoprick of Killala.

Admiral Marlow, to be rear-admiral of the white.—General Clarke to be lieutenant-governor of Quebec.—Admiral Sir Thomas Pye, lieutenant-general of the marines, in the room of Sir Hugh Palliser.

*May 1.* The earl of Dalhousie, to be his majesty's high commissioner to the general assembly of the church of Scotland.

Rev. Dr. Hurd, bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, to be clerk of the closet to his majesty.

12. Rev. father in God Brownlow North, bishop of Worcester, to be bishop of Winchester, vice Dr. Thomas, deceased.

Lieutenant-colonel Musgrave, of the 40th reg. of foot, lieutenant-governor of Stirling-Castle.

Sir Chaloner Ogle, to be a rear-admiral of the blue.

John Topham, esq. of Gray's-Inn, to be one of the deputy-keepers of the state papers, in the room of Sir Joseph Ayloffe, bart. deceased.

*June 9.* The rev. Dr. Richard

Hurd, bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, to the see of Worcester.

12. John Ingilby, of Ripley, in the West Riding of the county of York, raised to the dignity of a baronet.

26. The rev. Dr. Joseph Mac Cormick, to be principal of the united college of St. Salvator and St. Leonard, in the University of St. Andrews, vacant by the death of the rev. Dr. Robert Watson.

*July 21.* The right rev. father in God Dr. James Yorke, now bishop of Gloucester, to be bishop of Ely, vice Dr. Edmund Keene, deceased.

The hon. James Cornwallis, doctor of laws, to be bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, vice Dr. Hurd, translated.

The rev. George Horne, D. D. to be dean of Canterbury, vice Dr. James Cornwallis.

24. The rev. James Hallifax, L. L. D. to the bishoprick of Gloucester.

31. David Stewart Montcrieffe, esq. to be one of the barons of his majesty's court of Exchequer in Scotland, in the room of John Maule, esq. deceased.

*Aug. 14.* The king approved of the appointment of Sir Peter Burrell, knt. to exercise the office of lord great chamberlain of England, as deputy to the right hon. Priscilla Barbara Elizabeth Baroness Wilmoughby of Eresby, and lady Georgina Charlotte Bertie, sisters and coheirs of his grace Robert, late D. of Ancafter and Kesteven, hereditary lord great chamberlain of England, deceased.

*Oct. 20.* Thomas Lock, esq. Lancaster Herald, appointed Norroy king of arms, and principal herald of the north parts of England, vice Peter Dore, esq. deceased.

*Nov. 6.* Sir George Brydges Rodney,

Rodney, bart. and K. B. appointed vice-admiral of Great Britain, and lieutenant of the Admiralty thereof, and also lieutenant of the navies and seas of Great Britain, vice lord Hawke.

George Darby, esq. rear-admiral of Great Britain, &c. vice Sir George Brydges Rodney.

*Dec. 22.* The rev. Richard Cuff, D. D. to the deanery of the cathedral church of Lincoln, void by the resignation of the right rev. and hon. Dr. James Yorke late dean thereof, now bishop of Ely.—The rev. William Hayward Roberts, D. D. to the provostship of the college of Eton, void by the death of the rev. Dr. Edward Barnard.—The right hon. Thomas lord Grantham, the right hon. William Eden, Andrew Stuart, Edward Gibbon, and Hans Sloane, esqrs. Sir Adam Ferguson, bart. Anthony Storer, and John Chetwynd Talbot, esqrs. to be his majesty's commissioners for trade and plantations.—The right hon. Robert earl Nugent, the right hon. Charles Townshend, and the right hon. Richard earl of Shannon, to be joint vice-treasurers of Ireland.—The right hon. Philip earl of Chesterfield to be lord lieutenant of the county of Bucks.

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#### D E A T H S, 1781.

*Jan. 1.* Sir Thomas Stapleton, bart. of Gray's Court, in Oxfordshire.

Right hon. Henrietta lady Foley.

3. James Foster, esq; one of the four king's serjeants, and chief justice of the isle of Ely.

The rev. dr. Lloyd, chancellor of York, and portionist of Waddeston, Bucks.

Elizabeth, countess of Ashburnham.

13. In Italy, the countess dowager of Orford.

15. The queen dowager of Portugal and Alvarez.

Lady Brydges, aunt to the duke of Chandos.

29. Sir John Chapman, bart.

*Feb. 9.* Lady Ranelagh.

12. In Scotland, John earl of Hopton, aged 77.

13. General sir Richard Pearson, knight of the Bath.

15. The lady of the right hon. lord Loughborough, lord chief justice of his majesty's court of Common Pleas.

16. Sir John Major, bart.

24. Edward Capel, esq. deputy inspector of plays. He devoted the last 37 years of his life to the study of Shakespeare's plays, of which he published an edition in the year 1768.

*March 1.* Prince Eugene of Dessau, field-marshal of the Saxon army, in the 76th year of his age, at his palace at Dessau.

7. Lord Polwarth, only son of the earl of Marchmont, and son-in-law to the earl of Hardwicke. Dying without issue, the English barony of Hume, created in 1776, is extinct.

15. Lady Mary Douglas, daughter of William, first earl of March.

29. Sir John Gibson, bart.

*April 3.* The right hon. Henry, earl Conyngham, viscount Conyngham, and baron Mount Charles, of the kingdom of Ireland, and also a privy counsellor and lord lieutenant of the county and city of Londonderry, in that kingdom.

7. Rev. Robert Watson, D. D. principal of the university of St. Andrews, author of the History of Philip II.

8. Rt. hon. lady Barbara Gould, daughter to the earl of Suffex.

The rev. Richard Jago, M. A. vicar of Snitterfield, Warwickshire : he was the intimate friend and correspondent of Mr. Shenstone, contemporary with him at Oxford, and author of several poems.

11. Lady Mary Carr, sister of lord Darlington.

The right hon. William Crosbie, earl of Glandore, viscount Crosbie, of Ardsfert, and baron of Branden.

16. Sir Joseph Copley, bart. of Sprotbrough, in the county of York. Admiral Thomas Lynn.

18. Lady Margaret Dalziel, only daughter of the late earl of Carnwarth.

19. Sir Joseph Ayloffe, bart. vice-president of the Society of Antiquaries, and F.R.S. a gentleman eminent for his skill in English antiquities.

21. The right hon. the countess of Wandesford.

28. At Bath, the right hon. lady Lucy Sherrard, sister of the earl of Harborough.

29. At Bath, the right hon. lord Teynham, baron Teynham, of the county of Kent.

May 1. At the episcopal palace at Chelsea, in the 85th year of his age, the right rev. dr. John Thomas, lord bishop of Winchester, clerk of the closet to the king, and prelate of the most noble order of the garter.

3. Lady Charlotte Percy, only daughter of earl Percy.

7. Sir William Owen, bart.

9. The right hon. William de Grey, baron Walsingham, of Walsingham, in Norfolk. He was made solicitor to the queen in the year 1761 ; solicitor general in 1763 ; attorney general in 1766 ; member for Newport in 1761, 1768 ; mem-

ber for Cambridge University in 1770 ; chief justice of the Common Pleas in 1771, which he resigned in 1780 ; and baron Walsingham in 1780.

13. Lieutenant general William Amherst (brother to lord Amherst) adjutant-general of his majesty's forces, colonel of the 32d reg. of foot, and governor of St. John's, Newfoundland.

The hon. and rev. John Stanley, D D aged 90, rector of Winwick, in the county of Lancaster, and brother to the late earl of Derby.

May 20. At his seat at Castleward, in Ireland, the right hon. Bernard Ward, lord baron of Bangor.

20. Lady Montague Bertie, relict of lord Mountague Bertie, 2d son of Robert, the first duke of Ancafter and Kesteven, by his second wife Albina, daughter of general Farrington.

At Stettin, in Germany, in the 66th year of his age, his serene highness prince Augustus William, of Brunswick Bevern, general of infantry in the Prussian service, and governor of Stettin.

22. At Kensington, right hon. the earl of Mornington, of the kingdom of Ireland.

June 15. Right hon. John lord baron Lisle, aged 79.

25. Suddenly, at Bristol Hot Wells, lady Miller, author of " Letters from Italy, by an Englishwoman."

At Sidcup, the hon. Thomas Arundel, count of the Sacred Roman Empire, brother to lord Arundel of Wardour.

At Crawford Lodge, near Edinburgh, the right hon. George earl of Crawford and Lindsay, viscount Granock, &c. &c.

27. At

27. At Hampstead, Sir John Honeywood, bart.

At Envil, Staffordshire, the right hon. lady Dorothy Grey, aunt to the earl of Stamford.

At St. Catharine's, Dublin, Sir Richard Woolfley, bart.

*July 4.* At Braehouse, near Edinburgh, the hon. Charlotte Elphinston, fourth daughter of the right hon. lord Elphinston.

6. At Ely House in Dover-street, of a dropfy in the breast, in the 68th year of his age, the right rev. dr. Edmund Keene, lord bishop of Ely.

18. Right hon. James, earl of Perth.

At Philorth, aged 61, the right hon. George lord Saltoun.

29. Suddenly, at his seat at Dodderhall, in Bucks, the right hon. Richard Fienes, viscount and baron Say and Sele.

31. At his seat at Cobham Hall, near Rochester, the right hon. John Bligh, earl of Darnley.

*Aug. 2.* At his seat at Heytesbury, aged 72, William A'Court Ashe, esq. one of the representatives in parliament for that borough, a general in the army, and colonel of the 11th regiment of infantry.

27. Sir Thomas Gooch, bart.

At Eyre-Court, in Ireland, the right hon. John lord Eyre.

*Sept. 1.* At Dresden, his serene highness prince Charles, brother to the elector of Saxony, in the 30th year of his age.

2. Sir Thomas Mannoeh, bart.

10. Sir Thomas Gooch, bart. of Benacre-Hall, in the county of Suffolk.

12. At Naples, aged 30, of a dysentery, lord Richard Cavendish, next brother to the duke of De-

vonshire, and brother to the dutchess of Portland.

The rev. fir Robert Pynsent, bart.

16. At Bristol, the right hon. Dorothy countess of Harborough, lady of the right hon. the earl of Harborough, of Stapleford, Leicestershire.

21. Sir Laurence Dundas, bart.

24. Sir Henry Lawson, bart.

The right hon. lord John Pelham Clinton, 2d son of the duke of Newcastle, member for East Retford.

28. At his seat at St. Osyth, in Essex, aged 64, the right hon. William Henry Nassau de Zulestein, earl of Rochford, viscount Tunbridge, knight of the Garter, one of his majesty's privy council.

*Oct. 1.* Lord Vere Beauclerk.

Right hon. lord Chedworth.

3. The right hon. William lord Stourton.

14. Sir Piercy Brett, knight, admiral of the blue.

15. The right hon. the earl of Kelly.

16. The right hon. lord Hawke, vice-admiral of Great Britain, and admiral of the fleet.

25. Right hon. lady Gray, dowager countess of Stamford.

*Nov. 5.* At Stapleford, in Leicestershire, the right hon. lady Dorothy Sherrard, only daughter of the earl of Harborough, by Dorothy, the late countess.

10. Lieutenant general William-

*Dec. 11.* The right hon. Francis Dashwood, lord Le Despencer, premier baron of England, a privy-counsellor, lord lieutenant and custos rotulorum of Buckinghamshire, joint postmaster-general.

22. Right hon. lady Frances Coningsby.

*The LONDON GENERAL BILL of*

CHRISTENINGS and BURIALS, from December 10, 1780, to December 11, 1781.

Christened { Males 8774 } { Females 8252 }	Buried { Males 10499 } { Females 10210 }	Increased in the Burials this Year 192.
Died under 2 Years 7083	20 and 30 - 1581	60 and 70 - 1391
Between 2 and 5 2369	30 and 40 - 1640	70 and 80 - 950
5 and 10 882	40 and 50 - 2021	80 and 90 - 394
10 and 20 725	50 and 60 - 1649	90 and 100 - 51
		100 -- 2
		102 -- 1
		103 -- 1
		108 -- 2

*Acts of Parliament passed from Nov.*  
1, 1780, to July 18, 1781.

An act for farther continuing an act, made in the 17th year of the reign of his present majesty, intituled, "An act to impower his majesty to secure and detain persons charged with, or suspected of, the crime of high treason, committed in any of his majesty's colonies or plantations in America, or on the high seas, or the crime of piracy."

An act to extend the provisions contained in an act, passed in the last session of parliament, intituled, "An act to prevent any mischief or inconvenience which may arise to sheriffs, gaolers, suitors, prisoners, or others, by the prisoners in several gaols in the counties of Middlesex and Surrey, and the city of London, having been set at liberty during the late tumults and insurrections, to persons arrested and bailed since the destruction of the said gaols, and before the same shall be repaired, or other prisons substituted in lieu thereof."

An act for the better supply of mariners and seamen; to serve in his majesty's ships of war, and on board merchant-ships, and other trading ships and vessels.

An act for extending the provisions of three acts made in the 18th, 19th, and 20th years of his present majesty's reign, with respect

to bringing prize goods into this kingdom, to prizes taken from the States-general of the United Provinces; for declaring what goods shall be deemed military or ship stores; for regulating the sale of, and ascertaining the duties upon East-India goods, condemned as prize in the port of London; for permitting the purchasers of prize goods, condemned abroad, to import such goods into this kingdom, under the like regulations and advantages as are granted by law to the captors themselves; and for reducing the duties on foreign prize tobacco.

An act for farther continuing an act, made in the 19th year of the reign of his present majesty, for allowing the importation of fine organzined Italian thrown silk, in any ships, or vessels, for a limited time.

An act for raising a certain sum, by way of annuities, and a lottery; and for consolidating certain annuities, which were made one joint stock, by an act made in the second year of the reign of his present majesty, with certain annuities consolidated by several acts made in the 25th and 26th years of the reign of king George the second, and in the fifth year of the reign of his present majesty.

An act for the encouragement of seamen, and for the more speedy and

and effectual manning of his majesty's navy.

An act for repealing the discounts and abatements upon certain foreign goods, and for granting additional duties upon tobacco and sugar, imported into Great Britain.

An act for granting to his majesty an additional duty upon the produce of the several duties under the management of the respective commissioners of the excise in Great Britain.

An act for keeping the militia forces of this kingdom complete, during the time therein mentioned; and for regulating the admission of substitutes to serve in the militia.

An act to permit the importation of flax, and flax seed, into this kingdom, or Ireland, in any ship or vessel belonging to any kingdom or state in amity with his majesty, navigated with foreign mariners, during the present hostilities.

An act for repealing the present duties upon paper, pasteboards, millboards, and scaleboards, made in Great Britain; and for granting other duties in lieu thereof.

An act for the better management and collection of the duties upon male servants, granted by an act made in the 17th year of the reign of his present majesty.

An act to indemnify such persons as have omitted to qualify themselves for offices and employments; and to indemnify justices of the peace, or others, who have omitted to register or deliver in their qualifications within the time limited by law, and for giving farther time for those purposes, &c.

An act to permit goods, the product or manufacture of certain places within the Levant, or Medi-

terranean seas, to be imported into Great Britain, or Ireland, in British or foreign vessels, from any place whatsoever, and for laying a duty on cotton, and cotton wool, imported into this kingdom, in foreign ships or vessels, during the present hostilities.

An act to permit, during the present hostilities, the importation of goods, the produce of the plantations of the crown of Portugal, into Great Britain and Ireland, in Portuguese vessels, and the importation of certain other goods therein mentioned, in any neutral ships and vessels.

An act to continue several laws relating to the opening and establishing certain free ports in the island of Jamaica; to the allowing the free importation of sago powder, and vermicelli, from his majesty's colonies in North America; to the free importation of raw hides and skins, from Ireland, and the British plantations in America; to the allowing the exportation of provisions, goods, wares, and merchandize, to certain places in North America, which are, or may, be under the protection of his majesty's arms, and from such places to Great Britain, and other parts of his majesty's dominions, &c.

An act for preventing certain abuses and profanations on the Lord's day, called Sunday.

An act for continuing and amending an act, made in the last session of parliament, intituled, "An act for appointing and enabling commissioners to examine, take, and state the public accounts of the kingdom; and to report what balances are in the hands of accountants which may be applied to the public service, and what defects there

there are in the present mode of reviewing, collecting, issuing, and accounting for public money, and in what more expeditious and effectual, and less expensive manner, the said service can, in future, be regulated and carried on for the benefit of the public."

An act to direct the payment into the Exchequer, of the respective balances remaining in the hands of the several persons therein named, for the use and benefit of the public, and for indemnifying the said respective persons and their representatives, in respect of such payments, and against all future claims relating thereto, and for other purposes therein mentioned.

An act for granting to his majesty an additional duty upon almanacks, printed on one side, of any one sheet, or piece of paper; and for allowing a certain annual sum out of the said duty to each of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, in lieu of the money heretofore paid to the said Universities by the company of stationers of the city of London, for the privilege of printing almanacks.

An act for continuing the encouragement and reward of persons making certain discoveries for finding the longitude at sea, or making other useful discoveries and improvements in navigation, and for making experiments relating thereto.

An act to render valid, certain marriages solemnized in certain churches and public chapels, in which banns had not usually been

published before, or at the time of passing an act, made in the 26th year of king George the Second, intituled, "An act for the better preventing of clandestine marriages."

An act for establishing an agreement with the united company of merchants trading to the East Indies, for the payment of the sum of four hundred thousand pounds, for the use of the public, in full discharge and satisfaction of all claims and demands of the public, &c. and for granting to the said company, for a farther term, the sole and exclusive trade to and from the East Indies; and for establishing certain regulations for the better management of the affairs of the said company, as well in India as in Europe, and the recruiting the military forces of the said company.

An act for the discharge of certain insolvent debtors.

An act to explain and amend so much of an act, made in the 13th year of the reign of his present majesty, intituled, "An act for establishing certain regulations for the better management of the affairs of the East India company, as well in India as in Europe, as relates to the administration of justice in Bengal, and for the relief of certain persons imprisoned at Calcutta, in Bengal, under a judgment of the supreme court of judicature; and also for indemnifying the governor-general and council of Bengal, and all officers who have acted under their orders or authority, in the resistance made to the process of the supreme court,"

## PUBLIC PAPERS.

*His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, Nov. 1, 1780.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,  
**I**T is with more than ordinary satisfaction that I meet you in parliament, at a time when the late elections may afford me an opportunity of receiving the most certain information of the disposition and the wishes of my people, to which I am always inclined to pay the utmost attention and regard.

The present arduous situation of public affairs is well known: the whole force and faculties of the monarchies of France and Spain are drawn forth, and exerted to the utmost, to support the rebellion of my colonies in North America, and, without the least provocation or cause of complaint, to attack my dominions; and the undisguised object of this confederacy manifestly is to gratify boundless ambition, by destroying the commerce, and giving a fatal blow to the power of Great Britain.

By the force which the late parliament put into my hands, and by the blessing of Divine Providence on the bravery of my fleets and armies, I have been enabled to withstand the formidable attempts of my enemies, and to frustrate the great expectations they had formed; and the signal successes which have attended the progress of my arms in the provinces of Georgia

and Carolina, gained with so much honour to the conduct and courage of my officers, and to the valour and intrepidity of my troops, which have equalled their highest character in any age, will, I trust, have important consequences in bringing the war to a happy conclusion. It is my most earnest desire to see this great end accomplished; but I am confident you will agree with me in opinion, that we can only secure safe and honourable terms of peace by such powerful and respectable preparations, as shall convince our enemies that we will not submit to receive the law from any powers whatsoever; and that we are united in a firm resolution to decline no difficulty or hazard, in the defence of our country, and for the preservation of our essential interests.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered the estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before you. I see, and feel, with great anxiety and concern, that the various services of the war must, unavoidably, be attended with great and heavy expences; but I desire you to grant me such supplies only, as your own security and lasting welfare, and the exigency of affairs shall be found to require.

My

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I repose an entire confidence in the zeal and affections of this parliament, conscious that, during the whole course of my reign, it has been the constant object of my care, and the wish of my heart, to promote the true interests and happiness of all my subjects, and to preserve inviolate our excellent constitution in church and state.

*The Address of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled, to his Majesty.*

*Die Mercurii, 1<sup>o</sup> Novembris, 1780.*

Most gracious Sovereign,

**W**E your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our most humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

Permit us to offer to your Majesty our most dutiful congratulations on the birth of another prince, and the happy recovery of the Queen, and to assure your Majesty, that every addition to your Majesty's domestic happiness must always afford the highest satisfaction to your faithful subjects.

In the present arduous situation of public affairs, we think it an indispensable part of our duty to make those spirited and vigorous exertions which such a conjuncture demands; and we beg leave to assure your Majesty, that we are united in a firm resolution to decline no difficulty or hazard, in the defence of our country, and for the preservation of our essential interests.

1781,

It is with just and heart-felt indignation, that we see the monarchies of France and Spain leagued in confederacy to support the rebellion in your Majesty's colonies in North America, and employing the whole force of those kingdoms in the prosecution of a war waged in violation of all public faith, and for the sole purpose of gratifying boundless ambition, by destroying the commerce, and giving a fatal blow to the power of Great Britain.

We have seen with great satisfaction, that the force which with just confidence was entrusted to your Majesty by Parliament, has, by the blessing of Divine Providence on the bravery of your fleets and armies, enabled your Majesty to withstand the formidable attempts of your enemies, and to frustrate the great expectations they had conceived; and we hope and trust that the success of your Majesty's arms in Georgia and Carolina, gained with so much honour to the conduct and courage of your Majesty's officers, and to the valour and intrepidity of your troops, will have the most important consequences; and that such signal events, followed by those vigorous measures which your Majesty recommends, and in which we are determined to concur, will disappoint all the views of our enemies, and restore the blessings of a safe and honourable peace.

We are satisfied that the only way to accomplish this great end which your Majesty so earnestly desires, is to make such powerful and respectable preparations, as shall convince our enemies that we will not submit to receive the law from any powers whatever; but with  
(H) that

that spirit and resolution which become us, will maintain the essential rights, honour, and dignity of Great Britain.

We have a deep and most grateful sense of the constant solicitude your Majesty shews to promote the true interests and happiness of all your subjects, and to preserve inviolate our excellent constitution in church and state. And we beg leave humbly to assure your Majesty, that it shall be our earnest endeavour to justify and deserve the confidence which your Majesty so graciously places in our affection, duty, and zeal.

*His Majesty's Answer.*

My Lords,

**I** Thank you heartily for this very loyal and dutiful address.

The joy you express in the increase of my family, and in the happy recovery of the Queen, is extremely agreeable to me.

Your wife and spirited resolutions to prosecute the war with vigour, and to maintain, at every hazard, the essential interests, dignity, and honour of Great Britain, give me the highest satisfaction, and must be productive of the most salutary effects both at home and abroad.

*Address of the House of Commons to his Majesty.*

Most gracious Sovereign,

**W**E your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, return your Majesty the thanks of this house, for

your most gracious speech from the throne.

We beg leave to congratulate your Majesty upon the safe delivery of the Queen, and the birth of another prince; and to assure your Majesty, that we take a sincere part in every event that contributes to your Majesty's domestic happiness.

We acknowledge, with the utmost gratitude, your Majesty's condescending goodness, in your desire to meet your Parliament at this time, and your gracious expressions of attention and regard to the disposition and wishes of your people.

We are impressed with a due sense of the difficulties of the present arduous conjuncture, when the whole force of France and Spain is combined and exerted to support the rebellion in your Majesty's colonies, and to attack all the dominions of your crown; and when it is but too manifest to all the world, that the real views of this most unjust confederacy are to give a fatal blow to the commerce and power of Great Britain, in resentment for the successful efforts which this nation has so often made, to save the liberties of Europe from the ambition of the House of Bourbon.

We have observed with great and just satisfaction, that your Majesty, by the support of your Parliament, and the spirit and bravery of your fleets and armies, has, under the divine protection, been enabled to withstand the formidable attempts of your enemies; and we offer our most cordial congratulations to your Majesty on the signal successes which have attended the progress of your Majesty's arms in the provinces of Georgia and Carolina, and in which the conduct and courage of your Majesty's officers, and the valour

lour and intrepidity of your troops, have been so eminently distinguished.

We consider your Majesty's earnest desire and sollicitude to see the war brought to a happy conclusion, as the strongest proof of your paternal regard for your people: but we entirely agree with your Majesty, that safe and honourable terms of peace can only be secured by such powerful preparations and vigorous exertions as shall convince our enemies, that your Majesty and your Parliament are united in a firm and stedfast resolution to decline no difficulty or danger in the defence of their country, and for the maintenance of their essential interests.

We are thoroughly sensible that these ends cannot be effected without great and heavy expences; and we will grant your Majesty such supplies as the lasting security and welfare of your kingdoms, and the exigency of affairs, shall be found to require.

Your Majesty may rely, with entire confidence, on the most zealous and affectionate attachment of your faithful Commons to your person, family, and government; and we acknowledge, with the liveliest sentiments of reverence and gratitude, that the constant tenor of your Majesty's conduct shews, that the sole objects of your royal care and concern are to promote the happiness of your people, and to preserve inviolate our excellent constitution in church and state.

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*His Majesty's Answer.*

Gentlemen,

**I** Thank you for this very dutiful address.

I receive your congratulations on the increase of my family, and on the happy recovery of the Queen, as a mark of your loyalty and affection.

I have a firm confidence that the support of my faithful Commons, and the spirit of my brave people, engaged in a just cause, and fighting for their country and their essential interests, will, in the end, enable me to surmount all difficulties, and to attain the object of all my measures and all my exertions, a safe and honourable peace.

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*Address of the Archbishop, Bishops, and Clergy of the Province of Canterbury, in convocation assembled, presented to his Majesty on the 17th of November, 1780.*

Most gracious Sovereign,

**W**E your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Archbishop, Bishops, and Clergy of the Province of Canterbury, in convocation assembled, humbly beg leave to approach your throne, and with the deepest sense of gratitude for the protection we continue to enjoy under your Majesty's reign, to offer our unfeigned congratulations on the farther security of your Majesty's illustrious house, by the birth of another prince, and on the happy recovery of our gracious Queen, the patroness of religion and virtue.

We are, on this occasion, particularly obliged to acknowledge and admire a late instance of your Majesty's attention to the interests of Christianity, in your royal munificence to the pious designs of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, erected by

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a charter of your glorious predecessor King William, and now restored to its former activity, by the liberal contributions of your subjects, encouraged by your Majesty's example.

Amidst all the protection and favour we derive from the goodness of your Majesty's heart, we lament the necessity of confessing, that the licentiousness of the times continues to counteract your paternal care for the state of national religion. Bad men and bad books are the produce of all times; but we observe with particular regret, that the wickedness of the age hath of late been directly pointed at the fences of piety and virtue, established by God himself, and apparently secured by law.

The open violation of the Lord's Day, and the invitations of men to desert the religious duties of that day for amusements, frivolous at best, appears to call for the aid of the civil magistrate, to check the progress of an evil so dangerous both to church and state, by suppressing, on the Lord's Day, places of resort for pleasure, where the interposition of the ministers of religion is impracticable. We humbly assure your Majesty, that so far as any exertions of ours can reach, we shall not fail to admonish and rebuke, both by word and example.

We have the comfortable hope, Sir, that it will appear to your Majesty, that Popery is less prevalent than it has been in this part of your dominions. - We are too zealously attached to Protestantism not to oppose the errors of the church of Rome, as well in controversial attacks, as in the more successful

way of teaching the doctrines of our apostolical church; adhering, at the same time, invariably to the principles of the Reformation, which direct us to oppose error of every kind, by argument and persuasion, and to disavow all violence in the cause of religion.

May Almighty God, who, for our sins, hath permitted your Majesty to be involved in a war, just, indeed, and necessary, but, in its own nature, productive of much calamity, bless your Majesty's efforts with decisive success!

It becomes us, as ministers of the Gospel, to praise God for every victory which has a tendency to the blessings of peace; and whenever it shall please his infinite wisdom to restore them to this nation, we shall farther beseech him to grant to your Majesty the full enjoyment of those blessings for many years, in the prosperity and unanimous loyalty of your subjects.

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*His Majesty's Answer.*

**I** Thank you for your congratulations on the increase of my family, and the happy recovery of the Queen.

I hear with pleasure the zeal you express for the interests of our holy religion; and I shall continue to make it my constant endeavour to support them upon the principles of the Reformation, against the incroachments of licentiousness or superstition.

Trusting to the justice of my cause, I rely on the continuance of the blessings of Providence on my endeavours to restore to my people a safe and honourable peace.

L O R D S.

## LORDS' PROTEST.

*Die Jovis 25<sup>o</sup> Januarii, 1781.*

It was moved, that the motion for an address be postponed, in order that the house may take into consideration another motion ' for an address to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to give orders, that there be forthwith laid before this house, copies of all the treaties lately subsisting between Great Britain and the states of the Seven United Provinces, and also of the correspondence between his majesty's ministers and his late ambassador at the Hague, and of all memorials, requisitions, manifestos, answers, and other papers which have passed between the two courts, as far as they relate in any respect to the present rupture, or to any misunderstanding or complaints which have existed between the two nations since the commencement of hostilities between Great Britain and the provinces of North America.

Which being objected to, after long debate, the question was put, whether to agree to the said motion?

It was resolved in the negative.

Contents	19	}	19
Proxies	0		
Non-contents	68	}	84
Proxies	16		

Dissentient,

1<sup>st</sup>. Because we cannot consent to involve this and other nations in all the horrors of war, but upon the clearest proofs both of justice and necessity; and it would be peculiarly inconsistent with our public trust, without such evidence, to give a parliamentary sanction to a war against the ancient and natural allies of this nation.

It is on the justice of our cause, and on the absolute necessity of pro-

ceeding to such extremities, that we must be answerable to God and our consciences for a measure, which necessarily plunges millions of innocent people in the utmost distress and misery. It is on this foundation alone that we can with confidence pray for success, or hope for the protection of Providence.

We conceive that a careful, and above all, an impartial examination of the correspondence between his majesty's ministers and his late ambassador at the Hague, and of all the memorials, complaints, requisitions, manifestos, answers, and other papers which have passed between the two courts, as far as they relate in any respect to the present rupture, is indispensable to warrant parliament in pronouncing whether the hostilities which his Majesty has authorized his subjects to commence against those of the Seven United Provinces are, or are not, founded in justice, and consequently before they can with propriety offer to his majesty any advice, or promise him any assistance, in the present conjuncture.

The sudden attack which the ministers have advised his Majesty to begin against the property of our neighbours, failing in full confidence of peace and of their alliance with this nation, made without allowing the usual time stipulated by treaties, even between enemies, for securing the property of unsuspecting individuals in case of a sudden rupture, is a proceeding which, till explained, must appear unwarranted by the law of nations, and contrary to good faith; nor can we, upon the bare recommendation of ministers, approve of such a conduct, or determine upon the nice construction of treaties and reciprocal obligations, without so much as hearing what

what our late allies and friends have on their side to allege.

But the influence of his Majesty's ministers in parliament has been such, as to obtain not only the rejection of a motion which has been made for this necessary information, but also to induce this great council of the nation, on a matter deeply affecting their most important interests, to give a solemn opinion, without any knowledge of the facts on which they have pronounced, with so blindfold a compliance to the will of the court.

2dly, Because, however sufficient the reason of justice ought to be, that of expediency may perhaps be more prevalent, and is not wanting on this occasion.

It has been the uniform and approved policy of our ablest statesmen, for near a century, to form alliances, and to unite with the powers on the continent to resist the ambitious attempts of the house of Bourbon. The Protestant republic of Holland, from the freedom of its constitution and sentiment, as well as from its religion, has ever been deemed a valuable support of the liberties of Europe. Twice have they been on the very verge of falling a sacrifice to France in this cause, and we can never believe that their old affection to Great Britain can have been alienated, much less that a direct rupture with them can have become necessary on our part, without gross mismanagement in our councils. We cannot but form the most serious apprehensions at seeing the three great Protestant and free countries of Great Britain, North America, and Holland, so weakening each other by war, as to become an easy prey to the ancient enemy of them all, whenever she shall please to turn her arms against them.

We are not insensible of the distressful situation, with respect to the armed neutral powers, into which we have been led, step by step, by the unfortunate American war; but as we are convinced that wicked and weak councils have been the sole cause of that unhappy contest, so we are persuaded that honest and able ministers might have prevented this, amongst some of its wretched consequences.

But whilst the same measures, which have caused our unexampled calamities, continue to be pursued and cherished; whilst a system of corruption prevails, which must exclude both ability and integrity from our councils; whilst every interest of the state is sacrificed to its support, and every attempt at reformation rejected, our condition can change but from bad to worse.

It is not for us to pretend to foretell events, which are in the hands of Providence; but if causes are suffered to produce their natural consequences, we cannot but apprehend, from the present conduct of our affairs, every danger to this country, both foreign and domestic, to which a nation can be exposed.

RICHMOND,	ROCKINGHAM,
PORTLAND,	DEVONSHIRE,
FITZWILLIAM,	PEMBROKE,
HARCOURT,	COVENTRY,
FERRERS.	

## SECOND PROTEST.

Dissentient,

For the above reasons, and for that, instead of being convinced of the justice, necessity, or policy, of a war with Holland, as we ought to be, before we give our sanction to that measure, it appears to us, as far as the information we possess enables us, to be equally contrary to the interests of both countries; and to the inclinations of all whose in-

inclinations ought to influence the councils of either. Of such inclinations, in many respectable members of the Dutch government, we thought we saw, and we saw it with pleasure, a sufficient indication to encourage us to hope, that it is not yet too late to open a negociation, by which, if conducted with the temper, and in the language of conciliation, we may avert the evils which the continuance of this unnatural war cannot fail to produce.

With this view, it was recommended in the debates, with the earnestness and seriousness suitable to the occasion, not to lose an hour in proposing a cessation of hostilities with Holland, for the purpose of meeting and cultivating a friendly disposition, of reconciling commercial differences, and for restoring that union of political interests which has been hitherto thought fundamentally necessary to the preservation of the Protestant religion, and of the liberties of Europe. The inattention of his Majesty's ministers to such a proposition, in the actual circumstances of this country, their disinclination to the objects of it, so plainly manifested by the unprecedented confiscations intended by their proclamation of the 20th of December last, the loss of so valuable an ally, the accession of so considerable a force to the formidable powers antecedently combined against us, and the just grounds it affords to apprehend the accession of other powers to that combination, leave us no other part to take, as members of this house, after having stated our ideas of the extent of the danger, and suggested what we conceive to be the best and only remedy, than to enter our solemn protest to exculpate ourselves from being acce-

sary to that accumulation of evils, which we foresee, and think might be, but will not be prevented.

WYCOMBE, PORTLAND,  
CAMDEN, ROCKINGHAM,  
RICHMOND, FITZWILLIAM,  
FERRERS, PEMBROKE \*.

#### LORDS PROTEST, *March 21.*

The order of the day being read for the third reading of the bill, entitled, "An act for raising a certain sum of money by way of annuities, and a lottery; and for consolidating certain annuities which were made one joint stock, by an act made in the second year of the reign of his present Majesty, with certain annuities consolidated by several acts made in the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth years of the reign of king George II. and in the fifth year of the reign of his present Majesty."

Moved, "That the said bill be now read a third time." Which being objected to, after debate the question was put thereupon; and it was resolved in the affirmative.

The said bill was then accordingly read a third time. The question was put, that the said bill do now pass: it was resolved in the affirmative.

Dissentient,

"Because when a bargain improvident in its terms, corrupt in its operation, and partial in its distributions, is negotiated by a minister acting for the public, its having passed through the House of Commons can be no reason for its passing without observation through the House of Lords. Without waving our undoubted right of giving

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\* The division did not take place till half after one in the morning, nor did the house rise till past two.

a negative to this or any other bill, we respect the principle of public credit too much to attempt, at this juncture, to exercise that right, though if we looked only at the enormity of the abuse, the most direct opposition never could be more properly called for.

“Twenty-one millions are added to the capital of the debt for a loan of twelve; five and a half per cent. perpetual annuity is granted; six hundred and fifty thousand pounds are to be levied in the yearly taxes upon the people. In such a situation the most rigid œconomy ought to have been used, and the premium on the loan ought to have been reduced in proportion to the exorbitance of the interest to be paid. Several circumstances appeared favourable to the minister, if his object had been to serve his country, rather than to raise a faction for his own support. Besides the prospect derived from the beginning of a negotiation for peace, it is allowed that treble the sum subscribed had been offered, and a very large part of that surplus by persons more responsible than very many of those who were admitted. In that situation, so favourable to the borrower, where the being permitted to lend was sought with emulation, the first commissioners of the Treasury chose to make a bargain, opened at ten per cent. premium the day after the loan.

“This price was not the effect of mere popular opinion, or of artful management, but was grounded on the real value of the great body of the other stocks at the time, and was no more than what arose from a just relation to the rest. We are the more dissatisfied with this shameful prodigality of public money, by

comparing it with the period when a strict and conscientious management of the public treasure at home became a foundation for the glory of our arms abroad. During the duke of Newcastle’s administration, the several successive loans from the year 1758 inclusive, to the time of his removal from office, never exceeded one and a half per cent. at the opening; they were generally less, and sometimes at discount. Yet the national credit was in vigour. During that time forty-three millions were borrowed. In those happy days, the ministers standing on national ground, were not in a state of servitude to any set of men, nor led, through a false system of politics, to aggravate the distresses of their country, by hiring a venal cry to personate the voice of the public, and to give support to the measures which had occasioned such distresses.

“It is not a matter of surprize to us, at a time when such things can be done with impunity, that lords of the greatest honour and ability have wholly discontinued their attendance. But it is not improper that those lords who do sometimes attend, should record their names in testimony of their strong condemnation of the terms of this loan, and of the motives, which, they conceive, dictated terms so very disadvantageous to the crown and the nation.

ROCKINGHAM,  
PORTLAND,  
OSBORNE,  
J. ST. ASAPH,  
DE FERRERS,  
FITZWILLIAM,  
BOLTON,  
PONSONBY.”

*Argued*

*Answer of the States-General to the  
Manifesto of the King of Great-  
Britain.*

**I**F ever the annals of the world have furnished an instance of a free and independent state being attacked by an enemy, in the most unjustifiable manner, and without the least appearance of right or equity, by a neighbouring power allied for a long time, and bound by ties founded on the basis of common interest, it is without doubt, the Republic of the United States of the Netherlands, which finds itself in that case, with his majesty the king of Great Britain, and his ministers. From the beginning of the disputes, which had arisen between that kingdom and its American colonies, their High Mightinesses, no wise obliged to interfere, had taken the firm and determined resolution to adopt and strictly to adhere to the most exact neutrality: and when the said disputes had kindled the flames of a war which hath embroiled more powers than one, and spread in several parts of the world, their High Mightinesses have constantly observed and maintained the same line of conduct; whilst, in the mean time, they have taken care to give on many occasions, and in some instances of a very essential nature, the most convincing proofs of their sincere inclination to conform to the wishes of his majesty: so far as they could do it without going against the rules of impartiality, or bringing in question their rights of sovereignty.

It was with this view, and for this purpose, that their High Mightinesses from the beginning, and at the requisition, of his Britannic Majesty, caused most ex-

press inhibitions to be published against the exportation of all warlike stores to the colonies of his Britannic Majesty in America; and against all fraudulent trade with the said colonies: and in order that the said prohibitions should be more effectually carried into execution, their High Mightinesses made no difficulty to take such farther steps as greatly circumscribed their own navigation, and the trade of their subjects with the Dutch colonies in the West-Indies.

It was to further the above purposes, that their High Mightinesses sent the most exact orders to all commanders, and governors of their colonies, and settlements, as well as to the commanders of their ships of war, carefully to abstain from doing, in regard to the American flag, any thing from which could be justly inferred or deduced an acknowledgment of the independency of the said colonies: and it is also, especially to the above intent, that their High Mightinesses having received a memorial presented to them by the English Ambassador, full of the heaviest complaints against the governor of St. Eustatia, condescended to deliberate on the said memorial; though couched in terms little consonant with the regard which sovereign powers owe to each other: the consequence of the said deliberation was the immediate recall of the said governor, whom their High Mightinesses called to an account for his conduct, and who was not permitted to return to his residence till he had cleared himself of all the charges brought against him, before a court of justice; a copy of whose proceedings was soon after transmitted to the minister of his Britannic Majesty.

By

By such measures as these, their High Mightinesses, who always earnestly wished to avoid giving the smallest cause of discontent to his Britannic Majesty, have constantly endeavoured to promote and cultivate perfect harmony; but his Britannic Majesty's conduct towards the Republic has been diametrically opposite.

The differences between the courts of London and Versailles had scarcely broke out, when they beheld the ports of England filled with Dutch vessels, which were unjustly seized and detained: these vessels navigated upon the faith of the treaties, and were not laden with any other merchandise than what the express tenor of the treaties had declared free and legal. They beheld those free cargoes forced to submit to an arbitrary and despotic authority. The cabinet at St. James's knowing no other rule than an assumed right of *temporary convenience*, thought proper to appropriate those cargoes to the use of the crown by a forcible purchase, and to employ them in the service of the king's navy. The most earnest and serious representations on the part of their High Mightinesses against these proceedings were ineffectual, and it was in vain that they urged, in the strongest manner possible, the treaty subsisting between England and the Republic. By this treaty, the rights and liberties of the *neutral flag* are decisively and clearly stated. The subjects of Great Britain had fully enjoyed the advantages of this treaty, in the first and only case, wherein it pleased the court of London to remain neuter, whilst the Republic was engaged in a war. Certainly then in a reciprocal case that court could not, without the greatest injustice, refuse the enjoyment of the

same advantages to the Republic; and as little right as his Britannic Majesty had to withhold the advantageous effects of this treaty from their High Mightinesses, he had as little foundation for attempting to make them quit the neutrality they had embraced, and to force them to plunge into a war, the cause of which related immediately to the rights and possessions of his Britannic Majesty lying beyond the limits of defensive treaties.—And, notwithstanding, this treaty, his Majesty, from the commencement of the difference with the crown of France, has made no scruple of infringing and violating it. The trespasses and infractions made on this treaty on the part of Great Britain, and the arbitrary decisions of the courts of justice in that kingdom, directly contrary to the express sanction of the same treaty, multiplied daily. The merchant vessels became the innocent victims of the exactions and accumulated violences of the English men of war and privateers. They did not, however rest there.—The very flag of the states was not spared, but openly and outrageously insulted by a hostile attack upon the convoy, under the care of the rear-admiral Comte de Byland. The strongest representation from the states to his Britannic Majesty were disregarded, the ships taken from the convoy were declared good prizes, and this insult on the flag of the Republic was very soon followed by an open violation of their neutral territory, as well in Europe as America. They will content themselves, however, with reciting two examples.

At the island of St Martin his Britannic Majesty attacked, and carried away by force several vessels that lay at anchor under the cannon  
of

of the fort, where, according to the inviolable rights of mankind, the vessels ought to have found a secure asylum. The insults committed by an armed English vessel on the coast of the republic, near *Geederede*, furnish a second example of these violations. These insults were carried so far, that many inhabitants of the island, who dwelt on the shore, where they ought to have supposed themselves secure from any disturbance, were exposed, by the violence of the fire from the ships, to such imminent danger, that they were forced to retire to the interior part of the island. Yet, for these unheard of proceedings, the republic, notwithstanding the strongest and best founded representations, has not obtained the smallest satisfaction.

Affairs being thus situated, so that their High Mightinesses had no other alternative left them, but to see the navigation and commerce of their subjects, on which the ruin or prosperity of their republic alone depends, totally annihilated, or else to adopt measures hostile to their old friend and ally; at this period the Empress of Russia, urged by a generous magnanimity of disposition, thought proper to interfere, and with as much affection as humanity invited the republic to take the justest measures, and such too as were entirely consistent with the treaty subsisting between the states and other powers, for the defending and maintaining, in conjunction with her Imperial Majesty, and the other northern powers, those privileges and immunities which the rights of nations, and the most solemn treaties allowed to neutral flags.

This invitation could not but be infinitely agreeable to their High

Mightinesses, since they considered it as a means of securing the undisturbed commerce of their subjects upon the most solid basis, and as holding out a method of protecting their independence against every infraction, at the same time that it proposed nothing at all derogatory to the alliance contracted between them and his Britannic Majesty, or the other belligerent powers. But this was a measure of which the court of London endeavoured to deprive the Republic, by proceeding with precipitation to the most desperate extremities, by recalling their ambassador, by the publication of a Manifesto, containing a list of fictitious grievances, and by granting letters of marque and pretended reprisal against the states, their subjects, and their property, by which violence indeed this court did nothing more than clearly carry into proof and practice the designs which they have for a long time fostered, of disregarding the true and essential interests which connect the two nations, and of destroying the bonds of their ancient amity by an attack so replete with injustice.

It will not be at all necessary to enter into an elaborate refutation of the reasons, and pretended griefs which were alledged in the manifesto, to convince every impartial man of their entire want of solidity. It will be sufficient to observe, in few words, with respect to the offer which was made by his Britannic Majesty for opening an amicable conference, that the sole object of these conferences could only be this, to take into consideration the naval treaty spoken of above; that the construction of this treaty, conceived as it is, in terms the most clear and express, could not be a subject

subject of any doubt or equivocation; that it gives the neutral powers a free right of conveying to the belligerent powers all kinds of naval stores; that the Republic, neither proposing any thing else to themselves, nor desiring any thing more of his Britannic Majesty, than the quiet, undisturbed enjoyment of rights, stipulated in this treaty, a point so manifest, and incontrovertibly equitable, could not perceive any reason or motive for a negotiation, or any other new convention, which must have been derogatory to the treaty in question, particularly as their High Mightinesses could not prevail upon themselves, nor experience the least disposition to renounce, voluntarily, rights justly acquired, nor to desist from their rights by a regard for the court of England; a renunciation, which though advantageous to one of the belligerent powers, would be totally incompatible with the principles of neutrality, and by which their High Mightinesses would, from another quarter, have subjected the state to dangers, which they think it is their duty most solemnly to avert. A renunciation also which would have carried with it a most irreparable injury to their commerce and navigation, which is the principal support of the Republic, and the source of all their prosperity; for the different branches of their commerce are severally so intimately connected with each other, so as to form one whole, that it is impossible to separate one part of so principal a nature as was expected by the court of London, without the entire ruin and destruction of the general body: not to mention that at this time, when their High Mightinesses made a reasonable difficulty of acceding

to the proposed conference, they yet qualified and tempered this effectual exercise of their rights by a provisional resolution.

As for the succours required, their High Mightinesses cannot dissemble that they never could conceive how his Britannic Majesty thought himself justified to insist, under the most distant appearance of right or equity, for the assistance stipulated by the treaties, at the time when he had already foregone the obligation which they imposed on him towards the Republic. Their High Mightinesses were not less surprised to see that, whilst the disturbances in America and their direct consequences, could not affect the Republic by virtue of any treaty, and that the assistance had not been required before the declaration of the court of Spain had increased the number of the belligerent powers; his Britannic Majesty had nevertheless taken occasion, from this event, to insist on his demand with so much ardour and earnestness, as if his majesty had a right to pretend and maintain, that, a war being once kindled between him and some other power, was alone sufficient to compel the states to grant directly, and without any previous examination, the said stipulated assistance.

The Republic, it is true, had bound itself by treaties to aid and assist the kingdom of Great Britain, whenever that power should be attacked or threatened with an unjust war: the Republic was moreover to declare war in such a case, against the aggressor; but their High Mightinesses never intended to give up that right which is the nature of a defensive alliance, and which cannot be disputed to the allied powers, to examine first, and before

before they grant the required assistance, or take part in the war, the principles of the dissensions which have prevailed; the nature of the differences from which they sprang; as also to investigate and maturely weigh the reasons and motives which may inforce the *Casus Fæderis*, and which are to form the basis of the equity and lawfulness of the war, on the part of that confederate state claiming the aforesaid assistance. There is not a treaty extant, by which their High Mightinesses have foregone the independence of the states, or sacrificed their interests to those of Great Britain, so far as to deprive themselves of the right of so necessary and indispensable an examination; by taking such steps as might insinuate, that they should be looked upon as compelled to submit to the pleasure of Great Britain, by granting the required assistance; even when the above court, being at variance with another power, thinks proper to prefer a war to an amicable accommodation on well supported complaints.

It is not therefore through spirit of party, or the scheme of a predominant cabal, but after a mature deliberation, and by a desire of supporting the dearest interests of the Republic, that all the provincial states respectively have, with one voice, testified they were of opinion, that the assistance required should be politely refused; and their High Mightinesses would not have failed to communicate to his Britannic Majesty, in consequence of those resolutions, an answer to the repeated requests for assistance, had they not been prevented from so doing, by the violent and unprecedented insult offered to the

Dutch flag, under the command of rear-admiral Byland; by their being refused redress on so serious a matter, and by his majesty's declaration, no less strange than unjust, in regard to the suspension of the treaties which subsisted between him and the Republic. These were so many events, which, as they required deliberations of a different kind, put an end to those which were held in consequence of the aforesaid requisitions. It is in vain, and in opposition to all truth, that endeavours have been used to multiply the number of grievances, by alledging the suppression of duties on exports, as a measure calculated to facilitate the carrying of naval stores over to France: for, besides, that the said suppression is an object which respects the interior regulation of commerce, to which all sovereigns have an uncontroverted right, and for which they are accountable to no one, the matter has been put in deliberation, but never finally resolved upon; so that those duties are still on the former footing; and what is set forth respecting this matter in the manifesto, is totally groundless, though it cannot be denied, that the conduct of his Britannic Majesty towards the Republic, furnished their High Mightinesses with but too many motives to justify such a measure on their part.

The displeasure of his Britannic Majesty, in regard to what has been done for Paul Jones, is equally groundless. Their High Mightinesses had for many years before given general and positive orders for the admission into their ports, of all privateers and armed ships, with their prizes; orders which have been observed and executed without the least exception; in this

case their High Mightinesses could not desist from such orders, in regard to an armed ship, which, provided with a commission from the American Congress, was in the *Texel*, together with the frigates of a sovereign power, without assuming the part of judges, and giving a decision in a matter which their High Mightinesses were not obliged to take any cognizance of, and in which it seemed to them contrary to the interest of the Republic to interfere: their High Mightinesses, therefore, thought it best not to swerve from the rules established for so long a time, but resolved to lay the strongest injunctions, lest the said privateers and armed ships should take in any warlike stores, and desired them to quit the road as soon as possible, without being permitted to sojourn, but just as long as would prove absolutely necessary to repair the damages suffered at sea; declaring formally at the same time, that in case of a longer delay, their departure should be positively insisted upon. To this purpose, the commanding officer in the said road took care to make every requisite disposition, the effects of which the privateer of *Paul Jones* had hardly time to prevent. In regard to what has happened in other parts of the world, the informations transmitted to their High Mightinesses, from time to time, from the East Indies, are in direct opposition to those which seem to have been laid before his Britannic Majesty. The frequent complaints of the East India direction, addressed to them, and which the love of peace had obliged the latter to smother, as it were, in their breasts, are so many incontrovertible proofs of the assertion. The measures taken in

regard to the West Indies, before mentioned, will serve at all times for an unquestionable proof of the sincerity of the zeal, and of the attention with which their High Mightinesses have assiduously endeavoured to observe, in these countries, the most exact and strict neutrality; nor could their High Mightinesses find out the least legal proof of any infraction of their orders in this respect.

“As for what concerns the project of an eventual treaty of commerce with North America, framed by a member of the government of the province of Holland, without the sanction of any public authority; and the memorials presented on this matter by the chevalier *Yorke*, the matter happened as follows:

“As soon as this ambassador had presented a memorial, dated Nov. 10, 1780, their High Mightinesses, without noticing the expressions, rather unbecoming between sovereigns, with which this memorial abounded, did not delay entering into the most serious deliberation on that matter; and by their resolution of the 27th of the same month, they did not hesitate to disclaim and disapprove publicly whatever had been done in this affair.

“After this they had every reason to expect that his Britannic Majesty would have acceded to this declaration, since he could not be ignorant that their High Mightinesses have no jurisdiction over the respective provinces, and that it was to the States of Holland to whom, as being invested as the States of the other provinces with a sovereign and exclusive authority over their subjects, was to be submitted, an affair which their High Mightinesses had no reason to doubt but the other States of the said provinces would

regulate according to the exigency of the case, and conformably to the laws of the state, and the principles of equity. The eagerness with which the chevalier Yorke, by his second memorial, insisted on the punishment, could not, of course, but appear very strange to their High Mightinesses, that if he did not receive the very same day an answer to his memorial in every respect satisfactory, he should find himself obliged to acquaint his court thereof by an extraordinary courier. Their High Mightinesses, informed of this declaration, soon perceived its importance, as a manifestation of the measures already determined on in the king's council; and although according to the established custom, such verbal declarations from foreign ministers admit of no deliberation, they nevertheless thought proper to set it aside on this occasion, and to desire their recorder to wait on the chevalier, and inform him, that his memorial had been taken *ad referendum*, by the deputies of the respective provinces, according to the received custom and constitution of government; adding, at the same time, what seemed designedly omitted in the manifesto, that they would endeavour to frame an answer to his memorial as soon as possible, and the constitution of government would permit. In consequence thereof, a few days after, the deputies of the province of Holland gave notice to the assembly of their High Mightinesses, that the states of their province had *una voce*, resolved to require the advice of their court of justice in regard to the requisition of punishment, requesting the said court to give their opinion as soon as possible, foregoing all other affairs. Their High Mightinesses did not fail to acquaint

the chevalier Yorke with the above resolve; but what was their surprize and astonishment, when they understood that the said ambassador, after having read his instructions, had sent a note to the recorder, wherein he called the above said resolve illusive, and flatly refused to transmit it to his court! This obliged their High Mightinesses to send it to count Welderen, their minister at London, with orders to lay it immediately before the minister of his Britannic Majesty; but the refusal of the latter created an obstacle to the execution of those orders.

All the circumstances of this affair being thus exposed, the impartial public will be enabled to appreciate the principal motive, or rather pretence, to which his Britannic Majesty has had recourse, in order to give a scope to his designs against the Republic. To this we may reduce the whole matter: his Majesty was informed of a negotiation which would have taken place between a member of the government of one of the provinces, and a representative of the American congress; which negotiation intended to lay the plan of a treaty of commerce to be concluded between the Republic and the said colonies, *casu quo*, that is to say, that in case the independency of those colonies should be acknowledged by the crown of England; this negotiation, although conditional, and holding by a clause which depended on the anterior act of his Majesty, this negotiation, which without the said act, or anterior declaration could not have the least effect, was so misconstrued by his Majesty, and excited his displeasure to such a degree, that he thought proper to require from the States a public disavowal and disapprobation,

as well as a complete punishment and satisfaction : it was in consequence, and without the least delay, that their High Mightinesses acceded to the first part of his requisition ; but the punishment insisted upon was not within their power, and they could not assent to it, without striking at the root of the fundamental constitution of the state. The States of the province of Holland were the only ones to which it pertained lawfully to take cognizance of it, and to provide thereto by the ordinary means, and the authority of the laws. This sovereign state adhering to the maxims which oblige them to respect the authority of the laws, and fully convinced that the maintaining that department in all the integrity and impartiality which are inseparable from it, is the firmest basis of the supreme power ; that sovereign state, obliged by what is held most sacred, to defend and protect the rights and privileges of its subjects, could not forget itself so far as to submit to the will of his Britannic Majesty, by attempting to overturn those rights and privileges, and exceeding the limits prescribed by the fundamental laws of its government : these laws required the intervention of the judicial department, and those were the means which the above states resolved to use, by requiring on this object, the advice of the court of justice, established in their province.

By an adherence to this method it was, that, before the eyes of his Britannic Majesty, the English nation, and all Europe, were displayed the unalterable principles of that justice and equity which form the leading feature of the Dutch constitution, and which, in so important a part of public administra-

tion, we mean that which concerns the exercise of the judiciary power, will for ever serve as a bulwark against whatever could militate with the security and independence of a free nation. It was also by these means, and by following this road, that, far from precluding justice, or evading the punishment required, a free course, on the contrary, has been laid open to a regular process, conformably to the constitutional principles of the Republic ; and by the same reason, in short, depriving the court of London of any pretence to complaint of a denial of justice, care has been taken to anticipate the least shadow, or appearance of reason, which might have authorised that court to make reprisals ; to which, nevertheless, it has had recourse without scruple, in a manner equally odious and unjust.

To these ends, and since, after the repeated outrages and heavy losses which the subjects of this Republic must have experienced from his Britannic Majesty, their High Mightinesses find themselves furthermore provoked, and assailed by his aforesaid Majesty, and compelled to use those means which they have in hand, in order to defend the precious rights of their liberty and independence ; they entertain the firmest hope that the Lord of Hosts, the God of their fathers, who, by the palpable direction of Providence, supported and carried this Republic through the greatest dangers, will bless the means which they have determined to employ, by crowning the justice of their arms, with the ever triumphant assistance of his omnipotent protection ; whilst their High Mightinesses will ardently sigh after the instant, when they shall see their neighbour

neighbour and old ally, but now their enemy, recalled to sentiments more moderate and equitable. And it is at that period, where their High Mightinesses will improve all the opportunities which, consonant with the honour and independence of a free state, may tend to a reconciliation between them and their old friend and ally.

Thus given and settled in the assembly of their High Mightinesses, our lords the States General of the United Provinces, at the Hague, the 10th day of March, 1781.

Signed, COCQ HAAFTAN, Vt.  
By command, H. FAGEL.

*Memorial of the States General, to the Court of Stockholm.*

*Stockholm, March 6.*

*Baron Van Lynden, Envoy extraordinary from the States General of the United Provinces at this court, has lately held a conference with count Ulrich Schieffer, minister and secretary of state for the foreign department, to whom he delivered the following Memorial:*

THE underwritten envoy extraordinary from their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces, to his Majesty the King of Sweden, in pursuance of an express order from his masters, has the honour to propose to his Swedish Majesty,

That their High Mightinesses having acceded, by their resolution of the 20th of November, 1780, to the treaty of armed neutrality, in conformity to the invitation of the northern powers; and placing the most perfect confidence in the power, magnanimity, and fidelity of their imperial and royal Majesties, for the fulfilling of their engagements, and the maintaining of their dignity, by  
1781.

accomplishing a work so gloriously undertaken, namely, the liberty of the seas, and freedom of navigation for all neutral nations, were not deterred by the consideration of the consequences, which that accession and declaration might be productive of to the Republic, from the part of the belligerent powers. But their High Mightinesses have declared in favour of this accession and declaration, in relying implicitly on the sentiments of their imperial and royal Majesties, whom they also acquainted in due time, of the measures taken in consequence thereof.

That the event has also justified their requisition, in regard to the British court; since the minister of the latter, after his fruitless endeavours to thwart the accession to the alliance, took the resolution, on the first notice he had of it, to speak in a strain truly unprecedented, and ill suited to the mutual regard which the respective sovereigns owe to each other: without so much as granting to the Republic a sufficient time to consider on the matter, according to the political system of the Republic, which his Britannic Majesty is fully acquainted with; the English minister insisted, nevertheless, upon an immediate and speedy satisfaction, and the punishment of a pretended offence, occasioned by the discovery of a negotiation with North America, without receiving, as an ample satisfaction, the provisional answer, nor the formal disavowal of their High Mightinesses of a negotiation, of which (as acknowledged even by his Britannic Majesty) they had not the least share, or knowledge: of a negotiation, relating to a pretended treaty, which, in itself, sufficiently denotes, from its terms, only the sketch of an eventual treaty entered into by private persons, with-  
(E) out

out being formally authoris'dd there-  
to by the body of the magistrates  
of Amsterdam, or by the States of  
the province of Holland, and much  
less by the States General, whose  
members are alone authoris'd to  
enter into engagements in the name  
of the Republic.

The British minister went even  
so far as to refuse noticing the re-  
solution, by which the province of  
Holland (the only one concerned)  
was required to deliberate, how far  
the laws of the country might give  
authority to prosecute the persons  
accused, and punish them; a for-  
mality, without which no punish-  
ment can be inflicted, neither in  
England nor in this Republic, or any  
other country. Nay, the said mi-  
nister went so far as to threaten, that  
in case of a refusal, his sovereign  
would adopt such means, as to pro-  
cure himself that satisfaction. It  
was, at the same time, resolv'd to  
attack the Republic by surprize, and  
so far hasten the measures taken to  
begin hostilities, that lord Stormont,  
making use of vain pretences, would  
not so much as accept from count  
Welderen, the aforesaid declaration;  
and answered, under his hand,  
“ That he (Stormont) could no  
longer look upon him as the minister  
of a friendly power, after having of-  
ficially acquainted him of his king's  
manifesto: whilst this very mani-  
festo (and this should be noted) was  
delivered into the hands of count  
Welderen, only an hour before the  
time appointed by lord Stormont,  
the preceding day, for giving him  
audience. That, moreover, altho'  
no mention is made in the mani-  
festo alluded to, of the Republic  
acceding to the treaty of the armed  
neutrality (which it was of the ut-  
most importance to pass over in  
silence, it nevertheless appears clear-

ly, to the penetrating eye of your  
Majesty, as well as to all Europe,  
if the whole proceedings are at-  
tended to, and the time and man-  
ner in which the Manifesto was pub-  
lished, that the hatred, occasioned  
by the Republic acceding to the  
confederation of armed neutrality,  
is the true motive of his British  
Majesty's resentment, and the only  
one that could excite him to an  
open attack against the Republic,  
by seizing, at once, upon a great  
number of Dutch merchantment,  
and some ships of war. Besides,  
that the aforesaid Manifesto, known  
to your Majesty, sufficiently dis-  
plays the cause of England's dis-  
pleasure; the more so as amongst  
the pretences made use of to var-  
nish over the hostilities against the  
Republic, it is said, that it had  
taken a neutral part: without the  
cabinet of St. James's deigning to  
observe, that such answer was in-  
sulting to the neutral powers, who  
are perfectly acquainted with the  
treaties now in force between Eng-  
land and the Republic; and that  
the latter could not be charged with  
an intention of entering into an  
alliance with a power not lawfully  
neuter in the present contest, and  
without observing that this liberty  
of negotiating had been put be-  
yond all doubt, by England itself;  
since, by suspending in April 1780,  
the effects of the treaty passed in  
1674, the English have manifested  
their intent of looking henceforth  
upon the Republic as a neutral  
power, no ways privileged by any  
treaty.

That for the reasons here a-  
bove mentioned, the animosity of  
Great Britain appears still more con-  
spicuous, from the ill-grounded re-  
proach contained in the said Mani-  
festo against this Republic, that their

High

High Mightinesses had encouraged the exportation of naval stores for France, by suspending the usual duties on those commodities, whilst it is known to all the world, that such a suspension has never taken place, and that the Republic had a right to export those commodities, not only agreeably to the treaty in 1674, but also in conformity to the principles laid down by the neutral powers in the convention of armed neutrality. That consequently it would be needless to enter any farther into the merits of the said Manifesto; as his Swedish Majesty has it in his power to appreciate himself its value, and must, moreover, be fully persuaded that the line of conduct pursued by their High Mightinesses since the beginning of the troubles with America, is an evident proof, that they have never favoured or countenanced the revolted colonies; witness the many partial condescensions in favour of England, which were merely gratuitous on the part of their High Mightinesses, by circumscribing the trade within their own colonies; by refusing to grant the protection of their convoys to vessels laden with ship timber; and by recalling the governor of St. Eustatia on some ill-grounded complaints of the British ministry: condescensions which have been rewarded by the attack and seizure of the convoy of count Byland; by a violation of the territories of this Republic, and by the taking by force some American vessels from under the very batteries of the island of St. Martin.

That their High Mightinesses having thus faithfully adhered to the system of moderation, it is evident that the resentment of his Britannic Majesty arises merely from their accession to the treaty of armed neutrality; and that consequently, their

High Mightinesses are fully authorised to claim the performance of the conditions stipulated in the articles VII. VIII. and IX. of the treaty of armed neutrality, which form the basis of that union and alliance contracted between their imperial and royal Majesties and the Republic. That therefore no obstacles can hinder or delay the fulfilling of the engagements contracted by virtue of the said confederation, of which the Republic ought to be considered as a member from the very moment in which their High Mightinesses acceded to the same resolution at the Hague; and dispatched their declaration, in conformity to the said accession and convention, to the beligerent powers.

That if their High Mightinesses had to complain only of a single act of offence, or an attack committed against them, which was likely to be redressed by the friendly interposition of their allies, they would have claimed their intervention rather than have recourse to arms; but as their High Mightinesses find themselves actually and suddenly attacked in an hostile manner by his Britannic majesty, in consequence of, and from mere resentment of the above mentioned alliance, they find themselves under the necessity of repelling force by force, and to return hostilities for hostilities; being fully persuaded that the allied powers will not hesitate to make this their common cause, and to procure to the Republic due satisfaction and indemnity for the losses occasioned by an attack equally unjust and violent; and that the said powers will moreover, in conjunction with the States General, take such farther measures, as the exigencies of the present circumstances may require. This their High Mightinesses solicit with great  
(I 2) earnestness,

earnestness, and rely upon it with so much more confidence, as they are firmly persuaded, that the generous and equitable sentiments, which actuate their imperial and royal Majesties, will not suffer them to let the Republic fall a victim to a system of politics, not less glorious than founded in equity, and established for the security of the rights of neutral nations; and especially as the Republic, if left singly exposed to the iniquitous and violent attacks of England, would hardly be able to cope with that overbearing power, and thus run the hazard of becoming totally useless to the said confederation.

For these reasons, the under-written envoy extraordinary, insisting on the motives urged here above, and fully persuaded that the ratifications of the treaty signed at Petersburg, will take place as soon as possible, has the honour, in the name and by express order of his masters, to claim the performance of the engagements stipulated in the Articles VII. VIII. and IX. of the said treaty, and to require, in virtue thereof, a speedy and adequate assistance from his Swedish Majesty, whose noble and equitable sentiments, acknowledged by all Europe, will not permit him to abandon the complete establishment of a system worthy the highest praise.

The friendship and affection of your Majesty towards their High Mightinesses, leave them no doubt of your Majesty's willingly granting the assistance which they now claim, and also promise to the underwritten envoy a speedy and satisfactory answer, which he solicits the more anxiously, as every moment's delay may be attended with heavy and irreparable losses to the Republic.

(Signed)

D. W. VAN LYNDEN.

Stockholm, February 28, 1781.

*From the CARIBBEAN GAZETTE,  
of March 16, 1781.*

*To their Excellencies Sir GEORGE BRIDGES RODNEY, Baronet, and Knight of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath; and the Honourable General JOHN VAUGHAN, Commanders in Chief of his Majesty's Fleets and Armies in the West Indies, &c. &c.*

*The MEMORIAL and REMONSTRANCE of the MERCHANTS of SAINT CHRISTOPHER, for themselves, and, as Agents and Factors, for many of the most commercial Houses in GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND.*

YOUR Excellencies having refused the request of our former memorial, we have thought it necessary to intrude upon you with a second application, that we may not be wanting in all due respect to your excellencies characters; that our proceedings may be conducted with that caution and deliberation which is consistent with the equity of our demands; and that your excellencies may be made acquainted with our farther determination, in case those demands continue to be refused.

We have already represented, that our property, and that of our constituents, fairly bought, under the sanction of acts of parliament, with their and our money, has been forcibly taken from us, without our being allowed to mark or number the packages, and without knowing on what ships they were to be loaded. We have now to add to that information, that insurances for some of those very goods have been ordered to be made in England, before the capture of the island, on ships engaged for the purpose of carrying them to Great Britain,

Britain, and now actually in this port. As by these means our property is wrested out of our hands, and the insurers absolved from their engagements, we consider your excellencies, and those employed under you, as answerable for all risques whatever of sea, as well as the enemy, until the delivery of our goods into the hands of our respective correspondents in England; and your excellencies will not be surprized at our using all the means which the laws of our country have provided for us to seek redress. — This is a duty we owe to ourselves, our families, our creditors, and our constituents, however disagreeable it must be to have any disputes with gentlemen, whom we have always considered as the protectors of our persons and fortunes. In this application for ourselves, we wish it to be understood, that the property of all the inhabitants of the captured islands is included, that may have been forcibly taken off from St. Eustatius, in the same manner that our's have been. Their produce was brought and our's purchased there, under the sanction of acts of parliament; and in whatever light men of your high rank and elevated stations may consider such authorities, we have been taught to look up to them with reverence and veneration, and have always understood, that even his Majesty cannot dispense with them; consequently cannot delegate such a power to others.

In regard to the European goods, now in our stores, and in the hands of our factors at St. Eustatius, we intreat your excellencies to determine their fate as soon as possible; and, should there be a general confiscation, and the proceeds to remain in agents hands, or the goods de-

tained from us, till his Majesty's pleasure is known; — we beg leave to represent, that we consider ourselves as no ways obliged to rest satisfied with such sales or detention, but, on the contrary, will seek all lawful redress, in this country and in England, against your excellencies, and all employed to take them out of our possession, or who prevent our removing or disposing of them in such a manner, that they may sell for their full value.

As it is not only necessary to the security of our rights, but also in conformity with your excellencies desire, that we should produce inventories of all our effects at St. Eustatius, we doubt not but your excellencies will readily furnish us with the means of procuring them. We have therefore to request of your excellencies, that, in order to enable us, and our partners and factors at St. Eustatius, to ascertain the amount of the goods already shipped off by authority of your excellencies, and of what may hereafter be taken from us, you would be pleased to permit such an intercourse personal, and by correspondence between us and them, as may facilitate a measure so necessary to give the laws of our country their proper course; and as your excellencies, in reply to our former memorial, were pleased to refer us to that channel, we have still an additional reason to expect that this request will be complied with.

And as the inhabitants of the captured islands, in whose behalf we also claim, have considerable property on board of Dutch vessels, now in St. Eustatius road, which we are informed, are under your excellencies orders for England; — we think it

highly proper we should here request your excellencies to direct that all papers, particularly the certificates relating to such property, be transmitted to England, by each vessel, and that the principal officers of each ship be likewise sent home, to prove the shipment and property of such goods, in compliance with his Majesty's instructions.

We shall farther use the freedom to represent to your excellencies one serious bad consequence that may arise to British subjects, from the measures threatened by your excellencies, if put in execution. It is impossible for many of us to be more effectually ruined by future events than by the present; but our more wealthy constituents, and the nation at large, may suffer from the example set by your excellencies to other powers: if by the fate of war these islands should fall into the hands of an enraged enemy, there will be a pretext for them to retaliate, and confiscate private property;—such steps will totally deprive us of the means of paying our generous creditors in England, and be the cause of numerous bankruptcies there. Thus there will be ruin inflicted on the very people in the mother country, who are, with unparalleled liberality, subscribing to support the war, and the principal pillars of the state will fall to the ground. The conquerors of all civilized nations have ever had an eye to this, and both motives of humanity and policy, preserved the property of individuals. One instance lately happened to the contrary: Grenada having been taken by storm, without capitulation, was at the mercy of the conquerors. Though the count d'Estaing did not seize the property of individuals, yet he issued edicts to prevent payment of debts due in Great Britain,

and displaced agents of absentees, by appointing trustees to receive the produce of the estates. Those measures occasioned an universal clamour among the enlightened part of the French nation, who carried remonstrances to the throne of an absolute Monarch, and count d'Estaing's conduct was severely reprobated, his edicts rescinded, and the inhabitants put upon the same footing with French subjects in that island.

It is so far from our inclination to give any trouble to your excellencies, that it is with reluctance we have once more trespassed upon your attention; but as we were asking for a right, and not soliciting a favour, and as that right is of the greatest importance to us, we not only hope that we shall stand excused to your excellencies, but that you will, upon farther reflection, comply with our just request.

The above Memorial and Remonstrance was presented to their excellencies Admiral Rodney and General Vaughan, by John Glanville, Esq. his Majesty's Solicitor-general.

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*Admiral Rodney's Answer to the Merchants of St. Christopher.*

SIR George Brydges Rodney presents his compliments to Mr. Glanville, and as his whole time has been so fully employed on his Majesty's and the public's service, as not to allow him as yet, leisure to peruse the memorial he delivered to him, he must excuse him, if till he has perused it, and considered it attentively, he cannot give an answer thereto; but owns himself surprised that gentlemen, who call themselves subjects and merchants

merchants of Great Britain, should, when it was in their power to lodge their effects in the British islands to windward, where they were under protection of the British laws and the British flag, send them to leeward, to the island of St. Eustatius, where, in the eye of common reason and common sense, they could only be lodged as a deposit to supply the necessities of their King and their country's enemies.

The island of St. Eustatius was Dutch, everything in it was Dutch, every thing was under the protection of the Dutch flag, and that, as Dutch it shall be treated, is the firm resolution of a British Admiral, who has no view whatever, but to do the duty he owes his king and country!"

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*To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.  
The Petition of the West India Planters  
and Merchants.*

*Most humbly sheweth,*

**T**HAT your petitioners have very considerable property, and debts due to them, in the several islands in the West Indies, subject to the crown of Great Britain, as also in the islands of Grenada, the Grenadines, Dominica, and St. Vincent, which have, in the course of the present hostilities, fallen under the dominion of France.

That they have always conceived it to be a maxim among civilized nations, established in humanity and sound policy, "that war should be carried on with the least possible injury to private property, found in any countries or towns, which may be invaded or conquered:" the happy effects of which wise principle your petitioners have hitherto experienced in the security of their estates and effects from rapine and plunder, which have been reciprocally

discountenanced by the governors in the West Indies, as ruinous to individuals, and productive of no decisive advantage to any of the sovereign states concerned.

Your petitioners are therefore seriously alarmed at the general seizure made by the commanders of your Majesty's sea and land forces, of goods, merchandize, and specie, found in the islands of St. Eustatius and St. Martin, on their surrendering, without resistance, and at discretion, to the said commanders; humbly conceiving, that the inhabitants of places, which submit to the will, and surrender themselves to the discretion of an invading enemy, immediately upon such submission, become the subjects of that sovereign, or state, to whom the victorious army belongs; and, consequently, by their allegiance, are entitled to security in their persons and property; it being as repugnant to policy as humanity, to permit one class of subjects to plunder another, the trader having an equal claim with the soldier to the protection of government.

Your petitioners humbly beg leave to represent to your Majesty, that those Dutch islands did belong to a sovereign state, by whose authority and permission they were made, and have ever since been, *free ports*; and that they have been recognized as such by Great Britain, and all the other maritime powers of Europe, who have possessions in the West Indies.

That Great Britain, in particular, has never interdicted, or prohibited, to her subjects, the trade of those Dutch islands, but has, on the contrary, permitted the exportation of great quantities of various articles of goods of the growth, produce, and manufacture of this country, which

have been regularly and openly entered out, at the several ports in this kingdom, for the said Dutch islands.

That an act was passed last session of parliament, for removing any legal doubts arising out of the Navigation Act, respecting the importation of tobacco of the growth of the colonies in North America, which, having escaped British capture, had been imported from the colonies in rebellion, into those Dutch islands, declaring and enacting, “ that such “ tobacco might be legally imported “ from those, or any other neutral “ islands, into any British island, “ and from thence into Great Britain :” by which act, the trade to the said islands of St. Eustatius and St. Martin, which had always been in many respects legal, became an object of public encouragement, by being extended beyond what the strict construction of law seemed formerly to authorize.

That since the passing the said act, and even before, during the present rebellion, a great part of the tobacco, absolutely necessary for the consumption and revenue of Great Britain, has been imported through that channel, to the manifest benefit of the navigation of this kingdom ; for, if the market had not been supplied by those means, there would have been an indispensable necessity for admitting tobacco from Holland, after having been carried thither from those islands in Dutch vessels ; and Great Britain would, consequently, have been deprived of the profit arising from the long navigation of that bulky commodity.

That since the commencement of the American rebellion, the said islands of St. Eustatius and St. Martin have been frequently of the most essential service to the British leeward

islands, particularly in the years 1777 and 1778, when the islands of Antigua and St. Christopher would have suffered all the miseries of actual famine, had not they drawn from St. Eustatius those supplies which they formerly received from North America.

That, since the capture of Grenada, the Grenadines, Dominica, and St. Vincent, those islands have been principally supplied with the several necessaries for their consumption, and for the cultivation of their plantations, through the medium of St. Eustatius, and that many British subjects, having property in those captured islands, have been obliged to establish houses of trade in the said island of St. Eustatius, for the express purpose of supplying those islands, and have ordered various articles to be shipped for St. Eustatius from Great Britain as well as from Holland.

That the great want of plantation stores, and other necessaries, in those captured islands, has also obliged many of the planters to ship, from time to time, a great part of the produce of their plantations to St. Eustatius, for the purpose of purchasing such plantation stores and necessaries.

That many of your Majesty’s faithful and loyal subjects, on the faith of Great Britain having recognized the trade, have settled as general traders in those Dutch islands, and have considerable property in goods, merchandize, and money, in the said islands ; and that others of your Majesty’s most faithful and loyal subjects, as agents for the Dutch as well as British merchants in those islands, have shipped considerable quantities of goods and merchandize on account of the said merchants.

That

That those Dutch islands, particularly St. Eustatius, have therefore been, and ought to be considered as free ports, open to all the world, where the subjects of all states in amity with Holland were equally welcome, where the goods imported by the hand of commerce were at open market, ready to be sold to the best bidder, without favour and affection, without any partial or political attachment or predilection to any of the powers at war, without regard to any other object than that of mercantile profit, which is the spring and soul of all commerce whatever; and that the value of the said islands to that sovereign power to which they belonged, as well as to your Majesty's subjects and other nations, consisted in their being universal open marts, and not in the inconsiderable production of their soil.

Your petitioners humbly beg leave to represent to your Majesty, that, as a very considerable part of the property found in those Dutch islands must necessarily belong to many of your Majesty's most faithful and loyal subjects, from the causes above stated, so there are likewise others of your Majesty's subjects residing in Great Britain, and the British Leeward Islands, who are large creditors of the Dutch and British merchants in those Dutch islands, not only on account of goods and merchandize, openly and avowedly shipped by them; as the agents of the said merchants, but also in respect of dealings and engagements, antecedent to, and unconnected with, the trade carried on by such their debtors in those islands.

With respect to the property found in the said islands, belonging to the subjects of the states of Holland, or any other of your Majesty's ene-

mies, your petitioners having already stated what they humbly conceive to be the humane and political practice of war, feel themselves impelled, by the principle of gratitude, to present to your royal view the conduct of the commanders of the French King's forces, and of the court of France, in the case of the conquest of the islands of Grenada and the Grenadines.

When the island of Grenada, after having made a zealous but unsuccessful defence against the enemy's force, surrendered at discretion, there was no plunder allowed, except on the Hospital Hill, which was taken by storm, and where the small effects that were lodged necessarily fell, *in furore belli*, to the first of the assailants who could lay their hands upon them. The goods and merchandize in the town of St. George, in that island, to a very large amount, not merely intended for the use and consumption of the island, but for the general market of the West Indies, remained untouched, and every species of property whatever was left inviolate, even the goods upon the keys and beach in various parts of the island.

There were indeed certain ordinances issued by the French governor, on taking possession of the said island, by which the produce of all plantations belonging to absentees was to be sequestered until a peace, and the payment of all debts due to your Majesty's subjects, residing in any part of your Majesty's dominions, was prohibited under pain of military execution. But, on the application of the parties interested to the court of France, those ordinances were immediately revoked by his Most Christian Majesty, and all persons whatever, whether present or absent, were secured in the full possession,

possession of their estates and effects: his most Christian Majesty having been pleased, at the same time, to express his disapprobation of those ordinances, “as tending  
“to injure civil contracts, which  
“are founded on the law of nature, and which form the most  
“sacred bond of society, being the  
“principal source of that reciprocal communication and intercourse subsisting between the subjects of all nations; to which  
“contracts, and to private property in general, the practice of  
“war, among civilized states, has  
“ever had the most tender regard.”

Your petitioners likewise, with pleasure reflect, that your Majesty, in the very beginning of your reign, gave a striking example of clemency upon the capture of Dominica, the inhabitants of which island were settled there, against express treaties, unacknowledged by any sovereign, professing neutrality, yet exercising hostilities against your Majesty’s subjects; and, when summoned to submit to your Majesty’s arms, not only refused to surrender, but, provoking an assault, were reduced sword in hand.—Yet, by your Majesty’s wisdom and generosity, the inhabitants of that island were preserved in the possession of all their property.

Your petitioners do not conceive, that those defenceless Dutch islands were surprised, and taken possession of, by your Majesty’s arms for the sake of inglorious spoil, but merely with a view to great political objects in conducting the present hostilities against the combined enemies of Britain, by depriving them, in future, of the convenience and advantage of those marts. They

have ever considered Great Britain as priding herself in acts of generosity and humanity, not less than in brilliant achievements of valour in war: and they are confident, that your Majesty will not permit the British name to be stained by a departure from that line of conduct, which has hitherto so peculiarly characterised this nation, and her sacred regard to the rights of mankind.

They beg leave to repeat to your Majesty, that the confiscation of private property in those Dutch islands would grievously affect many of your Majesty’s most faithful and loyal subjects, who have traded there under the sanction of our laws, or who are creditors of merchants in the said islands; and, at the same time, to state to your Majesty their apprehensions, that such a measure, so far as it would injure the property of the subjects of the enemy, must necessarily tend to increase the calamities of war, by exciting desperate resistance, by exasperating our foes against the trading inhabitants of those islands which may hereafter be obliged to submit to their arms, and by establishing a predatory system, destructive and ruinous in its consequences to individuals, and of no solid benefit to the several states concerned.

Your petitioners, therefore, do most humbly, but fervently, pray, that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to take the premises into your serious consideration, and remove the apprehensions of your petitioners, by adopting such measures, on the present occasion, as to your Majesty, in your  
great

# P U B L I C P A P E R S. (139)

great wisdom, justice, and clemency, shall seem meet.

Signed by order, and in the name, and on the behalf of the West India planters and merchants,

WILLIAM CRICHTON,  
Chairman of the general meeting on this special business.

London, April 6, 1781.

*An Account of the Sums expended in Secret Service during the Years 1778, 1779, and 1780.*

	£.
1778 Secretaries of state	27,500
First lord of treasury	3,200
Commander in chief	4,800

Admiralty	—	2,000
1779 Secretaries	—	21,000
Treasury	—	1,000
Commander in chief		500
Admiralty	—	1,000
1780 Secretaries	—	23,000
Treasury	—	800
Admiralty	—	1,300
Commander in chief		850

The following is a state of the improvement made in some of the new taxes, with the receipt of 1780, being greater than that of 1779, by

Servants tax	—	26,000
House duty	—	29,500
5 cent. Custom and Excise		78,000
Stamps new	—	11,100
Postings	—	29,000

*An Account of the Perpetual Taxes laid on since the Commencement of the War with America.*

Computed Produce per Annum.

1776.	£.
Stamps on deeds,	30,000
Ditto on newspapers,	18,000
Ditto on cards,	6,000
Additional duty on coaches,	19,000
	<u>73,000</u>

1777.	
Tax on servants,	105,300
Stamps,	55,000
Additional duty on glass,	45,000
Duty on sales by auction,	37,000
	<u>242,000</u>

1778.	
Tax upon house rents,	264,000
Additional duty on wines,	72,000
	<u>336,000</u>

1779.	
A tax upon taxes, viz. an additional surcharge of 5 per cent. on customs and excise,	314,000
A tax upon post-horses,	164,000
	<u>478,000</u>

1780.	
An additional tax upon malt,	310,000
An additional duty on British low wines,	20,617
Ditto on British spirits	4,557
	<u>335,174</u>

Carried 365,174

	Brought over	365,174
An additional duty on brandy, ————		35,310
Ditto on rum, ————		70,958
Second additional duty on wines, ————		72,000
Additional duty on coals exported, ————		12,899
Additional 5 per cent. on the above laid taxes, ————		46,139
Additional duty upon salt, ————		69,000
Additional stamp duties, ————		21,000
Duty on licences to sell tea, ————		9,082
		<u>701,616</u>

1781.

Five per cent. on excise, except malt, soap, candles, and hides, ————		150,000
Discount of the customs, ————		167,000
Tobacco, 1d. three farthings per pound, ————		61,000
Sugar, halfpenny per pound, ————		326,000
Since laid, ————		<u>704,000</u>
Duty on paper, ————		100,060
Duty on almanacks ————		10,000
		<u>110,060</u>

2,644,616

The exact national debt up to July 5, 1781, is 177,206,000l.

The annual interest raised on the public is 6,812,000l.

So far the funded debt, and the taxes laid, in order to discharge the interest to the public creditors. The debt unfunded may be computed as here under :

Navy debt on the 1st of January, 1782, about	9,000,000
Army extraordinaries, ————	3,000,000
Vote of credit of last session, ————	1,000,000
Ordnance debt, ————	1,000,000
Money to be voted for Navy extras, —	1,000,000
Exchequer bills in circulation, about —	4,000,000
Borrowed from the Bank of England, —	2,000,000
	<u>21,000,000</u>

Suppose, when this sum comes to be funded, that the loan or bargain with the public, may, as it has for the two or three last years, be negotiated at 5 1-half per cent. the annual interest to be paid on twenty-one millions will be — 1,155,000

## R E C A P I T U L A T I O N.

Principal funded on the 5th of July, 1781,	177,206,000
Principal which will remain unfunded on the first of January, 1782, ————	21,000,000
Total of the national debt on said last mentioned day, ————	<u>198,206,000</u>
Interest paid, for which provisions have been made by taxes, 5th July, 1781,	6,889,000
Interest to be paid for the debts not yet funded, which will stand due on the 1st of January, 1782, ————	1,155,000
	<u>8,044,000</u>

So that on the first of January, 1782, the national debt, funded and unfunded, will amount to *one hundred and ninety-eight millions*, and a considerable fraction, and the interest to *eight millions*, which is nearly double to what was paid by the

people, in taxes, previously to the breaking out of the present war, the annual interest, on the first of January, 1776, being in or about *four millions three hundred thousand pounds*.

Whitehall, Sept. 22, 1781.

*Capitulation of the Island of Tobago, received from Lieutenant-governor Ferguson.*

[TRANSLATION.]

*Capitulation of the Island of Tobago, between the Comte de Grasse, commanding the naval forces of his most Christian Majesty, and the Marquis de Bouille, commandant-general of the French Windward Islands in America, on the one part; and the honourable George Ferguson, Esq. commander in chief of the island of Tobago; and the honourable major Stanhope, commanding his Britannic Majesty's forces in the said island, on the other part.*

ART. I. **T**HE governor, staff and other officers, of the troops, and soldiers, of the garrison of the island of Tobago, shall march out of the redoubt and forts, with the honours of war, and shall afterwards lay down their arms, the officers excepted.

II. The officers and troops shall be afterwards sent to France, except such officers as shall have permission from the French general to remain in the Windward Islands of America, on parole.

The wives and children of the troops shall follow the same destination.

III. The inhabitants of the island shall preserve their civil government, laws, customs, and ordinan-

ces; and the same persons who now administer justice, shall be continued in their functions until the peace, as long as they conduct themselves properly.

The court of Chancery shall be held by the members of the council, in the form established by the laws, customs, and ordinances, under which the island is governed, until the peace; but the appeals from the said court shall be made to the council of his most Christian Majesty.

IV. The inhabitants, in general, of the said island, and the clergy, shall be protected in the enjoyment of their estates, and of every thing in their possession of whatsoever nature it may be, as well as of their privileges, rights, honours, and exemptions. They shall have the free exercise of their religion, and the clergy shall enjoy their benefices.

The free negroes and mulattoes, shall be maintained in their liberty, but no slave shall be franchised, in future, without permission from the governor-general, conformably to the customs established in the French colonies.

V. The inhabitants shall pay no other taxes to his most Christian Majesty than they paid to his Britannic Majesty.

The expences attending the administration of justice, the allowances to the clergy, and other ordinary charges, to be defrayed by the colony.

Mer-

Merchandizes exported from the colony, shall pay the same duties to the revenue, as are paid in the French colonies. The duties, on entry, shall be the same.

The inhabitants shall enjoy all the commercial privileges granted by his most Christian Majesty in his Windward Islands in America.

VI. The inhabitants shall not be liable to pay the contribution of 1200 half-johannes required and agreed to be, by the provisional capitulation; but the colony shall be at the expence of re-constructing the buildings which were burnt during the siege, so that the inhabitants to whom they belonged will only contribute their quota of the said re-construction, so that the whole do not exceed 1200 half-joes.

VII. The effects, and particularly the slaves, belonging to the inhabitants of this colony, which may have been taken during the siege, and which can be recovered, shall be restored. Those which have been carried on board any of the ships belonging to the French squadron, shall be landed and delivered into the hands of the provost marshal.

N. B. The vessels and effects on board of them, which were taken before the island surrendered, or after, are not comprehended in this article.

VIII. The ships, vessels, and droghers, belonging to the inhabitants of this island, shall remain their private property; but English vessels, owned by persons in Europe, or in the English islands, shall be faithfully given up, and surrendered to the French governor.

IX. The inhabitants who are absent, even those in the service of his Britannic Majesty, shall be maintained in the possession and enjoyment of their property, which

may be managed by their attornies.

X. The inhabitants shall be obliged to provide lodgings for the troops, only in cases of indispensable necessity, as is the custom in the French islands, the King lodging them in general at his own expence, or in buildings that belong to him.

XI. They shall be obliged to furnish negroes to work upon the fortifications, or in any other work relative to the King's service, to the amount of 400; and the said negroes shall be maintained at the King's expence, while they are so employed.

XII. The inhabitants shall take the oath of fidelity to his most Christian Majesty, before the French governor of the island of Tobago, within the space of two days, under the penalty of forfeiting their property.

But those inhabitants, and particularly widows, who on account of sickness, absence, or any other impediment, cannot do so within the time limited, shall have a day allowed them, which shall be signified to them.

XIII. The inhabitants shall observe a strict neutrality, and shall not be forced to take up arms against any other power.

In consequence of which, they shall carry all their arms to the chief residence, where they shall be deposited in the King's magazines, except such as the justice of the peace shall think necessary on each estate, to preserve order among the negroes; but the justice of the peace shall answer in person for an improper use that may be made of them, contrary to the tenor of this capitulation; and they shall transmit to the French governor, within a certain time, which shall be pre-

prescribed to them, a list, under their own signatures, of the arms which shall have been left with the inhabitants in their respective districts.

XIV. The inhabitants of the island which were not actually, by their employments, in the service of his Britannic Majesty, shall not be reputed prisoners of war.

XV. Merchant-ships coming from England, or from any other state whatsoever, belonging to the inhabitants or merchants of the island of Tobago, shall be received into the ports of the said colony, during the space of six months, without being confiscated, and shall be reputed the property of the said inhabitants or merchants.

Reserving, after that time, to the French governor the right of judging of the property of the said vessels, in consideration of the distant places from whence they shall come. But the said inhabitants or merchants shall have a declaration to the director of the revenue, of the vessels which may be or are assigned to them, either singly or in partnership, within the space of one month.

N. B. Extended to two months.

XVI. The inhabitants in general shall be allowed to dispose freely of their estates personal or real, in the enjoyment of which they are maintained, and consequently to sell or alienate them, as they shall think fit.

They may dispose equally of their revenues, and may send their children to England, or elsewhere, to be educated, and receive them back again.

XVII. All the artillery, the implements, and things thereto belonging, all the arms in general, gun-powder, provisions, and gene-

rally all effects whatsoever, buildings, moveables and immoveables, belonging to the king of England, shall be given up to the general of the troops of his most Christian Majesty: inventories shall be taken thereof, and the delivery shall be made with as little delay as possible.

Individuals, who shall withhold any of the effects above mentioned, or any part thereof, or who shall not give in an account of them within the space of fifteen days, shall be proceeded against with severity.

XVIII. The inhabitants who shall have any English soldiers or sailors in their houses, shall be obliged to give information of them in the space of four days, under the penalty of one hundred half-johannes; and those who shall favour their escape shall be proceeded against with severity.

At Tobago, the second of June, 1781.

LE MARQUIS DE BOUILLE.  
LE COMTE DE GRASSE.

GEORGE FERGUSON.

H. F. R. STANHOPE,

Major 86th regiment, to  
what relates to the troops  
only.

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*Address of Governor Ferguson to the  
Public, relative to the Capture of  
Tobago.*

THE capitulation of Tobago having been published in the last Gazette, without any part of my dispatch to the secretary of state, which accompanied it, it may be expected, that I should give the public some account of the siege and capture of that island; and it may perhaps be thought the more  
I incum-

incumbent upon me to do so, as Sir George Rodney, in his letter of the 29th of June, to the Admiralty, has misstated several facts respecting that event, and insinuated that it had surrendered without making any defence.

Early on the morning of the 23d of May, I received information that the enemies squadron had been seen to windward the evening before, and that it was then approaching the island. I instantly dispatched capt. Barnes, of the *Rattleinake*, with the intelligence, to Sir George Rodney: capt. Barnes was fortunate enough to find the fleet at Barbadoes, and he delivered my dispatch, on board the *Sandwich*, at twelve o'clock on the night of the 26th of May.

About ten o'clock in the morning of the 23d, the squadron brought to off Minister Point, hoisted French colours, and immediately got their troops into boats, with an intention to land at Minister Bay; but finding the sea very high, and receiving some shot from a gun at Minister Point, which would have annoyed them in landing, they returned on board.—They then endeavoured to get into Rockly Bay; but the current carrying them to leeward, they went round the west end of the island. This squadron consisted of the *Pluton*, of 74 guns; the *Experiment* of 50; the *Railieuse*, of 32; the *Sensible*, a flute, of 32; the *Eagle*, of 14; and four sloops, under the command of the *Chevalier d'Albert de Rious*.

Next morning (the 24th) the enemy effected a landing at Great Courland Bay, with very little loss; the temporary battery there, of three eighteen pounders, was almost entirely without cover, and so injudi-

ciously situated, that ships could fire upon the back part of it, before a gun from it could bear upon them. The *Pluton* brought to, within four hundred yards of this battery, and kept up so constant a fire, that in a very short time the party was driven from it, having been scarcely able to bring a gun to bear upon her. But a gun at Black-rock, under the direction of major Hamilton, of the militia, being at a greater distance, continued to fire upon the *Pluton* for a considerable time, and killed many of her men.

Upon quitting the battery, our troops were posted on the heights, upon each side of the road leading from Courland to Scarborough, to harass the enemy in their march; but the French general, with great judgment, avoided the defile, and leaving the road, ascended the height upon his right. He there kept his men partly concealed behind a wood, and sent a party to gain some heights, which were still above him. This advanced party exchanged a few shot with some of our regulars; but as they were at a considerable distance from each other, there were only two of our people killed. Upon this occasion Mr. Collow offered to set fire to his canes, to distress the enemy: but some rain which had fallen in the night unfortunately prevented their burning so rapidly as to have that effect. Mr. Collow's magnanimity, however, is not the less deserving of praise. As the troops were much fatigued with the hard duty they had undergone, that and the preceding day, and as there was likewise reason to believe, that the enemy would attempt to cut off our retreat to Concordia, the place of our rendezvous, by detaching part

of

of their army round by Mother road, it was judged proper to carry the troops thither in the evening.

General Blanchelande, governor of St. Vincent's, who commanded the French troops, in the mean time dispersed papers amongst the planters, expressing surprize at their deserting their houses, and informed them, that their plantations would be plundered and confiscated if they did not return to them in twenty-four hours. These, however, had no effect upon the inhabitants, who were determined to retire with me to Concordia. The general, at the same time, sent a flag of truce to inform me, that he had landed with 3000 men to conquer the island; and he offered to give any terms if I would capitulate; but his offer was rejected, and his excellency was requested not to trouble me again upon that subject. In consequence of which he dispatched a cutter that night (the 24th) to Martinique, for a reinforcement.

Upon the 25th, the enemy took post upon the different heights in the neighbourhood of Concordia; and on the 26th they took possession of the town of Scarborough, and the hill.

On the 27th, the enemy seemed inclined to attack us. Mr. Charles Low, understanding that I was unwilling to destroy his dwelling-house, and other buildings, altho' they afforded some shelter to the enemy, came himself, and proposed to burn them, which he instantly put in execution.

The 28th, the French squadron came into Rockly Bay, having left Courland the day before. A party of twenty negroes, who were sent this day under the command of Messrs. Hamilton, Mackellar, and Irvine, to burn the remainder of Mr.

Low's houses, very bravely effected that business, notwithstanding the opposition made by a large body of the enemy. Messrs. Mackellar and Irvine, and nine of the negroes, were unfortunately wounded.

The 29th, as well as the two preceding days, the enemy endeavoured, without effect, to draw us from our post, by exposing small parties in marching them from one place to another.

Early on the morning of the 30th, I received a letter from rear admiral Drake, acquainting me that he was coming with six sail of the line and three frigates, to relieve the island, and that general Skene was on board with 528 men. The joy occasioned by the expected arrival of this long-looked-for succour, did not last, as we were soon afterward informed that the whole French fleet had arrived from Martinique in consequence of general Blanchelande's letter dispatched the 24th, at night, and had fallen in with Mr. Drake, who was thereby prevented from landing the troops, and it was supposed his squadron was taken.

This day the enemy took possession of Mr. Cotton's house, from whence they could see every thing that passed at Concordia; they proposed that night to make a vigorous attack, and the garrison, as usual, was ready to receive them; but their guides having mistaken the path in the dark, they returned next morning to their quarters much fatigued, and resolved not to make another attempt, until their reinforcement from Martinique should arrive.

On the morning of the 31st, we received intelligence, that the enemy's fleet was again seen to windward, having returned from chasing admiral Drake; and at sun-set that

(K)

even-

evening, we saw two French frigates and three cutters, full of troops, go into Courland Bay.

The ground at Concordia is strong, and there is a view from it of both sides of the island, which made it a desirable post for us to possess; but the trench which had been dug there some years, was almost entirely filled up, and if it had been cleared out, would have required above 2000 men to defend it. The engineers being for these and other reasons of opinion, that it was no longer tenable against so superior a force, it was unanimously resolved, in a council of war, to retreat directly to the main ridge, where a few huts had been built, and some provisions and ammunition previously lodged: in consequence of this resolution, the garrison began to march at one in the morning of the 1st of June, and before eight, they effected their retreat to Caledonia, without the loss of a man.

Caledonia is near the centre of the island, and from thence to the north side across the main ridge, there is a road six miles in length, and so narrow that two men cannot walk abreast. Upon each side there is an impenetrable forest, which extends some miles—a handful of men could undoubtedly defend this road against a powerful army. Rejoiced that the troops had got to this place, and believing they could hold out whilst the provisions lasted, (of which there were a few days) I went on with the engineers to get every thing ready for their reception at the huts.

The Marquis de Bouillé, who had arrived at Courland the evening before with the reinforcement, having been deceived by the silence of our march, and by centres be-

ing left after the garrison went away, sent a flag at day-break to Concordia, believing the troops were still there, but being disappointed, he immediately sent orders to the Marquis de Chlieu, governor of Dominique, to land at Man of War Bay, with three or four hundred men, and he followed us directly himself as far as Brotherfield. Being still more disappointed when he got there, to learn that we were four miles before him in a strong country, he instantly ordered the adjoining plantations of Nutmeg-Grove and Belmont, to be reduced to ashes, which was done accordingly, in hopes of making the inhabitants surrender. An order was then issued to burn four plantations more in four hours, which was to be repeated at the like interval, till the island should either be surrendered or laid waste.

At this time the enemy required Mr. Orr to show them the road to our camp, which he positively refused. He offered to go with an officer and a flag, but he would not conduct their army. Threats of burning his house, and of putting him to death, had no effect upon Mr. Orr, although at that very instant, the plantations of his neighbours were in flames. Mr. Turner, a capitulant of St. Vincent's, was then applied to; but, although that gentleman's whole property was under the French government, he peremptorily refused to shew them the road, upon their attempting to push on a body of men under protection of the flag of truce. The Marquis de Bouillé was therefore obliged to send the flag without the troops.

Upon being informed of some of those circumstances, I hastened back to Caledonia, when, to my  
very

very great mortification, the militia refused to hold out any longer. My duty to his Majesty, and my regard for the inhabitants, concurred in making me urge them earnestly to defend the island to the last extremity, but in vain; for exhausted with fatigue; in despair at not having been relieved in the course of ten days, and seeing at the same instant their estates in flames, they no longer paid attention to my remonstrances. Thus circumstanced, I desired the commanding officer of the regulars to take possession of the road before-mentioned with his troops, whilst I should renew my endeavours to prevail upon the militia to alter their sentiments; but that gentleman refused to obey my orders, and consulting his officers, he determined to capitulate.

Being unable to prevent it, I left the regulars and militia to make terms for themselves, as capitulating at that time was perfectly against my opinion: but afterwards seeing it was impossible to get them to hold out longer, and the inhabitants having already agreed to some articles which I disapproved of, I interposed, and protested against any capitulation but upon the terms of Dominique.—Count Dillon, who was empowered by the Marquis de Bouillé to treat, for some time insisted that their deserters, and the negroes we had armed, should be delivered up to be punished; but finding these articles would never be complied with, he gave them up, and on the evening of the first of June, I consented to surrender the island upon the terms given to Dominique. The officer commanding the troops made terms for the regulars without consulting me, and he sent the officer

next in command that evening, as a hostage for his performance of them.

The Marquis de Bouillé afterwards drew out articles very different from those at Dominique, which I refused to sign; but upon some of them being altered, and the inhabitants representing to me, that they were, upon the whole, better than those of Dominique, I appointed three gentlemen to examine and compare them; and as they unanimously recommended to me to sign them, as being more favourable than those alluded to, I complied with their request. The 1200 half johannes's, and the furnishing 400 negroes to the French king's works, (which are not in the Dominique capitulation) were agreed to by some of the inhabitants, before I had consented to capitulate; but as the planters at large were resolved to pay their quota of those articles, and not to allow the few individuals who had subscribed them to bear the whole loss, and as the Marquis de Bouillé had agreed to allow the 1200 half johannes's to be expended in re-constructing the houses which had been burnt, I admitted them into the capitulation.

It is, perhaps, impossible to ascertain the number of an enemy's army, as they generally exaggerate their force before a siege, and diminish it after. The French, however, upon this occasion, advanced less than is usual; for general Blanchelande upon his landing, said he had 3000 men, and I have been informed since the capitulation, by Mr. Fitzmaurice, the second in command, and Mr. Walsh, the major-general (adjutant-general) of his army, that general Blanchelande brought with him between two and

three thousand men. The reinforcement landed by the Marquis de Bouillé, was supposed to be about half that number.

Our number, under arms, never exceeded 427 men, exclusive of 40 armed negroes, viz. four gunners of the royal artillery, 207 rank and file, of the 86th regiment, 15 matrosses of the island artillery, 181 rank and file, of the militia, and 20 seamen.

Sir George Rodney, in his account, generously gave us 40 of the train, 300 regulars capable of doing duty, and 500 militia, and to make the contest nearly equal, he sunk in the same account all our enemies, except 900.

Sir George observes, "that something extraordinary must have happened to have induced governor Fergusson to capitulate." But I apprehend the world will think it more extraordinary, that a British admiral, with 21 ships of the line under his command, should allow an enemy's squadron, of four ships and frigates, and a few sloops, to besiege for ten days together a British colony, within twenty-four hours sail of him, without either relieving the island, or endeavouring to destroy the squadron, than, that an island, without any fortification whatever, defended by only 427 men, without even covering sufficient to shelter them from the inclemency of the weather, should be unable to hold out longer than ten days, against an army of veteran troops above five times their number.

And it will perhaps appear equally extraordinary, that the whole French fleet and army should arrive at Tobago from Martinique before the squadron from Barbadoes, although my express to Sir

George Rodney failed 36 hours before general Blanchelande dispatched the cutter for his reinforcement, when it is well known that the voyage from Tobago to Martinique, going and returning, is more than double the voyage from Tobago to Barbadoes and back.

*Fermyn-* GEO. FERGUSON.  
*street, No 33.*  
Sept. 24, 1781.

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*Letter from General Green, to the President of the Congress, containing an Account of the Action at Guildford.*

*Camp, at the Iron-works, ten miles from Guildford Courthouse, March 16, 1781.*

S I R,

ON the 10th, I wrote to his excellency general Washington, from the High Rock Ford, on the Haw River, a copy of which I inclosed your excellency, that I had effected a junction with a continental regiment of 18 months men, and two considerable bodies of militia, belonging to Virginia and North Carolina. After this junction, I took the resolution of attacking the enemy, without loss of time, and made the necessary disposition accordingly, being persuaded, that if we were successful, it would prove ruinous to the enemy, and, if otherwise, it would only prove a partial evil to us.

The army marched from the High Rock Ford on the 12th, and on the 14th arrived at Guildford. The enemy lay at the Quaker meeting-house, on Deep River, eight miles from our camp. On the morning of the 15th, our reconnoitering party reported the enemy advancing

ing on the great Salisbury road. The army was drawn up in three lines: the front line was composed of the North Carolina militia, under the command of generals Butler and Eaton; the second line of Virginia militia, commanded by generals Stephens and Lawson, forming two brigades; the third line, consisting of two brigades, one of Virginia and one of Maryland, continental troops, commanded by general Huger and colonel Williams. Lieutenant-colonel Washington, with the dragoons of the first and third regiments, a detachment of light infantry, composed of continental troops, and a regiment of riflemen, under colonel Lynch, formed a corps of observation for the security of our right flank. Lieutenant-colonel Lee, with his legion, a detachment of light infantry, and a corps of riflemen, under colonel Campbell, formed a corps of observation for the security of our left flank.

The greater part of this country is a wilderness, with a few cleared fields interspersed here and there. The army was drawn up on a large hill of ground, surrounded by other hills, the greater part of which was covered with timber and thick underbrush. The front line was posted with two field-pieces, just on the edge of the woods, and the back of a fence which ran parallel with the line, with an open field directly in their front. The second line was in the woods, about three hundred yards in the rear of the first, and the continental troops about 300 yards in the rear of the second, with a double front, as the hill drew to a point where they were posted; and on the right and left were two old fields. In this position we waited the approach of

the enemy, having previously sent off the baggage to this place, appointed to rendezvous at, in case of a defeat. Lieutenant-colonel Lee, with his legion, his infantry, and part of his riflemen, met the enemy on their advance, and had a severe skirmish with lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, in which the enemy suffered greatly. Captain Armstrong charged the British legion, and cut down nearly thirty of their dragoons; but as the enemy reinforced their advanced party, lieutenant-colonel Lee was obliged to retire, and take his position in the line.

The action commenced by a cannonade, which lasted about twenty minutes, when the enemy advanced in three columns, the Hessians on the right, the guards in the centre, and lieutenant-colonel Webster's brigade on the left. The whole moved through the old fields to attack the North Carolina brigades, who waited the attack until the enemy got within 140 yards, when part of them began to fire, but a considerable part left the ground without firing at all. The general and field-officers did all they could to induce the men to stand their ground, but neither the advantages of the position, nor any other consideration, could induce them to stay. General Stephens and general Lawson, and the field-officers of those brigades, were more successful in their exertions. The Virginia militia gave the enemy a warm reception, and kept up a heavy fire for a long time; but being beat back, the action became general almost every where. The corps of observation under Washington and Lee, were warmly engaged, and did great execution. In a word, the conflict was long

and severe, and the enemy only gained their point by superior discipline.

They having broken the second Maryland regiment, and turned our left flank, got into the rear of the Virginia brigade, and appearing to be gaining our right, which would have encircled the whole of the continental troops, I thought it most advisable to order a retreat. About this time, lieutenant-colonel Washington made charge with the horse upon a part of the brigade of guards; and the first regiment of Marylanders, commanded by colonel Gunby, and seconded by lieutenant-colonel Howard, followed the horse with their bayonets: near the whole of this party fell a sacrifice. General Huger was the last that was engaged, and gave the enemy a check. We retreated in good order to the Reedy Fork river, and crossed at the ford, about three miles from the field of action, and there halted, and drew up the troops, until we collected most of the stragglers. We lost our artillery and two ammunition waggons, the greater part of the horses being killed before the retreat began, and it being impossible to move the pieces but along the great road. After collecting our stragglers, we retired to this camp, ten miles distant from Guildford.

From the best information I can get, the enemy's loss is very great, not less in killed and wounded than six hundred men, besides some few prisoners that we brought off.

Inclosed I send your excellency a return of our killed, wounded, and missing. Most of the latter have gone home, as is but too customary with the militia after an action. I cannot learn that the enemy has got any considerable

number of prisoners. Our men are all in good spirits, and in perfect readiness for another field-day.

I only lament the loss of several valuable officers who are killed and wounded in the action. Among the latter are general Stephens, shot through the thigh, and general Huger in the hand; and among the former is major Anderson, of the Maryland line.

The firmness of the officers and soldiers, during the whole campaign, has been most unparalleled. Amidst innumerable difficulties they have discovered a degree of magnanimity and fortitude that will for ever add a lustre to their military reputation.

I have the honour to be, with very great respect and esteem, your excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant,

NATHANIEL GREENE.

*His excellency Samuel Huntington, Esq. President of Congress.*

Continental killed. — One major, one captain, three subalterns, five serjeants, 47 rank and file. — Wounded, three captains, four subalterns, six serjeants, 93 rank and file — Missing, three serjeants, eight drummers, 150 rank and file. Total, one major, nine captains, seven subalterns, 14 serjeants, eight drummers, 290 rank and file.

Published by order of congress,

CHARLES THOMPSON, sec.

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*His Majesty's Speech on closing the Session of Parliament, July 18, 1781.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,  
**A**LTHOUGH the business of this session has required a longer attendance than may have been consistent with your private convenience, yet I am persuaded that

that you look back with satisfaction on the time you have employed in a faithful discharge of your duty to your country, in the present arduous and critical state of public affairs.

I cannot let you depart into your respective counties, without assuring you of my entire approbation of your conduct, and of my perfect confidence in the loyalty and good affections of this Parliament.

The zeal and ardour which you have shown for the honour of my crown; your firm and steady support of a just cause, and the great efforts you have made to enable me to surmount all the difficulties of this extensive and complicated war, must convince the world that the ancient spirit of the British nation is not abated or diminished.

In the midst of these difficulties, you have formed regulations for the better management and improvement of the revenue; you have given additional strength and stability to public credit; and your deliberations on the affairs of the East India Company, have terminated in such measures as will, I trust, produce great and essential advantages to my kingdoms.

I have observed, with much satisfaction, that during the course of that important business, your attention was not more anxiously directed to the benefits to be derived from the territorial acquisitions, than to the happiness and comfort of the inhabitants of those remote provinces.

Whatever may remain to be done for securing those valuable possessions, and for restraining the abuses to which they are peculiarly liable, you will, I doubt not, proceed to provide for at your next meeting, with the same wisdom and temper

that have governed your late proceedings and enquiries.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

My particular thanks are due to you for the ample provision you have made for the service of the current year. I see with great pleasure, that you have had it in your power to apply so large a sum to the discharge of the debt of the navy, and that the supplies which you have granted have been raised in a manner the least burthenome to the property and industry of my faithful people.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

While I lament the continuance of the present troubles, and the extension of the war, I have the conscious satisfaction to reflect, that the constant aim of all my councils has been to bring back my deluded subjects in America, to the happiness and liberty they formerly enjoyed, and to see the tranquillity of Europe restored.

To defend the dominions, and to maintain the rights of this country, was, on my part, the sole cause, and is the only object of the war. Peace is the earnest wish of my heart; but I have too firm a reliance on the spirit and resources of the nation, and the powerful assistance of my Parliament, and the protection of a just and all-ruling Providence, to accept it upon any terms or conditions than such as may consist with the honour and dignity of my crown, and the permanent interest and security of my people.

Then the lord chancellor, by his majesty's command, said,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is his majesty's royal will and pleasure, that this Parliament be prorogued to Thursday, the thirteenth

teenth day of September next, to be then here holden; and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Thursday, the thirteenth day of September next."

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*Answer given by Lord STORMONT to Mons. SIMOLIN, the Russian Minister, with respect to the Mediation offered by the Empress between Great-Britain and the United Provinces.*

THE alliance which has subsisted so many years between Great Britain and the States General, has always been considered by his Majesty as a tie, formed by the most natural causes, and not only agreeable to the interest of both nations, but absolutely essential to their mutual welfare.

The King has done every thing in his power to preserve this tie unbroken, and even to strengthen it; and if the conduct of their High Mightinesses had at all answered to that of his Majesty, they would still have remained in their utmost force. But since the commencement of the present troubles, the only return made by the republic to this constant friendship, has been the total relinquishment of the principles of an alliance, the prime object of which was the mutual defence of the two nations; an obstinate refusal to fulfil the most sacred obligations; a daily violation of the most solemn treaties; an assistance given to the very enemy, against whom he had a right to demand succour; an asylum granted to the American pirates in the Dutch ports, in open violation of the clearest stipulations; and to complete the whole, a denial of justice and satisfaction for the affront given to the dignity of the King, by

a secret league with his rebellious subjects.

All these accumulated injuries rendered it impossible for the King to take any other part than that which he has done.

When the motives which rendered this rupture inevitable were explained to the public, the King ascribed the conduct of the republic to the true cause;—that is to say, to the unhappy influence of a faction, which sacrificed the interest of the nation to their own private views. But the King, at the same time, manifested the most sincere desire to bring back the republic to that system of strict union, efficacious alliance, and reciprocal protection, which has so much contributed to the welfare and glory of the two states.

When the Empress offered her good offices to effect a reconciliation by a particular peace, the King testified his gratitude to her for that fresh proof of a friendship which he values so highly, and avoided exposing the mediation of her Majesty to the danger of a fruitless negotiation. He explained his reasons, which persuaded him, that in the present disposition of the republic, governed by a faction, all reconciliation, during the war with France, would be merely superficial, and would afford an opportunity to the party which sways the republic, to act as secret auxiliaries of all the King's enemies, under the mask of a pretended alliance with Great Britain.

But if there are any indications of change in this disposition, if the powerful intervention of her Imperial Majesty should be able to effect any alteration, and induce the republic to return to those principles which the most discerning part of the nation have never forsaken, his Majesty

Majesty will be ready to treat with their High Mightinesses on the subject of a separate peace; and it is his wish, that the Empress of all the Russias may be the sole mediatrix of this peace. She has been the first to offer her good offices, and so powerful an intervention as hers, cannot gain any thing either in weight or influence by the accession of the most respectable allies.

The friendship of the Empress to both nations, the interest which her empire has in their reciprocal welfare, her known impartiality, and elevated views, are sufficient pledges of the manner in which she will conduct this salutary work: and in a negotiation, the whole object of which is to terminate a war, caused by a violation of the treaties, and by an affront offered to his crown, his Majesty relies, with the utmost confidence and satisfaction, upon the mediation of a sovereign, who holds sacred the faith of treaties, who knows so well how to estimate the dignity of sovereigns, and who has maintained her own, during her glorious reign, with so much greatness and resolution.

(Signed) STORMONT.

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*State Paper presented by Baron NOLKEN, the Swedish Minister, Resident in London, concerning the Intermediation of that Court between this Country and the Dutch.*

THE King does not imagine it necessary at this time, for him to enter into an explanation of the principles which have governed his conduct ever since he ascended the throne of his ancestors. He has been guided by the love of peace, and he could have wished to have seen all the other European powers enjoy that blessing, as uninterruptedly

as himself. These desires, dictated by his natural sentiments of humanity, have not been fulfilled.—The flame of war, kindled in another hemisphere, has communicated to Europe; but the King still flattered himself, that this conflagration would not extend beyond its first bounds, and particularly that a nation, entirely commercial, which had made neutrality the invariable foundation of its conduct, would not have been enveloped in it; and yet, nevertheless, this has happened, almost in the very moment when that power had entered into the most offensive engagements with the King and his two northern allies. If the most exact impartiality that was ever observed, could not exempt the King from immediately feeling the inconveniencies of war, by the considerable losses sustained by his commercial subjects, he had much greater reason to apprehend the consequences, when those troubles were going to be extended; when an open war between Great Britain and the republic of Holland multiplied them; and, to conclude, when neutral commerce was about to endure new shackles by the hostilities committed between those two powers. The King could not fail to perceive these evils, and to wish sincerely that the measures taken by the Empress of Russia, for extinguishing this new war, in its beginning, might be crowned with the most perfect success; but as this salutary work has not been brought to perfection, the King has resolved to join with his allies, the Empress of Russia, and the King of Denmark, in endeavouring to dispose his Britannic Majesty to listen to the pacific sentiments which their High Mightinesses the States General have already made known, by their consenting to open a negotiation for peace.

If such are the inclinations of that Monarch, which ought not to be doubted, it appears that a suspension of hostilities would be the most essential prelude to their accomplishments, as military operations accompanying a negotiation of that nature, can only serve to embarrass and retard the matter, whilst the allied courts wish for nothing more than to be able to accelerate it by every method that may tend to the advantage and satisfaction of the two belligerent powers.

In the sincerity and rectitude which animate his Majesty and his two allies, he cannot conceal the apprehension which he feels from the report of the continuation of the war, which may be productive of the most fatal consequence, and may revive a variety of controversies and disputes. This motive, and more particularly a desire to prevent a farther effusion of blood, are considerations which ought to operate on the mind of the King of Great Britain; and in the entire confidence which his Majesty places in those circumstances, he would receive the truest satisfaction, if, by his interposition and mediation, joined to that of his allies, he should succeed in terminating the differences which have taken place between Great Britain and the United Provinces.

(Signed)

The BARON DE NOLKEN.

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*Copy of the Answer given by Lord STORMONT, on the 18th of September, to the Baron de NOLKEN, the Swedish Envoy, to notify the King's Acceptation of the Empress of Russia's Mediation, and to refuse that of the Court of Sweden.*

THE preservation of public tranquility has been the first object of his Majesty's care, during

the whole course of his reign; the commencement of that reign was signalized by the restoration of peace.

The King made very great sacrifices to humanity, to procure that blessing, and he had reason to flatter himself that, by such moderation, in the midst of victory, he should secure the public quiet, upon the most solid and durable foundations; but those hopes have all proved fallacious, and those foundations have been shaken by the ambitious politics of the Court of Versailles. This Court, after having secretly supported the rebellion kindled in America, openly joined his Majesty's rebellious subjects; and, on account of this violation of public faith, and this direct act of hostility, he commenced the present war.

The conduct of the Republic of Holland, through the whole course of the present war, has excited a general indignation.—This nation presents itself under a very different aspect from that of a nation merely commercial; it is a respectable power, for a long time bound to Great-Britain by the closest alliance. The principal object of that alliance was their common safety, and expressly the mutual protection of each other against the ambitious designs of a dangerous neighbour, which their united efforts have so often defeated, to their reciprocal advantage, and to that of all Europe.

The desertion of all these principles of alliance, which the King, on his part, constantly adhered to; an obstinate refusal to fulfil the most sacred engagements; a daily infraction of the most solemn treaties; assistance given to those very enemies, against whom he had a right to demand succour; an asylum and protection granted in the Dutch ports to the American pirates, in direct violation of the most clear and precise

precise stipulations; and, to complete the whole, a denial of justice and satisfaction for the affront offered to his Majesty's Crown, by a clandestine league entered into with his rebellious subjects; these accumulated causes of complaint, made it impossible for the King to take any other measures than those which he has done, though with the most sincere regret. In explaining to the public the reasons which rendered this rupture inevitable, he ascribed the conduct of the republic to the true cause, namely, to the fatal influence of a faction, who sacrificed the national interest to their own private views; but the King expressed, at the same time, the most earnest desire to bring back the republic to that system of close union, efficacious alliance, and mutual protection, which has so much contributed to the prosperity and glory of the two states.

When the Empress of Russia tendered her good offices, to effect a reconciliation by a separate peace, the King, in expressing the gratitude which that fresh proof of a friendship which ever appeared to him so valuable, justly merited, declined exposing her Imperial Majesty to a fruitless negociation: but now that there are some marks of a change in the disposition of the Republic, some indications of a design to return to those principles, which the wisest part of the Batavian nation have never deserted, a negotiation for a separate peace between the King and their High Mightinesses may be opened with some hopes of success, under the mediation of the Empress of all the Russia's, who has been the first to propose her good offices in this salutary work.—If his Majesty did not immediately avail himself of that offer, it was because he had

every reason to believe that the Republic only sought at that time to amuse him by an insidious negotiation; but the King would think that he made an ill return to the sentiments which prompted those first offers, and would be wanting in the regard so justly due to her Imperial Majesty, and to the confidence which she inspires, if he associated to her mediation any other, even that of an ally the most respectable, and for whom the King entertains the most sincere friendship.

(Signed) STORMONT.

*Correspondence between Earl CORNWALLIS, and General WASHINGTON.*

*Copy of a Letter from Lieutenant-General Earl CORNWALLIS, to General WASHINGTON, dated York, in Virginia, October 17, 1781.*

SIR,

I Propose a cessation of hostilities for twenty-four hours; and that two officers may be appointed by each side, to meet at Mr. Moore's house, to settle terms for the surrender of the posts of York and Gloucester.

I have the honour to be, &c.  
(Signed) CORNWALLIS.

*Copy of a Letter from General WASHINGTON to Lieutenant-general Earl CORNWALLIS, dated Camp before York, Oct. 17, 1781.*

MY LORD,

I Have had the honor of receiving your Lordship's letter of this date.

An ardent desire to spare the farther effusion of blood will readily incline

cline me to listen to such terms for the surrender of your posts, as are admissible.

I wish, previous to the meeting of Commissioners, that your Lordship's proposals, in writing, may be sent to the American lines; for which purpose a suspension of hostilities during two hours from the delivery of this letter, will be granted.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) GEO. WASHINGTON.

your answer, I shall have no objection to the hour that you may propose.

I have the honour to be, Sir,  
your most obedient and most  
humble servant,  
(Signed) CORNWALLIS.

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*Copy of a Letter from General WASHINGTON to Lieutenant-general Earl Cornwallis, dated Camp, before York, Oct. 18, 1781.*

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*Copy of a Letter from Earl Cornwallis to General WASHINGTON, dated York, Virginia, Oct. 17, 1781. Half past four, P.M.*

SIR,

I Have this moment been honoured with your Excellency's letter dated this day. The time limited for sending my answer will not admit of entering into the detail of articles; but the basis of my proposals will be, that the garrisons of York and Gloucester shall be prisoners of war with the customary honours; and for the convenience of the individuals which I have the honor to command, that the British shall be sent to Britain, and the Germans to Germany, under engagement not to serve against France, America, or their allies, until released, or regularly exchanged; that all arms and public stores shall be delivered up to you; but that the usual indulgence of side-arms to officers, and of retaining private property, shall be granted to officers and soldiers; and that the interests of several individuals in civil capacities, and connected with us, shall be attended to.

If your Excellency thinks that a continuance of the suspension of hostilities will be necessary to transmit

MY LORD,

TO avoid unnecessary discussions and delays, I shall at once, in answer to your Lordship's letter of yesterday, declare the general basis upon which a definitive treaty of capitulation may take place.

The garrisons of York and Gloucester, including the seamen as you propose, shall be received prisoners of war. The condition annexed of sending the British and German troops to the parts of Europe to which they respectively belong, is inadmissible: instead of this, they will be marched to such parts of the country as can most conveniently provide for their subsistence; and the benevolent treatment of prisoners, which is invariably observed by the Americans, will be extended to them. The same honours will be granted to the surrendering army, as were granted to the garrison of Charles-Town.

The shipping and boats in the two harbours, with all their guns, stores, tackling, furniture and apparel, shall be delivered in their present state to an officer of the navy appointed to take possession of them.

The artillery, arms, accoutrements, military chest, and public stores of every denomination, shall be delivered unimpaired, to the heads

heads of the departments to which they respectively belong.

The officers shall be indulged in retaining their side arms; and the officers and soldiers may preserve their baggage and effects; with this reserve, that property taken in the country will be reclaimed.

With regard to the individuals in civil capacities, whose interests your Lordship wishes may be attended to, until they are more particularly described, nothing definitive can be settled.

I have to add, that I expect the sick and wounded will be supplied with their own hospital stores, and be attended by British surgeons, particularly charged with the care of them.

Your Lordship will be pleased to signify your determination either to accept or reject the proposals now offered, in the course of two hours from the delivery of this letter, that commissioners may be appointed to digest the articles of capitulation, or a renewal of hostilities may take place.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) GEO. WASHINGTON.

*Copy of a Letter from Lieutenant-general Earl CORNWALLIS to General WASHINGTON, dated York, in Virginia, Oct. 18, 1781.*

SIR,

I Agree to open a treaty of capitulation upon the basis of the garri- sons of York and Gloucester, including seamen, being prisoners of war, without annexing the condition of their being sent to Europe; but I expect to receive a compensation in arranging the articles of the capitulation for the surrender of Gloucester in its present state of defence. I

shall in particular desire, that the Bonetta sloop of war may be left entirely at my disposal, from the hour that the capitulation is signed, to receive an Aid de Camp to carry my dispatches to Sir Henry Clinton, such soldiers as I may think proper to send passengers in her, to be manned with 50 men of her own crew, and to be permitted to sail without examination, when my dispatches are ready, engaging on my part that the ship shall be brought back and delivered to you, if she escapes the dangers of the sea; that the crew and soldiers shall be accounted for in future exchanges; that she shall carry off no officer without your consent, nor public property of any kind; and I shall likewise desire, that the traders and inhabitants may preserve their property, and that no person may be punished or molested for having joined the British troops.

If you chuse to proceed to negotiation on these grounds, I shall appoint two Field Officers of my army to meet two officers from you, at any time and place that you think proper, to digest the articles of capitulation.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) CORNWALLIS.

ARTICLES of CAPITULATION, settled between his Excellency General WASHINGTON, Commander in Chief of the Combined Forces of America and France; his Excellency the Count de ROCHAMBEAU, Lieutenant-general of the Armies of the King of France, Great Cross of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, commanding the auxiliary Troop of his Most Christian Majesty in America; and his Excellency the Count de GRASSE, Lieutenant-general

*neral of the Naval Armies of his Most Christian Majesty, Commander of the Order of St. Louis, Commander in Chief of the Naval Army of France in the Chesapeake, on the one part: And the Right Honourable Earl CORNWALLIS, Lieutenant-general of his Britannic Majesty's Forces, commanding the Garrisons of York and Gloucester; and THOMAS SYMONDS, Esq. commanding his Britannic Majesty's Naval Forces in York River in Virginia, on the other part.*

ART. I. **T**HE garrisons of York and Gloucester, including the officers and seamen of his Britannic Majesty's ships, as well as other mariners, to surrender themselves prisoners of war to the combined forces of America and France; the land troops to remain prisoners to the United States, the navy to the naval army of his Most Christian Majesty.

ART. I. Granted.

ART. II. The artillery, arms, accoutrements, military chest, and public stores of every denomination, shall be delivered, unimpaired, to the heads of departments appointed to receive them.

ART. II. Granted.

ART. III. At twelve o'clock this day the two redoubts on the left flank of York to be delivered, the one to a detachment of American infantry; the other to a detachment of French grenadiers. The garrison of York will march out to a place to be appointed, in front of the posts, at two o'clock precisely, with shouldered arms, colours cased, and drums beating a British or German march; they are then to ground their arms, and return to their encampment, where they will

remain, until they are dispatched to the places of their destination. Two works on the Gloucester side will be delivered at one o'clock to detachments of French and American troops appointed to possess them; the garrison will march out at three o'clock in the afternoon; the cavalry with their swords drawn, trumpets sounding; and the infantry in the manner prescribed for the garrison of York: They are likewise to return to their encampment, until they can be finally marched off.

ART. III. Granted.

ART. IV. Officers to retain their side arms: both officers and soldiers to keep their private property of every kind; and no part of their baggage or papers to be at any time subject to search or inspection; the baggage and papers of officers and soldiers taken during the siege to be likewise preserved for them. It is understood, that any property obviously belonging to the inhabitants of these States, in the possession of the garrison, shall be subject to be reclaimed.

ART. IV. Granted.

ART. V. The soldiers to be kept in Virginia, Maryland, or Pennsylvania, and as much by regiments as possible, and supplied with the same rations of provisions as are allowed to soldiers in the service of America; a field officer from each nation, to wit, British, Anspach and Hessian, and other officers on parole, in the proportion of one to fifty men, to be allowed to reside near the respective regiments, to visit them frequently, and to be witnesses of their treatment; and that these officers may receive and deliver cloathing and other necessaries; for which passports are to be granted when applied for.

## ART. V. Granted.

ART. VI. The general, staff, and other officers not employed as mentioned in the above article, and who chuse it, to be permitted to go on parole to Europe, to New York, or to any other American maritime posts, at present in the possession of the British forces, at their own option, and proper vessels to be granted by the Count de Grasse to carry them under flags of truce to New-York, within ten days from this date, if possible; and they to reside in a district, to be agreed upon hereafter, until they embark. The officers of the civil departments of the army and navy to be included in this article; passports to go by land to be granted to those to whom vessels cannot be furnished.

## ART. VI. Granted.

ART. VII. Officers to be allowed to keep soldiers as servants, according to the common practice of the service. Servants, not soldiers, are not to be considered as prisoners; and are to be allowed to attend their masters.

## ART. VII. Granted.

ART. VIII. The Bonetta sloop of war, to be equipped and navigated by its present captain and crew, and left entirely at the disposal of Lord Cornwallis from the hour that the capitulation is signed, to receive an Aid de Camp to carry dispatches to Sir Henry Clinton, and such soldiers as he may think proper to be permitted to sail without examination when his dispatches are ready; his Lordship engaging on his part, that the ship shall be delivered to the order of the Count de Grasse, if she escapes the dangers of the seas; and that she shall not carry off any public stores. Any part of the crew that may be deficient on her return, and the soldiers passengers, to be accounted for on her delivery.

## ART. VIII. Granted.

ART. IX. The traders are to preserve their property, and to be allowed three months to dispose of or remove them; and those traders are not to be considered as prisoners of war.

ART. IX. The traders will be allowed to dispose of their effects, the allied army having the right of pre-emption. The traders to be considered as prisoners of war on parole.

ART. X. Natives or inhabitants of different parts of this country, at present in York or Gloucester, are not to be punished on account of having joined the British army.

ART. X. This article cannot be assented to, being altogether of civil resort.

ART. XI. Proper hospitals to be furnished for the sick and wounded; they are to be attended by their own surgeons on parole; and they are to be furnished with medicines and stores from the American hospitals.

ART. XI. The hospital stores now in York and Gloucester shall be delivered for the use of the British sick and wounded; passports will be granted for procuring them farther supplies from New York, as occasion may require; and proper hospitals will be furnished for the reception of the sick and wounded of the two divisions.

ART. XII. Waggons to be furnished to carry the baggage of the officers attending the soldiers, and to surgeons, when travelling on account of the sick, attending the hospitals, at public expence.

ART. XII. They will be furnished if possible.

ART. XIII. The shipping and boats in the two harbours, with all their stores, guns, tackling and apparel, shall be delivered up in their present state to an officer of the navy

navy appointed to take possession of them, previously unloading the private property, part of which had been on board for security during the siege.

Art. XIII. Granted.

Art. XIV. No article of the capitulation to be infringed on pretext of reprisal; and if there be any doubtful expressions in it, they are to be interpreted according to the common meaning and acceptations of the words.

Art. XIV. Granted.

Done in the trenches before York,  
October 19, 1781.

(Signed)

G. WASHINGTON,  
Le Cte. de ROCHAMBEAU,  
Le Cte. de BARRAS, en n'om,  
et celui du Cte. de  
GRASSE,  
CORNWALLIS,  
THO. SYMONDS.

*Letter from General Washington to the  
President of the Congress.*

*Head Quarters, near York, October  
19, 1781.*

S I R,

I Have the honour to inform congress, that a reduction of the British army, under the command of lord Cornwallis, is most happily effected. The unremitted ardor which actuated every officer and soldier in the combined army on this occasion, has principally led to this important event, at an earlier period than my most sanguine hopes had induced me to expect.

The singular spirit of emulation which animated the whole army, from the first commencement of our operations, has filled my mind with the highest pleasure and satisfac-

tion, and had given me the happiest presages of success.

On the 17th instant, a letter was received from lord Cornwallis, proposing a meeting of commissioners to consult on terms for the surrender of the posts of York and Gloucester. This letter (the first that had passed between us) opened a correspondence, a copy of which I do myself the honour to enclose: that correspondence was followed by the definitive capitulation, which was agreed to and signed on the 19th, a copy of which I herewith transmit; and which, I hope, will meet with the approbation of congress.

I should be wanting in the feelings of gratitude, did I not mention, on this occasion, with the warmest sense of acknowledgments, the very chearful and able assistance which I have received in the course of our operations, from his excellency the Count de Rochambeau. — Nothing could equal this zeal of our allies, but the imitating spirit of the American officers, whose ardour would not suffer their exertions to be exceeded.

The very uncommon degree of duty and fatigue, which the nature of the service required from the officers of engineers and artillery of both armies, obliges me particularly to mention the obligations I am under to the commanding and other officers of those corps.

I wish it was in my power to express to congress, how much I feel myself indebted to the Count de Grasse and the officers of the fleet under his command, for the distinguished aid and support which has been afforded by them, between whom and the army, the most happy concurrence of sentiments and views have

have subsisted, and from whom every possible co-operation has been experienced, which the most harmonious intercourse could afford.

Returns of the prisoners, military stores, ordnance, shipping, and other matters, I shall do myself the honour to transmit to congress, as soon as they can be collected by the heads of the departments to which they belong.

Colonel Laurens, and the viscount de Noailles, on the part of the combined army, were the gentlemen who acted as commissioners for forming and settling the terms of capitulation and surrender, herewith transmitted, to whom I am particularly obliged for their readiness and attention exhibited on the occasion.

Colonel Tighman, one of my aids de camp, will have the honour to deliver these dispatches to your excellency; he will be able to inform you of every minute circumstance which is not particularly mentioned in my letter. His merits, which are too well known to need any observations at this time, have gained my particular attention, and I could wish that they may be honoured by the notice of your excellency and congress.

Your excellency and congress, will be pleased to accept my congratulations on this happy event, and believe me to be, with the highest respect and esteem, Sir, your excellency's most obedient, and humble servant,

GEO. WASHINGTON.

P. S. Though I am not possessed of the particular returns, yet I have reason to suppose, that the number of prisoners will be between 5 and 6000, exclusive of seamen and others.

*Petition of the Jews at St. Eustatius to Admiral Rodney and General Vaughan.*

*To their Excellencies, the Commanding Officers in Chief of his Britannic Majesty's Army and Navy in the West Indies.*

May it please your Excellencies,  
**T**O permit us, in the name and on the behalf of ourselves and others of the people of the Hebrew nation, residents in the Island of Saint Eustatius, humbly to approach your excellencies, and with heart-felt anguish, to lay our grievances before you, and say: that it was with the utmost concern and astonishment, we have already, not only received your Excellencies afflicting order and sentence, to give up the keys of our stores with an inventory thereof, and of our household plate and furniture, and to hold ourselves in readiness to depart this island, ignorant of our destination, and leaving our beloved wives and helpless children behind us, and our property and effects liable to seizure and confiscation; but also find, that these orders are for the major part carried into execution, a number of our brethren having, on Tuesday the thirteenth instant, been sent on board a ship, and have not since been heard of. Such unexpected orders as these from British commanders, whose principal characteristic is "mercy and humanity," have not only been productive of the most horrid and melancholy scenes of distress and confusion, that ever British eyes beheld under the fatal consequences of a rigid war, but numbers of families are now helpless, disconsolate, and in an absolute state of indigence and despair.

Unconscious of deserving so severe a treatment, we flatter ourselves,

(L) that

that your Excellencies will be pleased to hear this our humble petition, and not involve in one complicated scene of distress and misery, our helpless women and innocent babes ; confidently relying upon, and earnestly hoping that, through your Excellencies justice and humanity, we shall not supplicate in vain.

It is the peculiar happiness of those who live under a British constitution, to be indulged with their own sentiments in matters of religion, when these principles of religion are not incompatible with, or subversive of the constitution in church or state ; and it is the peculiar happiness of the Hebrew nation to say, that their religion teaches peace and obedience to the government under which they live : and when civil dissensions have threatened to subvert the constitution, the Hebrew nation have ever preserved a peaceful demeanour, with true loyalty to the King, and a firm and steady attachment to the laws and constitution.

For what reason, or from what motive we are to be banished this island, we are at a loss to account— If any among us have committed a crime for which they are punishable, we humbly beg those crimes may be pointed out, and that such persons may be purged from among us.— But if nothing can be alledged against us but the religion of our forefathers, we hope that will not be considered a crime ; or that a religion, which preaches peace and recommends obedience to government, should point out its sectaries as objects of your Excellencies rigour, and merit exclusion from a British island, by the express orders of British commanders. A moment's reflection must

discountenance the idea, and leave us in perfect confidence of your Excellencies favourable answer.

Permit us then to assure your Excellencies, that we ever have, and still are willing, to give every conscientious testimony of obedience to government ; and those of us in particular, who claim to be natural born subjects of Great-Britain, most humbly intreat your Excellencies to order us before you, or before such person or persons as your Excellencies shall please to appoint, there to prove our loyalty and fidelity, and to repeat and take our oaths of allegiance.

May the God of all mercies incline your hearts to listen to the prayers and supplications of your petitioners, and in this confidence, we humbly submit ourselves to your Excellencies determination, hoping that you will pardon us for the intrusion of this address ; and that through your Excellencies lenity and humanity, your Excellencies will be pleased to grant us such favourable terms, as you in your judgment and wisdom shall think most advantageous to his Majesty's interest, and the honour and glory of his successful arms.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c.

*Saint Eustatius, Feb. 16, 1781.*

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PETITION of the WEST-INDIA  
PLANTERS and MERCHANTS to  
the KING.

*To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.*

*The Humble Address and Petition of  
sundry West-India Planters and Merchants,  
on behalf of themselves, and  
others*

*others interested in the British West India Islands.*

Most gracious Sovereign,  
**W** E your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Planters and Merchants interested in the British West-India Islands, beg leave to approach your Royal presence, with hearts full of the warmest attachment to your Majesty's person and family, and to the happy constitution of this kingdom.

The unhappy breach between Great Britain and the Colonies of North America, had no sooner taken place, than the West India planters and merchants humbly represented to your Majesty, and to both Houses of Parliament, their apprehensions of the distress and danger, that would probably ensue therefrom.

When the colonies of North America formed an alliance with the ancient enemies of this kingdom, those apprehensions of your Majesty's petitioners were greatly increased; and they should have considered themselves as deficient in every duty to your Majesty, as well as regard to the great interests of this kingdom, had they not represented to your Majesty's ministers, the additional danger to which all the British West India Islands, were exposed, from so powerful a combination.

Every effort was, therefore, early made, and invariably continued, by your petitioners, to urge your Majesty's ministers, to provide effectual reinforcements for their protection, and particularly to induce them, to keep a permanent superiority of naval force in the West Indies, as being the natural, and only

certain security of those possessions. The loss of several of those islands has afforded a melancholy proof of those timely and unremitted applications.

Confident, however, that the remaining islands must be considered as objects deserving the most serious attention, your petitioners did not yield to despair, but trusted, that the unhappy experience of past losses would excite your Majesty's ministers, to adopt such measures, as might effectually secure those islands, which still remained.

But it is with the utmost concern, that your petitioners are compelled to declare, that the remaining islands are still so unhappily destitute of protection, that at no moment of the war have they been exposed to more imminent danger, than in the present awful conjuncture.

Your petitioners, therefore alarmed by the inefficacy of their former applications to your Majesty's ministers, humbly implore your Majesty to enforce and extend the present assurances they have given us, and to direct, that without delay, reinforcements, naval and military, adequate to the permanent defence of your Majesty's West India islands, may be sent out, so that, by the blessing of Providence, those most valuable possessions may still be preserved to the British empire.

And your petitioners shall ever pray, &c. &c.

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*To the KING'S Most Excellent  
 MAJESTY.*

*The humble Address, Remonstrance,  
 and Petition, of the Lord Mayor,  
 Aldermen, and Livery, of the City  
 of*

*of London, in Common-Hall assembled.*

May it please your Majesty,

**I**MRESSED with an awful sense of the dangers which surround us, feeling for ourselves and our posterity, anxious for the glory of a country hitherto as much renowned for the virtues of justice and humanity, as for the splendour of its arms, we approach your throne with sentiments becoming citizens at soul arming an hour; at the same time with that respect which is due to the monarch of a free people, and a prince of the illustrious house of Brunswick, to which we feel ourselves in a peculiar manner attached, by all the ties of gratitude and affection.

It is with inexpressible concern that we have heard your Majesty declare, in your speech to both houses of Parliament, your intention of persevering in a system of measures which has proved so disastrous to this country. Such a declaration calls for the voice of a free and injured people. We feel the respect due to majesty: but in this critical and awful moment, to flatter is to betray. Your Majesty's ministers have, by false assertions and fallacious suggestions, deluded your Majesty and the nation into the present unnatural and unfortunate war. The consequences of this delusion have been, that the trade of this country has suffered irreparable losses, and is threatened with final extinction.

The manufactures in many valuable branches are declining, and their supply of materials rendered precarious, by the inferiority of your Majesty's fleet to that of the enemy in almost every part of the globe.

The landed property through-

out the kingdom has been depreciated to the most alarming degree.

The property of your Majesty's subjects vested in the public funds, has lost above one third of its value.

Private credit has been almost wholly annihilated by the enormous interest given in the public loans, superior to that which is allowed by law in any private contract. Such of our brethren in America as were deluded by the promises of your Majesty's ministers, and the proclamations of your generals to join your Majesty's standard, have been surrendered by your Majesty's armies to the mercy of their victorious countrymen.

Your Majesty's fleets have lost their wonted superiority,

Your armies have been captured,

Your dominions have been lost,

And your Majesty's faithful subjects have been loaded with a burthen of taxes, which, even if our victories had been as splendid as our defeats have been disgraceful, if our accession of dominion had been as fortunate as the dismemberment of the empire has been cruel and disastrous, could not in itself be considered but as a great and grievous calamity.

We do, therefore, most humbly and earnestly implore your Majesty to take all these circumstances into your royal consideration, and to compare the present situation of your dominions with that uncommon state of prosperity to which the wisdom of your royal ancestors, the spirit and bravery of the British people, and the favour of divine Providence, which attends upon principles of justice and humanity, had once raised this happy country, the pride and envy of all the civilized world!

We beseech your Majesty no longer

onger to continue in a delusion from which the nation has awakened; and that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to relinquish entirely, and for ever, the plan of reducing our brethren in America to obedience by force; a plan which the fatal experience of past losses has convinced us cannot be prosecuted without manifest and imminent danger to all your Majesty's remaining possessions in the western world.

We wish to declare to your Majesty, to Europe, to America itself, our abhorrence of the continuation of this unnatural and unfortunate war, which can tend to no other purpose than that of alienating and rendering irrecoverable the confidence of our American brethren, with whom we still hope to live upon the terms of intercourse and friendship, so necessary to the commercial prosperity of this kingdom. We do, therefore, farther humbly implore your Majesty, that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to dismiss from your presence and councils all the advisers, both public and secret, of the measures we lament, as a pledge to the world of your Majesty's fixed determination to abandon a system incompatible with the interest of your crown, and the happiness of your people.

Signed by order,

WILLIAM RIX.

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*Petition of Henry Laurens, Esq. to the House of Commons.*

*To the Right Hon. Charles Wolfran Cornwall, Speaker, and the Hon. the House of Commons.*

THE representation and prayer of Henry Laurens, a native of South Carolina, some time recog-

nized by the British Commissioners in America by the style of his Excellency Henry Laurens, President of Congress, now a close prisoner in the Tower of London,

Most respectfully sheweth, That your representer for many years, at the peril of his life and fortune, evidently laboured to preserve and strengthen the ancient friendship between Great Britain and the colonies; and that in no instance he ever excited on either side the dissensions which separated them.

That the commencement of the present war was a subject of great grief to him, inasmuch as he foresaw and foretold, in letters now extant, the distresses which both countries experience at this day.

That in the rise and progress of the war, he extended every act of kindness in his power to persons called Loyalists and Quietists, as well as to British prisoners of war; very ample proofs of which he can produce.

That he was captured on the American coast, first landed upon American ground, where he saw exchanges of British and American prisoners in a course of negotiation; and that such exchanges and enlargements upon parole are mutually and daily practised in America.

That he was committed to the Tower on the 6th of October, 1780, being then dangerously ill; that in the mean time he has, in many respects, particularly by being deprived (with very little exception) of the visits and consultations of his children and other relations and friends, suffered under a degree of rigour almost, if not altogether, unexampled in modern British history.

That from long confinement, and the want of proper exercise, and other obvious causes, his bodily

health is greatly impaired, and that he is now in a languishing state : And,

Therefore your representer humbly prays your Honours will condescend to take his case into consideration; and, under proper conditions and restrictions, grant him enlargement, or such other relief as to the wisdom and benignity of your Honours shall seem fitting.

HENRY LAURENS.

Tower of London,  
Dec. 1, 1781.

*The Report of the Commissioners for examining, taking, and stating the Public Accounts of this Kingdom, to the Honourable the House of Commons, in Pursuance of an Order dated the 10th of November, 1780.*

To the honourable the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses in Parliament assembled.

**I**N obedience to an order of this honourable house, bearing date the 10th November instant, "That the commissioners appointed by an act, passed in the last session of parliament, for examining, taking, and stating the public accounts of this kingdom, do forthwith report to this house what progress they have made therein:"

We report, That as soon as the act, by which we were constituted, was passed, and a proper place for our reception could be provided, we entered upon the execution of the act; and after the necessary arrangements of office, and forms of proceeding were settled, we in the first place, in obedience to the express directions of the act, made use

of all the necessary means for coming at a knowledge of the names of all persons in the receipt of public money, or to whom public money unaccounted for had been issued, that we might direct precepts for an account of the balances in their hands, in order to examine what part thereof might be applied to the public service.

From time to time, as such information (not procured without difficulty, nor without delay) has been obtained, we have issued precepts in consequence thereof, to which, for the most part, returns have been made. We have received accounts of the balances in the hands of the receivers general of the land tax, and of the representatives of those who are dead; of the different treasurers, and representatives of treasurers of the navy, whose accounts are unsettled; of the different paymasters, and representatives of paymasters, of his majesty's forces, whose accounts are unsettled; and of various other classes of public accountants: reports of which will be made to his Majesty, and to both houses of Parliament, in pursuance of the directions of the act, as soon as such examinations have been taken as are necessary to enable us to judge, what part of those balances may be immediately taken out of the hands of the public accountants, and applied to the public service.

We began these enquiries with the receivers general of the land-tax, of whom we have examined as many as we thought necessary, not only as to the public money in their hands, but also as to the mode of collecting, receiving, paying in, and accounting for, the taxes received by them. Upon the first part of this enquiry, namely, as to the public money in their hands, we are preparing

preparing a report, which we hope will be soon ready to be presented.

As the excise is one of the most considerable branches of the public revenue, we have examined several of the officers in its different departments, as well to be informed of the mode and manner in which it is collected and paid in, as to enable us to judge with what comparative expence, efficacy, and dispatch, the land-tax is collected and paid into the Exchequer.

The returns of balances from the treasurers of the navy, whose names as public accountants stand first in the general certificate of accounts depending in the office of the auditors of the imprest, are now under our consideration. We have examined the right honourable earl Temple, representative of the late George Grenville, Esq. the right hon. lord viscount Barrington; the right hon. lord viscount Howe; Sir Gilbert Elliot, baronet, representative of the late Sir Gilbert Elliot, baronet; and the right hon. Welbore Ellis; and we are now collecting such other information as may enable us to report upon the balances respectively in their hands.

In the execution of the trust vested in us, we have proceeded with as much expedition as we found consistent with the difficulty and importance of the objects before us, and an exact and impartial attention to the interests of the public, and the rights of individuals.

A commission of accounts, to the extent and for the purposes expressed in the act, is not an ordinary institution; and we have been obliged to content ourselves with the suggestions of our own understandings, unassisted either by the lights of our ancestors, or the experience of contemporaries. A reference to the

minutes of our proceedings, will, if called for, shew that we have at least been diligent and persevering.

GUY CARLETON,	(L.S.)
T. ANGUISH,	(L.S.)
A. PIGGOTT,	(L.S.)
RICHARD NEAVE,	(L.S.)
SAMUEL BEACHCROFT,	(L.S.)
GEORGE DRUMMOND,	(L.S.)

*The Second Report of the Commissioners appointed to examine, take, and state, the Public Accounts of the Kingdom.*

**P**URSUING the line of inquiry marked out in our first report to the legislature, namely, an examination of the balances in the hands of those accountants who receive money from the subject to be paid into the exchequer; that we might omit no office of receipt, and no receiver of the public revenue under that description, we obtained from the office of the auditor of the exchequer, "A list of all the public offices where money is received for taxes or duties, and of the names of all persons who are receivers of public money raised upon the subject by taxes or duties, and who pay the same into the Exchequer."

We have examined into the manner in which the public revenue is collected, received, and paid into the Exchequer, in all these offices, and by all these receivers

In the customs, the receiver general, William Mellish, esquire, certified to us that upon the 10th of September last, there was in his hands, exclusively of the current weekly receipt of the duties on the customs, the sum of four thousand four hundred and twelve pounds three shillings and ten pence; which sum

(L 4) was

was the amount of certain collections transmitted to him, either from the plantations, or particular out-ports; and was to continue in his hands no longer than until the comptroller-general, as to some parts of it, and the commissioners, as to other parts, should direct under what heads of duties the several items, of which this sum was compounded, should be arranged, and paid into the Exchequer, or otherwise disposed of. Mr. Mellish has informed us, that part of this sum has been paid by him, according to orders of the commissioners and comptroller-general; and that the other part thereof, amounting to three thousand two hundred eighty-eight pounds fourteen shillings and eleven pence farthing, was remaining in his hands the 20th instant: this remainder, we are of opinion, the commissioners and comptroller-general should in their several departments arrange, and the receiver-general should pay according to such arrangement as speedily as possible.

By the examinations of Joshua Powell, esquire, chief clerk to the comptroller-general; and of Mr. Anthony Blinckhorn, assistant to the receiver-general, it appears that the duties of the customs are collected by officers, either in London or at the out-ports: in London, the chief teller every day receives them from the collectors, and pays them into the office of the receiver-general; at the out-ports, the collectors remit their receipt by bills to the receiver-general, and are not permitted to retain in their hands above one hundred pounds, unless for special reasons, allowed of by the commissioners, and by the lords of the treasury. The nett produce of every duty received in each week, is paid by the receiver-general

into the following week into the Exchequer.

In the excise, we find, from the examinations of George Lewis Scott, esquire, one of the commissioners, and of Richard Paton, esquire, second general-accountant (both annexed to our first report) that the collectors retain in their hands no part of the duties they receive; and that the receiver-general every week pays into the Exchequer the nett produce of this revenue, unless some foreseen demands in the following week make a reservation of any part of it necessary.

In the stamp-office, we examined Mr. James Dugdale, deputy receiver-general; and Mr. John Lloyd, first clerk to the comptroller and accountant-general; from whom we collect, that the whole produce of these duties, arising either from the receipt at the office in London, or from bills remitted from the distributors in the country, is paid every week into the Exchequer.

In the salt-office, Milward Rowe, esquire, one of the commissioners, and Mr. John Elliot, correspondent, were examined: the collectors of these duties are continually remitting their receipt to the office in bills; every week the account is made up, and the whole balance paid into the Exchequer, reserving always, in the hands of the cashier, a sum not exceeding five hundred pounds, for the purpose of defraying the incidental expences of the office.

In the office for licensing hawkers and pedlars, we learn from Mr. James Farmer, one of the commissioners, that the riding surveyors keep remitting to this office, in bills, the duties they receive in the country; which the cashier pays, together with what he receives in London,

don, weekly, into the Exchequer, pursuant to the act of the 9th and 10th of king William the Third, provided his whole receipt amounts to more than two hundred pounds; reserving in his hands such a sum as may be sufficient for the payment of salaries, incidents, and current expences.

In the office for regulating hackney coaches and chairs, we collect from the examination of Mr. Joseph Marshall, clerk to the receiver-general, that the duties or rents of the hackney coaches become due every lunar month, and of the hackney chairs every quarter; and these rents being usually paid within a certain time after they become due, the receiver-general makes a payment of one thousand pounds into the Exchequer every twenty-eight days, except that each of his quarterly payments amounts to five hundred pounds only, as he then reserves in his hands a sum for the payment of salaries, and the incidental expences of the office.

The punctuality and expedition with which the duties collected in these offices pass from the pocket of the subject into the Exchequer, leave us no room to suggest any alteration in the time or manner of paying in the same.

In the post office, Robert Trevor, esq. the receiver-general, in answer to our precept, returned a balance of nine thousand three hundred fifty eight pounds two shillings, in his hands upon the 5th of September last. From his examination, and from those of William Fauquier, esq. accountant-general in this office, and of Mr. William Ward, collector of the bye and cross road office, it appears, that this revenue is paid into the office of the receiver-general, either by certain officers or collectors

in London (some paying every other day, some weekly, and some quarterly, or by remittances in bills from the post-masters in the country) who do not keep the money they receive any considerable time in their hands. The collector of the bye and cross-road office makes his payments to the receiver-general quarterly, and to the amount of about fifteen thousand pounds each quarter. The receiver-general pays into the exchequer seven hundred pounds every week, pursuant to the act of the 9th and 10th of queen Anne, chapter the 10th, and the balance in his hands he pays in every quarter, reserving about five thousand pounds to answer incidental warrants from the board, to pay salaries and other expences of the office.

There are four branches of the revenue which are collected not under the direction of commissioners, but by single persons only: these are the first fruits and the tenths of the clergy; and the deductions of six pence, and of one shilling, in the pound, out of pensions, salaries, fees, and wages.

We examined Edward Maise, esquire, the receiver, and John Bacon, esquire, the deputy receiver, of the first fruits; who informed us, that this revenue is received from the clergy, at the office in London; that at the end of October, or the beginning of November, in every year, this receiver pays into the Exchequer the net receipt of the preceding year, ending 31st of December; and that the balance of this duty, in his hands, upon the 30th of November last, was four thousand three hundred thirty-two pounds eight shillings and eleven pence three farthings.

Robert Chester, esquire, the receiver

ceiver of the tenths, being examined, we find that these payments become due from the clergy every Christmas, that they ought to be made before the last day of April following, and if they are not made before the 31st of May, he delivers an account of the defaulters into the Exchequer; that he receives these payments, together with the arrears of former years, during the following year, ending at Christmas, to which time he makes up his yearly account, and in the month of June or July after, he has, for the last three years, paid into the Exchequer the net receipt of the preceding year; and it appears, that, upon the 20th of December last, the sum in his hands was nine thousand eight hundred and ninety pounds and two pence halfpenny.

Both these dues from the clergy are granted in pursuance of the 2d and 3d of queen Anne, chapter 11th, to the corporation called The Governors of the Bounty of Queen Anne, for the augmentation of the maintenance of the poor clergy. These governors usually hold their first meeting some time in November every year, a short time before which it has been customary for these receivers to make their payments into the Exchequer.

Thomas Astle, esquire, receiver of the six-penny duty, collects it from the offices and persons charged, either quarterly, half-yearly, or yearly, according to the practice of the office or person he receives it from: he has no stated times for his payments into the Exchequer, except that in March or April, every year, he pays in the balance then in his hands, of his last year's collection. By his return to us, upon the 16th of December last, the sum of six thousand eight hundred eighty-one

pounds seven shillings and eleven pence was then remaining in his hands; but this sum, as he has since informed us, he has paid into the Exchequer, together with the balance of his year's account, ending the 5th instant.

Richard Carter, esquire, receiver of the one shilling duty, collects it from different offices, at different times: he usually makes payments every quarter into the Exchequer, and once a year pays in the balance. The sum in his hands, upon the 20th October last, was two thousand and fifty pounds fifteen shillings and seven pence; and he has since signified to us, that he has paid the same into the Exchequer.

The intention of that clause in the act, which directs our first inquiries to the public money in the hands of accountants, is, that the public may the sooner avail themselves of the use of their own money: one of the indispensable means of obtaining this end is, to accelerate the payment of the revenue into the Exchequer.

Out of the revenue of the post office, the act of queen Anne orders a payment of seven hundred pounds every week into the Exchequer, and assigns as a reason, "the raising a present supply of monies for carrying on the war, and other her majesty's most necessary occasions." The necessary occasions of these times, require payments as large and as frequent as can be made. It appears from an account of the net produce of the revenues of the post office at the time the act of queen Anne passed, and from the accounts of the present weekly receipts of these revenues, and of the balances paid quarterly into the Exchequer, transmitted to us from the receiver-general,

ral, that the revenues of this office are much increased, and that the current weekly receipt will supply a much larger payment than seven hundred pounds. We are therefore of opinion, that the method of paying the balance every week into the Exchequer, established in the customs, excise, and other offices above mentioned, should be adopted in the post office: and that the receiver general should every week pay the net balance of his receipt into the Exchequer, reserving in his hands no more than is necessary to answer the current payments and expences of the office.

It appears to be customary for the receiver of the first fruits, to detain in his hands the produce of the whole year, until eight or nine months after that year is ended, besides receiving the current produce of those months; and for the receiver of the tenths to detain in his hands, for at least a year, the whole of this duty, received by him before the 31st of May in each year (at which time he delivers a list of the defaulters into the Exchequer), besides receiving the current produce of that year. It appears likewise, that the receivers of the six-penny and shilling duties, do not pay into the Exchequer the whole produce of these duties as they receive them. All such detentions are, in our opinion, a disadvantage to the public, and liable to abuse. There exists no reason why the public should not have the custody and use of public money, rather than an individual, until the service to which it is appropriated, of whatever nature that service may be, calls for its application: the public coffers are the safest repository for public money.

One purpose among others, ex-

pressed in the act that appoints us, is, that any defect in the present method of collecting the duties may be corrected, and that a less expensive one may be established; and we are expressly directed to report such regulations, as in our judgment shall appear expedient to be established, in order that the duties may hereafter be received in the manner the most advantageous to the public.

We therefore, in obedience thereto, think it our duty to subjoin one observation, that has occurred to us during the progress of our inquiries.

The land tax, and the duties arising from stamps, salt, licences to hawkers and pedlars, and from hackney coaches and chairs, are under the management of five separate and distinct boards of commissioners, consisting of twenty-five in number: the amount of the gross produce of the last four of these duties, by the returns made to our precepts, is eight hundred thirty-one thousand one hundred twenty-six pounds three shillings and one penny three farthings; of the nett produce, seven hundred sixty thousand five hundred forty-eight pounds fifteen shillings and six pence. The time in which the commissioners are usually engaged in transacting the business of their several offices is as follows: the attendance of the commissioners of the land tax, at their office, is thrice a week; of the stamp office, thrice a week; of the salt office, twice a week; of hawkers and pedlars, once a week; of hackney coaches and chairs, once a week.

We are aware, that the comparative produce of different duties, is not alone a criterion by which we may judge with precision and certainty of the time, trouble, expence, and number of officers necessary to be

be employed in the management of them : to have formed an accurate and decisive opinion upon this point, it would have been necessary to have entered into an examination, which would have carried us too far from the object of our present enquiry ; but we are of opinion, that the small produce of some of these duties, and the short time in which each of these five boards are able to transact their business, are circumstances which induce a strong presumption, that so many establishments are not necessary for the management of these branches of the revenue ; and which lay a reasonable foundation for an enquiry, whether there may not be formed a consolidation of offices, beneficial to the public. This suggestion we submit to the wisdom of the legislature.

Office of Accounts, Bell-Yard,  
31st of January, 1781.

GUY CARLETON,	(L. S.)
T. ANGUISH,	(L. S.)
A. PIGGOTT,	(L. S.)
RICH. NEAVE,	(L. S.)
SAM. BEACHCROFT,	(L. S.)
GEO. DRUMMOND.	(L. S.)

*The third Report of the Commissioners  
appointed to examine, take, and state  
the public Accounts of the Kingdom.*

**H**AVING finished our examinations of all those public accountants that came to our knowledge in the first class, as far as relates to the balances of public money in their hands, we, in the next place, directed our attention to those accountants who receive public money out of the Exchequer, by way of imprest, and upon account.

The certificate of the accounts depending in the office of the audi-

tors of the imprest, transmitted to us pursuant to our precept, furnished us with a list of these accountants : we took them into our consideration in the order in which they stand upon that certificate ; a rule we pursue in regard to all lists of accountants, unless there are some special reasons for departing from it.

The set of accountants therein first mentioned, are the treasurers of the navy ; and of these, the names that stand first are the executors of Anthony viscount Faulkland, whose final account is dated the 4th of April, 1689, and from whom a balance of twenty-seven thousand six hundred and eleven pounds, six shillings and five pence farthing, is declared to be then due. We did not mispend our time in a pursuit where there was so little probability of benefit to the public : a debt that has subsisted for nearly a century, may be presumed desperate. Passing over therefore this article, we issued our precepts to earl Temple, as representative of the late George Grenville, Esq. to lord viscount Barrington, lord viscount Howe, and to Sir Gilbert Elliot, baronet, as representative of the late Sir Gilbert Elliot, for an account of the public money in their hands, custody, or power, as late treasurers of the navy. The returns made to our precepts are set forth in the appendix ; from which it appears, that the balances of public money remaining in their respective hands, upon the days therein mentioned, amounted together to the sum of seventy-six thousand, seven hundred and ninety-three pounds, eighteen shillings, and one penny farthing.

That we might learn for what reasons, services, or purposes, these sums are permitted to remain in the hands of treasurers of the navy, so  
long

long after they are out of office, we examined several of the officers in this department, namely, George Swaffield, esq. cashier of the victualling; Andrew Douglas, esq. pay-master; Mr. Adam Jellicoe, chief clerk to the pay-master, and Mr. Francis Cook, ledger-writer. By them we are supplied with the following information.

The office of the treasurer of the navy is divided into three branches, the pay-master's, the cashier's, and the victualling branch. All the money he receives is for the navy services, and placed under, or carried over, to one of these branches; the money in each branch is subdivided, arranged, and kept under various different heads of services; the whole balance, at the time he leaves the office, continues to be liable, whether it be in his hands, or in the hands of his representatives, in case of his death, to the same services for which its several parts were originally destined; and the commissioners of the navy, victualling, and sick and hurt offices, each in their several departments, continue to assign bills upon him for payment, until they have reduced his balance to such a sum as, in their opinions, will not be more than sufficient to answer purposes for which it has been usual to leave money with him, until his final account is passed. These purposes are, first, to carry on the recalls upon those ships books which were open in his treasurership, and the payment of the half-pay lists, and bounties to chaplains. The ships books are usually kept open for recalls, for seven or eight years after the expiration of the treasurership, in order to give those seamen who, by being either turned over to other ships, or employed in other places, could not attend at the time the ship

was paid, an opportunity of receiving their wages when it is in their power to apply for them. The only fund applicable to this service is, the money in the pay branch, placed under the head of "To pay ships, and carry on recalls." This service is at an end when the ships books are made up. They are made up as they come in course, in order of time; and after the last is closed, the half-pay lists are also closed, and the payment of the bounty to chaplains ceases.

The other purpose is to pay the fees and expences of carrying on, making up, and passing his accounts. Upon passing every annual account, fees are paid to the auditors of the imprest, out of the money in his hands, under the head of "To pay Exchequer fees, and other contingent expences of the pay-office;" but upon passing his final account, there is a gratuity also paid in the following manner:—The officers and clerks who transact the business of the treasurer in office, carry on also at the same time, and finally make up, the accounts of the treasurers out of office; for which extra work they have no salary or recompence whatever, until the final account is ready to be passed, at which time it has been usual for them, by petition to the lords of the treasury, to obtain a reasonable allowance for their trouble, which has been paid them, by virtue of a treasury warrant, out of any money remaining in the hands of that treasurer, under whatever heads of service it may be placed. This gratuity, together with the fees of passing the annual accounts, and for the quietus, it is imagined will exhaust the whole balance now remaining in the hands of lord Temple.

All the ships books which were paid

paid by Mr. Grenville, lord Barrington, and lord Howe, are made up, and consequently the balances which the three boards have left in the hands of these treasurers must be for the purpose of paying the fees and expences of carrying on, making up, and passing their accounts. Of Sir Gilbert Elliot's ships books, five hundred and six are still open for recalls; and payments, if applied for, are made upon them once a week; and therefore, whatever sums stand upon his account, in his paymaster's branch, under the heads of wages, half-pay, and bounties to chaplains, are still applicable to those services; and the residue of the money permitted to remain with him is for the purpose of paying the fees and expences of carrying on, making up, and passing his accounts.

How soon then will these several sums be wanted for this purpose? The accounts of the treasurers of the navy are made up and passed as they come in course, in order of time; the officers must finish one year before they begin upon another; and a subsequent treasurer's account is never finished till his predecessor's is finally closed. The state in which their accounts are, in the office of the auditors of the imprest is this:—The last which is declared is Mr. Grenville's account for the year 1758: of all the subsequent accounts, only some sections of their respective navy and victualling ledgers are delivered into this office; which parts of a treasurer's accounts are usually sent thither as speedily as they can be made up after the year expires.

From an account of the balances remaining in the hands of these treasurers, at the times they respectively ceased to be treasurers; and an account of the times when their last

ships books were made up; and a state of Mr. Grenville's balances, and of the balances of lord Barrington, lord Howe, and Sir Gilbert Elliot, every year since they severally went out of office, all transmitted to us from the pay office of the navy, pursuant to our requisitions, we find that Mr. Grenville resigned this office in 1762, and his last ship's book was made up in 1771; that lord Barrington resigned this office in 1765, and his last ship's book was made up in 1775; that lord Howe resigned this office in 1770, and his last ship's book was made up in 1778; and that Sir Gilbert Elliot died in 1777: hence it appears, that for nineteen years there has been in the hands of Mr. Grenville, or of his representatives, and for fifteen years in the hands of lord Barrington, and for ten years in the hands of lord Howe, and for three years in the hands of the representatives of Sir Gilbert Elliot, considerable sums of public money (exclusively of sums on the heads of wages, half-pay, and bounty to chaplains) destined to purposes which (except the passing three years of Mr. Grenville's accounts) have not yet existed, and which, if we may judge from the progress hitherto made in passing these accounts, are not likely soon to exist.

Where public money is appointed for a service or purpose to arise at a future time, we are of opinion, the public alone ought to have the custody and use of that money, in the mean time, and until the service or purpose calls for its application.

When the fees and gratuity become payable, we see no reason why the treasurer in office should not pay them, in like manner as the treasurers out of office pay them now.

We

We did not form our opinion upon these balances without first hearing the late treasurers themselves, or the representatives of those who are dead; and therefore we examined earl Temple, lord viscount Barrington, lord viscount Howe, and Sir Gilbert Elliot, baronet; not one of whom made any objection to paying their balances into the Exchequer, upon condition, some of receiving their quietus, others of being made secure in such payments. We do therefore conceive, that the balances of public money now remaining in the hands of earl Temple, as representative of the late George Grenville, esquire, and in the hands of lord viscount Barrington, and of lord viscount Howe, and of Sir Gilbert Elliot, baronet, as representative of Sir Gilbert Elliot, late treasurers of the navy, ought to be paid into the Exchequer, for the public service, leaving in the hands of Sir Gilbert Elliot the sum in his account placed under the heads of wages, half-pay, and bounties to chaplains, to carry on the services to which the same are applicable: that such payments should be without prejudice, and a proper security and indemnification be given to each of them, against any loss or detriment that may accrue to them, in consequence of such payments.

The Right Hon. Welbore Ellis, the present treasurer of the navy, returned to our requisition, a balance in his hands upon the 31st of August last, of three hundred forty-eight thousand, nine hundred forty-one pounds, eleven shillings and ninepence. The act directs us to examine into all balances in the hands of public accountants, for the purpose of considering what sum may be taken out of their hands, to be applied to the public service. It is

obvious, we could not examine the balance in the hands of the treasurer in office with this view: it could not be in our power to say, that any part of it ought to be paid back into the Exchequer, because, in an office of so constant and large an expenditure, this sum must probably be exhausted, even while it was under our consideration: but it was competent to us, and we thought it our duty, to examine whether this was a larger sum than the current business of the office required should at that time be entrusted to the treasurer of the navy. A comparison between the quantum of the sum, and the demands upon it, would enable us to form some judgment upon this point: with this view we examined the present treasurer himself, Timothy Brett, esquire, commissioner of the navy, and comptroller of the treasurer's accounts, John Slade, esquire, commissioner of the victualling, and John Bell, esquire, commissioner of the sick and hurt; from whom we collect the following information:

All the money received by the treasurer, for the services of the navy, is either issued to him out of the Exchequer, or paid to him by sundry persons, in pursuance of the directions of the navy, victualling, or sick and hurt boards. The money from the Exchequer is issued to him, and arranged in his accounts under various heads of services; these heads are kept distinct; and he cannot place or transfer a sum issued to him under one head, to any other head of service. All bills assigned upon him for payment by these boards, specify the correspondent head of service out of which that bill is to be paid, and he must not pay it out of money placed under any other head of service, than that so specified on the bill.

When

When money is wanted, the application for it never originally moves from the treasurer, except in the single instance of money to pay fees, and other contingent expences: this he craves of himself, when that fund is nearly exhausted: in all other cases, the board, in whose department it is, by letter, desire him to present a memorial to the lords of the treasury, specifying the sum wanted, and for what particular service; the memorial pursues the letter, and the issue is directed from the Exchequer in the terms of the memorial. The treasurer immediately certifies to the navy board the whole sum he receives, and to the other boards so much of that sum as concerns them: he also transmits to the navy-board an account of all his receipts and payments in the cashier's and victualling branch every fortnight, and in the pay branch every month: by these means they have an exact knowledge of the state of his balance under each head of service. Each of these boards enter in their books all the assignments they make upon him for payment; of which they transmit to him a list: hence they know what the actual demands upon him amount to; and, from their experience in the course of the navy business, they can form some conjecture relative to the probable approaching demands that may be made upon him in the various branches of the service. By such knowledge and conjecture these boards are guided in their directions to the treasurer, as to the time when the quantum of the sum, and the service for which every application for a supply is to be made to the treasury.

At the end of every month the navy-board transmit to the treasury a certificate, containing an exact

state of all the receipts and payments made by the treasurer during that month, as they appear from their books; hence the lords of the treasury have full knowledge of the state of his balance every month. This certificate for the month of August last we procured from the navy-office, on which the balance in the hands of the treasurer appears to be two hundred sixty thousand, seven hundred and sixteen pounds, one shilling and eight-pence farthing.

Being made acquainted thus far with the course of business in this office, our next step was to resolve this balance of three hundred forty-eight thousand, nine hundred and forty-one pounds, eleven shillings and nine pence into its constituent parts, and compare the quantum of each part, as far as we could, with the actual and probable demands of service upon it on the 31<sup>st</sup> of August, the date of his return.

The first circumstance that engaged our attention, was a difference between the treasurer's balance and the navy balance, upon the same day, the 31<sup>st</sup> of August, the former exceeding the latter by the sum of eighty-eight thousand, two hundred and twenty-five pounds ten shillings and three farthings: this difference lies in the cashier's and victualling branches, and arises from the following cause:—when the three boards assign bills upon the treasurer for payment, they immediately give him credit for those bills, in his account kept at their offices; but the treasurer does not himself take credit for any bills in his own account till he actually pays them. The persons who receive these bills do not always immediately present them to the treasurer for payment, but frequently keep them in their possession for a considerable time.

time. The treasurer's balance must therefore exceed the naval balance as much as the sum of the bills actually paid by him. We conceive this excess is not money for which the treasurer is accountable to the public, but belongs to the proprietors of those bills, and remains in his hands, at their risk, until they apply to him for payment. This sum, therefore, we think, should be deducted from his balance.

We, in the next place, observed that several sums in each branch were not actually in the hands of the treasurer, but of his officers and clerks, either carrying on services in London, or at the distant ports, whither these sums were directed to be sent by the navy board, to carry on the services at those ports. It may reasonably be presumed, that the boards would not have directed into the hands of the officers, nor the treasurer have entrusted them with, larger sums than were wanted; and therefore these sums too, may be deducted from the treasurer's balance; which will reduce the public money actually in his hands to the sum of one hundred, twenty-eight thousand, eighty-three pounds, sixteen shillings, and ten pence farthing, as appears by the state inserted in the appendix. The constituent parts of this balance, under their several heads of service, consisting of a variety of articles, are stated in the navy certificate: some of them carry the appearance of having been applied for sooner than the services seem to have required: but, upon examination, we find that the boards do not direct an application for a supply to any fund, until they know that fund is nearly, or likely soon to be exhausted. The treasury are sometimes prevented from granting the issue un-

til many days after it is craved; and therefore the boards are careful to apply early enough, to guard against the hazard of a demand upon an exhausted fund. To search into the actual and probable demands, at that time, upon each of these sums, was hardly practicable: one circumstance alone might enable us to judge with sufficient accuracy, whether the sum total was too large or not; that is, in what time this balance was in fact paid away by the treasurer. It appears from his accounts for the month of August, that this whole balance, and much more, was received by him during that month; and by his accounts for the month of September, transmitted to us pursuant to our requisition, it appears that not only the balance remaining on the 31st of August, but a much larger sum, was in fact paid away by him during the succeeding month. Considering, therefore, this sum by itself, independent of, and unconnected with his other receipts and payments, prior and subsequent to the date of this balance, we have no grounds to say that this individual sum, received in one month, and paid away in the next, was more than the service required should be in the hands of the treasurer of the navy upon the 31st of August last.

But it was necessary to extend our enquiry still farther. What is the amount of the sum that has been continually in the hands of the treasurer of the navy; and has that sum been more than the current services required? To come at this knowledge, we obtained from the navy office an account of the total sums received and paid by the treasurer of the navy, for every month from the 1st of January 1779, to the 31st of August last, with the total of the

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balances remaining in his hands at the end of each month, as they appear in the monthly certificates to the treasury.

As the public money should pass without delay from the pocket of the subject into the exchequer, so it ought not to issue out of the exchequer, either before it is wanted, or in larger sums than the service for which it is issued requires. By this last account, a very large sum has been constantly in his hands, during the period therein mentioned, exclusive of the amount of bills assigned upon him, but not presented to him for payment. The principal cause of the magnitude of this balance, is the practice, in this office, of not applying money issued under one head, towards satisfying a demand upon any other head of service; the consequence of which is, when the money upon the account of any head of service is nearly exhausted, a supply must be procured for that service, how abundant soever the sums upon other heads of accounts, or the sum total of his cash, may be. Were all the sums he receives to constitute and be considered as one common general cash, and be applied indiscriminately to every service, a much less sum than the lowest of the balances in the account last-mentioned would, in our opinion, suffice to carry on the current services of the navy, even various and extensive as they now are. It would create no confusion in the accounts; for the receipts and payments under each head of service might still be kept distinct; and though the payments might frequently exceed the receipts on some heads of accounts, yet the treasurer would not be without sufficient cash, and the next issue from the exchequer would restore the ba-

lances. What the sum necessary for carrying on the service should be, must depend upon circumstances: it will be different at different times, and must be left principally to the discretion of those commissioners, from whom the directions for supplies move, who, being conversant in the business, can best determine. But, to enable the lords of the treasury likewise to judge of the propriety of, and be a check and controul upon, the requisition, we are of opinion, that, besides the certificate sent every month from the navy board, an account of the sum total of the balance in the hands of the treasurer of the navy should be inserted in every application for a supply to the treasury.

We have not been inattentive to defects; we have observed in this office during the course of our inquiries, defects which concern the officer, the office, and the public.

The treasurer finds his business does not end with his office; his accounts are still open: he goes on, receiving and paying, until he feels himself, his family, and his fortune, subject to all the evils of long public accounts far in arrear, and the difficulties of rendering an account increasing daily: he continues responsible for millions, without an expectation of obtaining his final discharge during his life.

The office is perplexed with the multiplicity of these accounts.—There are four distinct accounts, of four treasuries of the navy, at this time open at the pay-office, and business is carried on upon every one of them at the same time, by the same officers, when the current business of the present treasurer alone would find employment enough for them all.

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There have been issued to three of these treasurers, for the navy service, upwards of thirty-three millions, the accounts of which are not passed; exclusive of above twenty-five millions to the late Mr. Grenville, whose final account is not yet settled; and of sixteen millions to the present treasurer, none of whose accounts could as yet be settled.

The navy accounts in July last, when the imprest certificate was transmitted to us, were in arrear in the office of the auditor of the imprest twenty-two years. This delay is occasioned by the accounts of the subsequent years not being made up at the pay-office of the navy, where there is a want of officers and clerks for this department. A sufficient number of persons, intelligent in this branch, should forthwith be provided by the proper authority, with adequate salaries, for the sole purpose of proceeding upon, bringing forward, and making up these accounts, with as much dispatch as the nature of the business will admit.

By this delay in making up the accounts, the public loses the use, at least, of considerable sums of their own money; not that the principal itself has always been safe. A defaulter of above twenty-seven thousand pounds stands at the head of the list of treasurers of the navy upon the imprest certificate.

We enquired why a treasurer, under the present constitution of the office, might not, upon his resignation, immediately pay over his balance to the successor, or into the exchequer, and all the subsequent transactions of office be carried on by the treasurer for the time being?—Two reasons were assigned for the necessity of keeping open his accounts, though out of office.

1st. That sufficient time may be given to his sub-accountants to clear their imprests.

The sub-accountants are certainly very numerous; and as, according to the present mode of passing these accounts, they must all be set *in-super* upon the final account, were that account to be made up soon after the expiration of the treasurer-ship, it would be very voluminous and troublesome to the office. But, since the treasurer in office does now clear the imprests of some of his predecessors, and can clear the imprests of all, and the three boards can, at their pleasure, call upon the sub-accountants to clear their imprests, we do not think this reason conclusive.

2d. That the payment of his ships books may be completed.

A ship's book is the voucher for the treasurer who pays it: two cannot pay upon the same book; it would create confusion, as the payments of the one could not, without great trouble and difficulty, be distinguished from those of the other; it could not therefore be made a voucher for two treasurers. To enable a treasurer in office to carry on the payment of a ship's book open in the time of his predecessor, the names of all the seamen not paid must be abstracted, and entered in a new book; a work of great labour and length of time, where the books are so numerous; and during all that time, no payment of wages could be made to the seamen unpaid upon those books.

Upon the examination of a ship's book, there appears a foundation for this objection, which opens a door for a possible mischief, worthy consideration. It is in the power of a treasurer of the navy, retiring in disgust, to refuse carrying on any

more payments, and by that means to put a stop, for eight months or more, to the payment of all the seamen on the numerous volumes of ships books open at the several ports in his treasurership. Mr. Grenville left open above thirteen hundred. This evil does not rest in speculation; we have an instance of it in evidence. The office that does not guard against the possibility of such an evil, is fundamentally defective.

These defects should be speedily corrected. To alter the constitution of the office; to abolish the subordinate treasury; to render a treasurer the mere accountant; and to vary the mode of accounting, carry with them a strong appearance of an effectual remedy: but were we, in the present state of our inquiries, to come to decisions of such moment, we should be premature, perhaps rash. It is easier to see the defects than to supply the regulation. The pay of the navy is an important object, and any alteration in the mode should be well weighed before it is adopted; it should be traced through all its effects, and perfectly ascertained to be as feasible in practice, as it is specious in theory. To disturb, to confound, or to delay (effects not unfrequent, when novelty of form is introduced, and new principles applied to an old office) might be attended with very serious consequences.

The defects, to which we have alluded, presented themselves in the course of an examination made, in obedience to the act, for a more limited purpose. Coming however, before us, they are, in our opinion, too important to be passed over in silence; we thought it our duty to point them out, that, should they be deemed a proper subject for the

exercise of the wisdom of the legislature, the solid advantages, which would result to the public from their correction, might not be delayed. Had we protracted this report until we were possessed of materials for a well-grounded opinion upon these points, we must have disobeyed the act, that enjoins us to report, in the first place, upon the balances in the hands of accountants in this session of parliament, to the end that the public money, long ago issued, and still remaining in their hands, may, with all convenient speed, be restored to the protection of the public.

GUY CARLETON,	(L. S.)
T. ANGUISH,	(L. S.)
A. PIGOTT,	(L. S.)
RICHARD NEAVE,	(L. S.)
SAM. BEACHCROFT,	(L. S.)
GEO. DRUMMOND,	(L. S.)

Office of Accounts, Bell-Yard,  
March 6, 1781.

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*The Fourth Report of the Commissioners appointed to examine, take, and state the Public Accounts of the Kingdom.*

PROCEEDING in our inquiries into balances in the hands of those accountants who appear upon the certificate of accounts depending in the office of the auditor of the imprest, we find therein, next to the treasurers of the navy, the names of several persons whose accounts have not been prosecuted for upwards of seventy years. We could have no expectation of profiting by a pursuit of claims arising at so remote a period; and therefore passing on to the next class, namely, the paymasters of the forces, we see standing first in that class the name of Henry earl of Lincoln; whose

whose final account of the forces for six months, to the 24th of June 1720, is therein described "to have been delivered into auditor Aislaby's office, but, being very imperfect, to have been long since withdrawn, and not returned." We issued our precept to his grace the duke of Newcastle, for an account of the public money in his hands, custody, or power, as representative of Henry earl of Lincoln, late paymaster-general of the forces. The duke of Newcastle, in a letter dated the 24th of August last, informed us, that "he never had in his hands, custody, or power, any of the public money which was possessed by his late father as paymaster of the forces, nor any of his accounts or vouchers relative thereto; nor could he inform us what balance, if any, was due from him on that account; that his late father died intestate, leaving him, and several other children, then infants, and that Lucy, countess of Lincoln, his widow, administered to him, and possessed what effects he left, which she applied towards the discharge of his debts:" and in a subsequent letter, dated the 23d of November last, the duke informed us, that he took administration *de bonis non* to his late father, in May 1743. In consequence of these letters from the duke of Newcastle, we proceeded no farther in this inquiry.

Having issued our precepts to John Powell, esq. the only acting executor of Henry lord Holland; to lady Greenwich, administratrix to the right hon. Charles Townshend, late paymaster of the forces, to lord North, and to the right honourable Thomas Townshend, late paymaster of the forces, each jointly with George Cook, Esq. deceased, for an account of the public

money in their respective hands, custody, or power; we received returns thereto, the total of which amounts to 377,788l. 5s. 7d.

Having thus obtained a knowledge of the balances, our next step was to examine whether they were liable to any such services, or subject to any such payments, in the hands of these accountants, as rendered it necessary to permit them, or any part of them, to remain longer in their possession. For this purpose we examined John Powell, esq. the cashier, and Charles Bembridge, esq. the accountant to the paymaster-general of the forces; by whom we are informed that the money in the hands of the paymasters-general of the forces, after they are out of office, continues, as long as their accounts are kept open, liable to the payment of any claims of the staff or hospital officers, or of any warrants for contingencies and extraordinaries, which were voted during the time they were respectively in office, and have not been claimed: after the final accounts are closed, such claimants must apply for payment, either to the treasury or the war office, according to the nature of the claim. These sums remaining in their hands are likewise subject to the payment of fees of divers natures, and of fees for passing their accounts and obtaining their quietus, together with the payment of a gratuity to the officers and clerks of the pay-office; who, at the same time that they transact the business of the paymaster in office, carry on also, make up, and finally close, the accounts of the paymasters after they are out of office; but, having no salary or reward whatever for this extra business, it has been customary for them, when the final account is ready to be passed, to present

sent a memorial to the lords of the treasury, praying them to procure the king's warrant to the auditors of the imprest, to allow them a certain sum for their trouble, payable out of the balance remaining in the hands of that paymaster.

The sums now in the hands of these late paymasters of the forces, or of the representatives of those who are dead, are still liable to claims that may be made upon them under various heads of services, and subject likewise to the payment of sundry fees, and of the customary gratuities; but neither these claims, fees, or gratuities, do, in our opinion, furnish any objection to the payment of these balances into the exchequer.

Lord Holland resigned this office in 1765; Mr. Charles Townshend in 1766; Lord North and Mr. Cooke in 1767; Mr. Cooke and Mr. Thomas Townshend in 1768; since which, sufficient time has elapsed for all the claimants upon these paymasters to have made their applications for payment. The public are not to be kept out of possession of large sums of their own money, nor public accounts to be kept open, because persons may have for so long a time neglected their own business: not that these claimants are without remedy after these accounts are closed: by applying either to the treasury, or to the war-office, as the case may require, their demands may be enquired into and satisfied, by proper warrants upon the paymaster in office.

The fees and gratuities become payable when the final accounts are ready to be passed in the office of the auditor of the imprest: how long it will be before the final accounts of these late paymasters will be in that situation, it is not easy to ascertain.

John Lloyd, esq. deputy auditor of the imprest to lord Sondes, informed us, that the final account of lord Holland was delivered into that office in January, 1772; the final account of Mr. Charles Townshend in July, 1777; the final account of lord North and Mr. Cooke in October, 1779. John Bray, esq. deputy auditor to William Aislaby, esq. informed us, that the final and only account of Mr. Cooke and Mr. Thomas Townshend was delivered into that office in November, 1779. From an objection herein-after mentioned, made by the acting executor of lord Holland, to the final closing of that account, and from the representation given to us by these officers, of the situation in which the other accounts now are in the imprest office, none of them appear to be in so advanced and perfect a state as to give us reason to expect their speedy completion; and therefore we do not think the payment of these balances into the exchequer ought to be delayed until the accounts are settled, especially as we see no reason why the paymaster in office may not be authorized to pay, out of the public money in his hands, all the fees and gratuities, whenever they become payable.

Seeing, therefore, no objection to arise, from the services or purposes to which these balances are still applicable, to the payment of them into the exchequer, we adverted to such reasons as might be suggested to us by the accountants themselves, or by those who have an interest or trust in the funds out of which these balances must be paid. To this end we examined the honourable Charles James Fox, esq. and John Powell, esq. executors of the late lord Holland; lady Greenwich, administratrix to Mr. Charles Town-

Townshend; lord North, Mr. Thomas Townshend, colonel George Cooke, and Mr. Charles Molloy, devisees of the estates of Mr. John Cooke, late paymasters-general of the forces.

Mr. Fox and Mr. Powell objected to the payment into the exchequer of so much of the sum of 256,456l. 8s. 2d. (being the balance in the hands of Mr. Powell as executor of the late lord Holland) as may be affected by the decision of certain suits depending in the court of chancery. The sum that may be so affected, according to Mr. Powell's account, amounts to 73,149l. 10s. 7d.

The state of the proceedings in these suits is set forth in Mr. Powell's information to be as follows:—The accounts of Mr. Robert Paris Taylor, one of the deputy paymasters to lord Holland, in Germany, during the late war, were examined in the office of the auditors of the imprest, where he is surcharged with the sum of 12,052l. 13s. 10d. halfpenny, which surcharge he controverts. In the beginning of last year, the executors of lord Holland commenced two actions in the court of king's-bench against Mr. Taylor, and the executors and devisees of Peter Taylor, his father, who was his surety, to recover the sum of 28,185l. 9s. 5d.  $\frac{3}{4}$  being the balance supposed to be due from him upon these accounts, in which sum the surcharge is included. As the question in these causes appears to be, whether Mr. Taylor was indebted to the executors of lord Holland in this sum, or any part of it, the balance of public money in Mr. Powell's hands might be increased, but could not be diminished by the event of these actions; and therefore Mr. Powell does not insist upon retaining any part of this balance to

secure him against such event; but Mr. Taylor, and the devisees of Peter Taylor, soon after filed two bills in the court of Chancery against the executors of lord Holland, suggesting errors, and praying that these accounts may be taken in that court. These causes have not yet come to a hearing; but the ground of Mr. Powell's claim to the detention of this sum of 73,149l. 10s. 7d. as collected from his information, and the letter of his solicitor, appears to be this; that should an account be decreed, every item in Mr. Taylor's accounts will be open to litigation; and Mr. Taylor having charged himself, before the auditors of the imprest, with the sum of 786,357 guilders, and 9 stivers, which is 73,149l. 10s. 7d. sterling, as a profit to the public arising on money transactions in his department as deputy paymaster, may suggest, in the progress of these causes, that he has erroneously charged himself with this sum; and therefore Mr. Powell claims to retain it in his hands, to guard against the consequences of a possible decision upon this sum in Mr. Taylor's favour.

Subjects under litigation in a court of justice should not be examined elsewhere without an absolute necessity, and not even then but with great caution. This point coming thus incidentally before us, in the progress of an inquiry within our province, we may, without impropriety, venture to say, that in our opinion, the bare possibility that Mr. Taylor may, in the court of Chancery, object to, and be discharged of a sum he has charged himself with before the auditors of the imprest, and which he was bound by his instructions to charge himself with, as a profit to the public, and to which, for aught that ap-

pears to us, he has never yet objected, but has, on the contrary, in part applied to the use of the public, is not a sufficient reason for permitting the sum of 73,149l. 10s. 7d. to continue in the hands of the executors of lord Holland, until two suits in chancery, not yet heard, praying an account may be taken of the receipt of 913,105l. 6s. 2d<sup>1</sup>. and of the expenditure of 878,008l. 18s. 1d<sup>1</sup> during upwards of four years of the late war in Germany, shall be finally determined in the court.

Lady Greenwich, lord North, Mr. Thomas Townshend, colonel Cooke, and Mr. Molloy, do not object to the payment into the exchequer of their balances; nor do Mr. Fox and Mr. Powell, as to the residue of lord Holland's balance, upon severally receiving their quietus, or a security equivalent thereto.

Where accounts must be passed by the auditors of the imprest, the payments into the Exchequer, made by the accountants, before the final adjustment, are payments upon account only; but should these accountants be directed to pay in their full balances, they will be entitled to, and ought in justice to receive, a security and indemnification against all claims and payments whatever, to which the balances were in their hands subject: the fund possessed by the paymaster in office being substituted in the place of these balances, to answer such future claims and demands, the accountant himself will stand liable only to the errors and omissions that may be discovered in the examination of his accounts, in the office appointed for auditing them: should there be errors, he may either pay the balance to, or receive it from, the paymaster in office, according as it may be determined: then, and not

before, he will be entitled to his quietus, which being the formal official discharge of every public accountant, cannot but be subsequent to the complete examination, and the payment of the balance, if any, according to the final adjustment of his accounts.

Having, therefore, not heard, either from the accountants themselves, or from those who may be interested in our decisions, any reasons to alter our opinion, we conceive that the balance of public money now remaining in the hands of John Powell esq. as the only acting executor of lord Holland, and in the hands of lady Greenwich, as administratrix to Mr. Charles Townshend, late paymaster of the forces; and in the hands of lord North, and of Mr. Thomas Townshend, as late paymasters of the forces, each jointly with Mr. George Cooke, deceased, ought to be paid into the exchequer, to be applied to the public service; and that such payments should be without prejudice, and a proper security and indemnification be given to each of them against any loss or detriment that may accrue to them in consequence of such payment.

During the course of this inquiry, two circumstances engaged our observation.

First, the injury sustained by the public from not having the use of the money remaining in the hands of the paymasters of the forces after they have quitted the office. We procured from the pay-office, accounts of the balances and sums received and paid every year, by each of these paymasters, since they severally went out of office. A computation of interest, at four per cent. per annum, upon these balances every year, from six months after

after they severally resigned the office, proves that the loss by the money left in the hands of lord Holland amounts, at simple interest, to 48,394l. 13s. of Mr. Charles Townshend, to 24,247l. 3s. of lord North and Mr. Cooke, to 18,775l. 3s. of Mr. Cooke and Mr. Thomas Townshend, to 3,419l. 15s. total, 94,836l. 14s.

Such has been the loss sustained by the public. Much does it behoove them to guard against the possibility of the like evil for the future. If there exists in government no power to compel an accountant to disclose his balance, and to deliver back to the public what their service does not require he should detain, at a time such a power was created. If it does exist, the public good requires it should be constantly exerted, within a reasonable limited time after an accountant has quitted his office.

Secondly, The other circumstance that claimed our attention is, the delay in passing the accounts of the paymasters of the forces.

The making up and passing these accounts is the concern of three different parties; the paymaster, whose accounts they are; the pay-office, where they are made up; and the auditors office, where they are passed. The first step must be taken by the pay-office; there the accounts must be made up, and from thence sent with the vouchers to the auditors office, before they can be examined. Near forty-six millions were issued to lord Holland; his final account was not delivered into the auditors office until seven years after his resignation. Above two millions were issued to Mr. Charles Townshend; his final account was not delivered until eleven years after his resignation. Near two millions

were issued to lord North and Mr. Cooke; their final account was not delivered until twelve years after their resignation. Five hundred and seventy thousand pounds were issued to Mr. Cooke and Mr. Thomas Townshend; their only account was not delivered until eleven years after their resignation.

In the office of the auditors of the imprest, the custom of not passing the accounts of a successor, until the predecessors are completed, is a cause of delay. A dispute with a deputy stops lord Holland's accounts; but that can be no reason for delaying one moment the accounts of his successors; they depend not upon, nor are connected with each other. It is regular to examine and pass accounts in order of time; but in the case of the paymaster's accounts, convenience, both public and private, will warrant a deviation from this rule. Every accountant has a material interest that his accounts should be passed with dispatch; the quiet of himself, his family, and fortune. It is not unreasonable to presume, that taking from an accountant his balance, may be a means of expediting the passing of his accounts: whilst he holds a large sum in his hands, he may be less anxious to come to a final adjustment, less eager to procure a quietus, the condition of which is the depriving himself of that balance.

We are proceeding to examine the sum in the hands of the paymaster-general of the forces in office; but finding, from the variety and extent of his transactions, it will require a considerable time before we can obtain the knowledge necessary for forming a report, we judged it most consonant to the spirit and intention of the act that regulates

gulates our conduct, to submit with all the dispatch in our power, to the wisdom of the legislature, the consideration of a sum of public money of such magnitude as that now remaining in the possession of the paymasters-general of the forces out of office.

GUY CARLETON, (L. S.)

T. ANGUISH, (L. S.)

A. PIGGOTT, (L. S.)

RICHARD NEAVE, (L. S.)

SAM. BEACHCROFT, (L. S.)

GEO. DRUMMOND, (L. S.)

Office of Accounts, Bell-yard,

April 9th, 1781.

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*The Fifth Report of the Commissioners appointed to examine, take, and state the Public Accounts of the Kingdom.*

To the Honourable the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses in Parliament assembled.

UPON the certificate of accounts depending in the office of the auditors of the imprest, next to the paymasters-general of the forces out of office, stands the name of the right honourable Richard Rigby, the present paymaster-general of the forces. In return to our precept, he stated to be in his hands, upon the 28th of November last, a balance of four hundred forty-seven thousand, one hundred fifty-three pounds, eleven shillings, and three pence three farthings.

The act directs, that in taking an account of the public money in the hands of an accountant, "we shall consider what sum may be taken out of his hands, to be disposed of by

parliament for the public service." But in an office of so large a receipt and expenditure as that of the pay-office, through which many millions pass in the year, it was not to be imagined, that a sum in the hands of the paymaster-general upon any given day, could possibly remain long enough in his possession to become a subject capable of such discussion: he must have issued the whole of it long before we could, in the course of our proceedings, have an opportunity of examining it; and therefore we considered this balance, not with a view to the taking any part of that individual sum out of his hands, but to compare the quantum of that balance with the demands upon it on the day of its date, and to see whether it was not more than was necessary to answer the then existing or approaching claims upon the paymaster-general of the forces, for the services of the army.

That we might be able to form an opinion upon this subject, we proceeded to enquire of what parts this balance was compounded, at what time each part was received, and for what service intended. An enquiry that comprehends the whole extent of the business in this office.

The public money in the hands of the paymaster-general is received by him, either from the exchequer, or from the treasury of Ireland, when Irish regiments are drawn out of that kingdom, and in part paid by Great Britain; or from persons who, upon their accounts being settled, are directed by the king's warrant to pay the balance into his hands.

The present paymaster-general has no money in his hands received from the treasury of Ireland; all the accounts of the Irish regiments being

\*being made up, and their whole pay now borne by Great Britain. The sum in his hands, arising from balances directed to be paid to him, was, upon the 1st of February last, eight thousand, four hundred, sixty-three pounds, ten shillings, and four pence. The exchequer is the great source from whence he draws his supply.

As the extensive transactions of the last year would probably furnish us with instances of every species of receipt and issue, we procured from the treasury an account of the several sums issued to the paymaster-general of the forces, from the 24th of December, 1779, to the 25th of December, 1780, and from thence to the 16th of May, 1781, distinguishing the times when issued, and for what particular services.

From the examinations of Mr. John Hughson, clerk of the debentures in the office of the auditor of the exchequer; Richard Moleworth, esq. late deputy paymaster in North America; the right honourable Richard Rigby, the present paymaster-general; John Powell, esq. cashier; and Charles Bembridge, esq. accountant in the office of paymaster-general; we obtained the following account of the manner of transacting the business in this office, and of the balance in question.

The supply for the army is granted by parliament to the king, and therefore no part of this supply can be issued from the exchequer, without the royal sign manual authorising such issue. After the supply is granted, there comes from the treasury to the pay-office the king's sign manual, directing the lords of the treasury to issue unto the paymaster-general a certain part of that supply (in time of war usually a million)

by way of imprest, and upon account, according to such warrants and orders as either are or shall be signed by the king. This sign manual, with the treasury warrant, and order of the auditor of the exchequer, made in pursuance of the sign manual, after being entered in the pay-office, are lodged at the exchequer, and give the paymaster-general a credit there for the sum mentioned in those instruments. To obtain any part of this credit, the paymaster-general presents a memorial to the treasury, specifying the sum he requires, and for what service. The treasury, by letter, direct the auditor of the exchequer to issue that sum to the paymaster-general, upon the unsatisfied order above mentioned. This letter being produced, and passing through the forms of office, he obtains from them the sum he wants. When the sum in this sign manual is exhausted, another sign manual, with the consequential warrant and order, is obtained, and in like manner, from time to time, renewed, until there is occasion for the last sum, which completes the whole army supply of the year; when, instead of a sign manual, there comes a privy seal, directing the issue of that remaining sum, and including, authorizing, confirming, and covering the whole supply of that year.

It was usual formerly for the paymaster-general to apply to the treasury every four months, each time for about a third part of the sum voted for the services of the army, under the general head of subsistence and pay of the forces at home and abroad; but since the year 1759, the practice has been to ask of the treasury, from time to time, for the sums voted under distinct heads of service, and not until the time

time when the demands for the services are near approaching.

The services are arranged under two general heads, the Ordinary, and the Extraordinary: the ordinary, are those for which specific sums are annually voted by parliament; the extraordinary are those, which, though not provided for by parliament, are nevertheless considered as necessary, and therefore paid, in confidence of their being provided for in the succeeding session.

As the service is distinguished, so is the application for it to the treasury. Sums for the ordinary services are obtained upon the application of the paymaster-general himself; those for the extraordinary, are directed into his hands, upon the application of others.

After the supply for the pay of the army is voted by parliament, the secretary at war sends to the pay-office the four establishments for the year; which are, the guards, garrisons, and land forces; the forces in the plantations, and the garrisons in North America and the West Indies; the forces in Minorca and garrison of Gibraltar; and the militia; with the several regulations of the subsistence. The establishment contains the distribution of the whole sum voted, amongst the several regiments, corps, garrisons, officers, and private men, by the day, and by the year, and the gross sum allowed for each regiment, corps, and garrison. To each establishment are annexed two warrants, the one directing the paymaster-general to make a deduction of twelve pence in the pound out of all he shall issue, called the poundage, and specifying to what services it shall be applied; the other, directing a deduction of one

day's pay, out of the payments in the establishment, for the use of Chelsea Hospital.

In general, the gross sum allowed for a regiment, or corps, is divided, in the establishment, into five parts, under the description of—the full pay of each officer and private man—the allowance to widows—the allowance to the colonel, and for cloathing lost by deserters—the allowance to the captain for recruiting, &c. and the allowance to the agent. But in the pay-office this gross sum undergoes a different division, consisting of the subsistence, the poundage, the hospital, the allowance to widows, the nett off-reckonings, the clearings, and sometimes respites.

It is in consequence of these deductions from, and divisions of, the gross sums allotted to different corps, and of distinct sums being provided by parliament for certain services, that the application by the paymaster-general to the treasury, for money, is made under distinct heads of service. These services may, for the purpose of our enquiry, be distinguished under three heads:

First. Those services for which the whole sum received by the paymaster-general, at the exchequer, is issued by him soon after he receives it.

Secondly. Those, for which the sum he receives, belonging to particular persons, remains in his possession, upon account of the persons entitled, until they, or their agents, apply to him for payment.

Thirdly. Those, for which a part only of the sum he receives, is issued by him soon after he receives it, and the remainder continues in his hands for any indefinite time.

Of the first class, where he soon issues all he receives, are, the returned

turned poundage; Chelsea Hospital, and the out-pensioners; the subsistence of the forces in Jamaica and the East Indies, and of the non-commissioned officers and private men in Africa; the subsistence and clothing of the militia and invalids; the subsistence issued upon account; the stoppages of the officers; subsistence in the West Indies, North America, and garrisons of Gibraltar and Minorca; the general and staff officers, and garrisons in Great Britain; the nett off-reckonings; the allowances to the colonel, captain, and agent; the clearings, foreign subsidies, and arrears of the foreign troops; levy money; and all the extraordinaries. Under the head of subsistence of the forces at home, so much of the sum received, as the subsistence actually amounts to, is issued to the agents as soon as he receives it.

Of the second class, are the reduced officers, and, under the several heads of the garrisons abroad, the general and staff officers, and hospital abroad: so much of the sums voted for these services, as is contained in each warrant for the pay of the officers named in the certificate, remains in his hands until those officers or their agents apply for it.

Of the third class, where he issues a part only of the sums he receives, are, the subsistence of the forces at home; the subsistence of the non-commissioned officers and private men of the British forces in the West Indies and North America, and of the foreign troops; the garrisons abroad; and the general and staff officers and hospital abroad. Besides these, there are some other heads of service, to satisfy which, he does not expressly apply to the treasury for money, but pays the

demands for them out of what he has received under other heads of service: these are, the allowance to widows; some services to which the poundage is made subject by the king's warrant; and contingencies.

Having thus procured the knowledge of the services, and of the mode of receiving from the exchequer, and of issuing money for each service, it remained in order to find out the component parts of this balance, to compare the sums received for these services, with the sums issued, and see what remained in the hands of the paymaster-general under each head: but the manner in which the accounts in this office are now, and have been kept from time immemorial, rendered such an investigation hardly practicable.

When the paymaster-general passes an account before the auditor of the imprest, he charges himself therein, with the money he has received out of the exchequer, during the period of that account in one gross sum; he verifies the charge by the imprest roll, which specifies the sums he has received in each memorial, and the terms in which he has received them, but not for what services; all that is required of him is, to render an account for what services he has expended the sum imprested to him: to do this consistently with order and method, his payments must be arranged under distinct heads of service: but there is no necessity for making the like arrangements of his receipts; it would only occasion the entry of a variety of articles in his charge instead of one, which one answers full as well all purposes of passing his accounts. With a view to this, is formed the plan upon which his  
books

books are kept: the accounts of his payments are under separate and distinct heads of service, but he has only one cash account: though in one memorial to the treasury, he often asks for several sums, under various distinct heads of service, yet he enters the receipt in his cash book, as one entire sum received that day at the exchequer, and carries it as one sum to the king's account current in his ledger: to have found out, therefore, the savings in his hands, under any one head of service, we must have examined every memorial presented by him to the treasury for the thirteen years he has been in office, and have extracted from thence, and collected together, all the sums he has received for that service, in order to compare them with the issues. And here too arose another difficulty: In this office, a payment for any service made in a subsequent year, is entered in the account of that year in which the sum was voted for that service, unless such account is made up, and then it is entered in the next open year's account: hence these accounts are usually kept open, until they are ready to be passed by the auditors of the imprest; which time not being yet come for the accounts of the paymaster general in office, not one of his ledgers is yet made up; he could not therefore have given us the issues for any one service, without making up the account of that service, in every year's ledger, since he has been in office.

Thinking ourselves by no means warranted to take up the time, and perhaps impede the current business of this office, at so busy and important a period, by employing them in so laborious, and, unless for this particular purpose, so useless a task,

we had recourse to such other circumstances in evidence before us, as might lead us to a decision upon the point we are pursuing.

From the arrangement we have made of the sums received by the paymaster-general from the exchequer, it appears, that the balance in his hands cannot consist of any sums comprehended in the first class; because of them he very soon issues all he receives: nor is it probable, that sums in the second class can constitute any very considerable part of it; because it is not to be presumed, that officers of any denomination will suffer their pay to continue long without applying for it, either by themselves or their agents.

A continual receipt and issue implies a balance continually in hand; there must be the like continual balance where there are intervals between the receipt and issue, and a fresh supply always comes in before the issue, as in the case of every bank: but our inquiry is after a sum more permanent; a sum that remains long unapplied to any service, and which, if otherwise disposed of, would occasion no interruption in the regular course of paying the army service: for such a balance, in the hands of the paymaster-general, we must look amongst the sums for the services named in the third class, where he issues less than he receives.

Under the denomination of subsistence for the forces at home, he receives more than that subsistence amounts to, with an intent of procuring thereby a fund for certain payments not specifically applied for by him, and therefore otherwise unprovided for: he receives subsistence upon the full establishment of the non-commissioned officers and  
private

private men of the British forces in North America and part of the West Indies, and of the foreign troops: but as these regiments must be incomplete, and the deputy paymasters there issue subsistence according to the strength only of the regiment, he does not remit to them the whole he receives, but so much only as, from the last accounts they send him of the state of the balances in their hands, he judges will be sufficient to enable them to carry on the public service. This unissued subsistence of the British forces in the West Indies and North America continues in his hands till the accounts of the several regiments are made up, when it falls into the clearings, and is issued to the agents; but this is not till fifteen or sixteen months after they become due. The unissued subsistence of the foreign troops remains with him till their arrears are paid to the agents; which time seems, from the account of the issues received from the treasury, generally to be about two years after they are due.

He receives the whole sums voted for garrisons, staff, and hospital abroad; but the officers in these departments, named in the certificates from the war office, do not exhaust the whole sum voted.

Hence arises a fund composed of these savings, out of which he issues for certain services, and defrays certain expences, without making any specific application for them to the treasury: these are, the allowance to widows; some of the payments to which the poundage is made applicable by the king's warrants; and the miscellaneous head of contingencies.

To demands for these services, and to no other that we can discover

(except such claims for the pay of the general and staff officers, and officers of the garrisons and hospitals abroad, and of the reduced officers, as remained unsatisfied) was this balance liable on the day of its date. What then was the amount of these demands at that time? Nothing had been issued for the allowance to widows in the year 1780; for enough remained of former receipts, in the hands of the paymaster of the widows pensions, to carry on that service; and therefore this balance was not liable to be reduced by any issue under the head of allowance to widows. We could not have the accounts of the payments out of the poundage and hospital, and for the contingencies in the year 1780, because some of the warrants had not been produced for payment, and therefore the accounts could not be made up; but finding, that where the establishments are nearly the same, there is no considerable difference between the payments made, upon these two heads, in one year and another, we applied to the pay office for an account of the payments made by the paymaster-general, out of the deduction of twelve pence in the pound, and one day's pay; and for an account of the payments made by him for the contingent expences of his majesty's forces, for the last year, in which these accounts were made up at the office. The accounts transmitted to us, pursuant to this requisition, are of the year 1778; and as they, probably, do not vary much from those of the year 1780, they will shew us, with sufficient accuracy, the amount of the demands for these two heads of service upon the balance now before us. The payments out of the poundage and one day's pay, consist

list of salaries to officers, exchequer fees, returned poundage, and Chelsea Hospital; the whole amount of which, for this one year, is one hundred, fourteen thousand, two hundred sixty-five pounds, ten shillings, and two pence. The articles of exchequer fees, returned poundage, and Chelsea Hospital, though placed to this account, are not demands upon this balance. The exchequer fees for every sum, are always paid at the exchequer out of the sum, at the time it is received; the paymaster-general debits his cash with the whole sum he applies for, and credits it for the fees; and therefore the only alteration made in his cash, is an increase by the sums he asks, deducting the exchequer fees. The other two services being applied for under their specific heads, he receives a sum with one hand, and issues it with the other; and therefore these three articles, amounting to ninety-seven thousand, nine hundred, and twelve pounds, seven shillings, and six pence, being deducted from the total, leaves the sum of sixteen thousand three hundred fifty-three pounds, two shillings and eight pence only, as a charge upon this balance; which sum, consisting chiefly of salaries, for the most part paid quarterly, soon after they become due, leaves claims to a very small amount indeed to be satisfied out of this balance.

The contingent expences consist of a variety of articles, amounting to twenty-four thousand, nine hundred, and fourteen pounds, nineteen shillings and eight pence: this account never either much exceeds or comes much under twenty-four thousand pounds: the sum voted for the contingencies upon the establishment, at home and abroad, for

so much of these payments as exceed the sum voted, are carried to the account of extraordinary. These articles being paid, some quarterly, some half-yearly, and some yearly, no very considerable part of them can probably remain unpaid at the end of the eleventh month of that year, and cannot therefore be a charge upon this balance on the 28th of November, 1780: from hence it follows, that, supposing the amount of the claims for these services in 1780, not to exceed their amount in 1778, the claims for these services upon this balance, upon the 28th of November 1780, was so much only of the sums of sixteen thousand, three hundred, fifty-three pounds, two shillings, and eight pence, and twenty-four thousand, nine hundred, fourteen pounds, nineteen shillings and eight pence; making together forty-one thousand, two hundred, sixty-eight pounds, two shillings, and four pence; as had not been applied for, and satisfied, during the first eleven months of that year; and therefore, we think ourselves well grounded in an opinion, that the sum of four hundred forty-seven thousand, one hundred, fifty-three pounds, eleven shillings, and three pence three farthings, in the hands of the paymaster-general of the forces, upon the 28th of November last, was greatly more than was necessary to answer the claims upon him at that time for the service of the army.

But our inquiry did not rest here: it concerns the public to know what proportion the sum, continually in the hands of an officer, to whom so much is entrusted, bears to the services of his department: we required, therefore, from the pay-office, an account of the balance in the hands of the present paymaster-general

nerai of the forces, on the 31st of December 1768, and at the end of each succeeding year, to the 31st of December 1780, inclusive; and an account of the total sums received and paid by the paymaster-general for every month, from the 1st of January 1780, to the 31st of May last, with the total of the balance remaining in his hands at the end of each month. These accounts shew, that the average yearly balance, in the hands of the present paymaster-general, for twelve years, has been five hundred eighty-five thousand eight hundred ninety-eight pounds; and his average monthly balance for seventeen months, has been eight hundred sixty-nine thousand, one hundred, forty-eight pounds.

The magnitude of these sums furnishes a strong presumption, that the paymaster-general of the forces possesses, constantly, a sum much larger than is requisite for the carrying on the army services; and we are confirmed in this opinion, by the state of the balances in the possession of the paymaster-general of the forces after their resignation, annexed to our last report; by which it appears, that of four paymasters-general, each, upon quitting the office, took with him the sum then in his hands: the balances they returned to our precepts, above twelve years after their resignations, were even then very large. Lord Holland's balance, the Christmas after he quitted the office in 1765, was four hundred and sixty thousand pounds; in the year 1778, at the time his representatives paid back into the exchequer two hundred thousand pounds, it was four hundred and fifty thousand pounds; and upon the 27th of September last, the sum returned to our re-

quisition was two hundred and fifty-six thousand pounds; so that, during a period of fifteen years after he was out of office, it suffered very little diminution from any claims whatever.

From these facts we may infer, that a paymaster-general, at the time of his resignation, be it when it will, takes with him a part of public money, a great part of which remains with him, unapplied to any public service, until his accounts are passed by the auditors of the imprest; and consequently, that he has constantly in his hands greatly more than he wants for the purposes for which it was issued to him.

During the course of our inquiry, certain circumstances in this office attracted our attention, as subjects demanding present correction, and prevention for the future.

The usual course of the receipts and issues in this office, for several years, has constantly put into the hands of the paymaster-general a large sum of public money not employed in the public service, expressly contrary to that sound maxim of prudence and oeconomy, that more should not be issued from the exchequer for any service, than that service wants. He asks sums of the treasury under specific heads of service, and in the form of a computation; the treasury direct the issue in the terms he asks it, without knowing whether the service is adequate to the requisition, whether the computation be just, and whether he has not already in his hands full as much as he wants: there is no control upon him in the exchequer; the only attention of that office is, to see that the issue does not exceed his credit, and that

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his credit does not exceed the supply for the army services, voted by parliament that year. Supposing the constitution of this office to continue in its present form, we think the interposition of some check necessary to reduce and confine this balance within its due bounds. The paymaster-general can receive nothing from the exchequer, but by direction of the treasury: the treasury, therefore, should have the means of judging upon the propriety and necessity of the requisition; to which a frequent knowledge of his balance is essential; and therefore we are of opinion, that in the first memorial presented every month, by the paymaster-general of the forces to the lords of the treasury, for a supply for the army services, he should always insert the sum total of the balance of public money, for the service of the army, at that time in his hands, custody, or power. What those due bounds are, within which this balance ought to be circumscribed, depends upon a variety of circumstances, of which the treasury may, upon examination, obtain knowledge sufficient to direct their judgment.

But this usage of office operates still farther; it is not confined to the paymaster-general in being only, but he has been permitted after his resignation, and his representatives, in case of his death, to retain the money of the public until the final adjustment of his accounts by the auditors of the imprest. The average of lord Holland's balance, from his resignation in the year 1765, to the year 1778, when the two hundred thousand pounds were paid into the exchequer, by his representatives, was four hundred, fifty-five thousand, seven

hundred, thirty-five pounds. The average of the balance of the present paymaster-general, from the year 1768, when he came into office, to the same time 1778, was four hundred, fifty-three thousand, one hundred, and eighty pounds; making together nine hundred and eight thousand, nine hundred, and fifteen pounds; a sum belonging to the public, in the possession of only two of their officers, for nine years, and the public reaping no benefit from it whatever.

The public good calls for so effectual a correction of this evil, as to prevent it from ever happening for the future. As there should be a check upon the balance of a paymaster-general whilst he is in office, it is equally expedient that he should retain his balance as short a time as possible after his resignation; that he should pay it over to his successor, and the subsequent business be carried on by him, at least as much of it as can be transacted by him without causing confusion or delay. According to the present course of business in this office, upon the resignation of a paymaster-general, his accounts of the year's establishment are carried on to the 24th of June, or 24th of December, preceding or subsequent to his resignation, as is most convenient to the public service: when it is subsequent he receives from the exchequer, though out of office, his proportion of the supply of the year to that time, and applies it in discharge of the demands upon the service, which accrued down to that period; but of these demands some do not come in a course of payment, others are not applied for till some time after they are due; neither the nett off-reckonings

konings nor the clearings, which are the last payments on account of a regiment, are discharged till fifteen or sixteen months after they become due; the general, staff, and reduced officers, do not all apply immediately for their pay; warrants for contingencies are frequently not produced until several months after they are payable; and the paymaster-general has deputies in various parts of the world, whose accounts he must have time to adjust: it is therefore convenient, and prevents trouble to the office, that his business should be carried on, and so much of the public money as is necessary for that purpose, continue in his hands for some short time afterwards; and if the balance be confined within its proper bounds, whilst he is in office, the interest of the public will not be materially affected by the detention of a moderate balance, for a few months after his resignation.

If claimants for sums directed, but not applied for in the time of the predecessor, must, according to the present forms of office, have recourse to the treasury for new warrants, those forms are inconvenient, and should be altered; the successor should be empowered to pay such demands, under the authority given to the predecessor, without putting claimants to the trouble and expence of a second application.

Were the paymaster-general to retain his balance until his accounts are finally adjusted, the public would be kept out of their money to a very distant and uncertain period. It is sixteen years since lord Holland resigned, and his accounts are still in the office of the auditors of the imprest unsettled; the present paymaster-general has been in

office thirteen years, and the first three years and a half only of his accounts, are sent into that office, and in their first stage. The public have a right to be informed how their money has been expended, and as speedily as possible after the expenditure. The evils attending delay are many and obvious, both to the person accounting, and to those entitled to call for the account. The being accustomed to go in one track, and long inattention to this point, in the departments both of the paymaster-general and of the auditors of the imprest, added to a great increase of business, have produced long arrears: it requires, and there ought to be, an extraordinary exertion in both offices, to bring the accounts forward, and to introduce and establish that order and regularity in making them up, and keeping them, which should be strictly adhered to in every office of account. To obtain and preserve an accurate and competent knowledge of the state they are in, they should be made up and balanced once a year, to a certain stated time, and as soon as may be after that stated time is elapsed. But the time it takes to complete the payment of certain services, and the manner of carrying on some branches of the business in this office, are impediments to such a regulation, and seem not well calculated either for perspicuity or expedition. There are certain services, for which no specific sums are appropriated, either by vote of parliament, or by the distribution in the establishment; but they are paid out of funds compounded of a great variety and number of articles, substracted from various different gross sums, either voted or allotted for certain purposes:

poses: these services are, Chelsea Hospital, the allowance to widows, the cloathing of the regulars, exchequer fees, and salaries to certain officers. One of these funds is the poundage, which consists of various deductions of twelve pence in the pound upon almost every individual sum (excepting the half pay, of which the deduction is only six pence in the pound) voted, or allotted by the distributions in the establishments for the army services: out of this fund are paid, 1st, The returned poundage; that is, the very deduction, thus made, is paid back to certain corps; so that this part of it seems to be deducted for no other purpose but that of returning it back again. 2dly, A part of this poundage is applied towards the expences of Chelsea Hospital. 3dly, The remainder pays the exchequer fees, and the salaries of the paymaster-general, and of other officers.

The expences attending Chelsea Hospital are paid out of two funds blended together: the one is part of the poundage above-mentioned; the other is formed of the production of one day's pay of every person named in some of the establishments, and of some of the persons named in other of the establishments. To form this fund, and that of the poundage, and to make these several deductions, is the business of the pay-office.

The allowance to widows consists of the pay of two private men of a company, and is a part of the establishment in every regiment: this comes from the war office, but the several articles are collected together from the regimental distributions, and formed into a fund, in the pay-office.

The fund for the cloathing is called the nett off-reckonings, and is composed of deductions made in the pay-office, out of the sums allotted in the establishment for the full pay of the non-commissioned officers and private men, in most of the regiments and corps.

One effect of these operations is, that in making up the state of every regiment in the pay-office, the sum allotted for its pay in the establishment must consist of six parts; the poundage, the hospital, the subsistence, the allowance to widows, the off-reckonings, and the clearings, and sometimes respites. This state, besides the business it creates in the pay-office, must be examined, computed, and signed, by the agent; for he receives the clearings, which is the balance due to the regiment; the truth of which balance depends upon the justness of the calculation of the other divisions: it must be examined too, and computed, by the auditor of the imprest; for the paymaster-general taking credit in his account for the whole pay of each regiment, and surcharging himself with the total amount of the deductions of the poundage, hospital, and widows, in every year, the auditor cannot know the accuracy of the surcharge, without an examination of each article that composes it.

To persons accustomed to the course of office, these computations are easy and familiar; but they certainly must take up time; an object, considering the present state of the army accounts, worth attending to. If, instead of these deductions, certain specific distinct sums were estimated and set apart for these services in the establishment; if distinct accounts were kept of the  
receipts

receipts and payments, under each head of service ; if the cloathing of the regulars was voted like the cloathing of the militia, separate from the establishment ; if the sum allotted to a regiment should be the actual pay, and the whole of it be distributed amongst the officers and private men, and paid to them without deduction, at such times and in such proportions as shall be deemed best for the service ; if every distinct service had its distinct approbation, which can be easily estimated by the experience of preceding years ; it should seem as if this branch of the pay of the army might be carried on in a more simple, expeditious, and intelligible manner.

In public trusts, the possibility of a loss should be guarded against, as much as the nature of the trusts will admit, without any respect to persons, or placing any more confidence in any man than can be helped. The sums that appear to have been intrusted to paymasters-general, are of a magnitude that implies danger to the public ; for who can give or find security for the payment of them ? At the head of this class of accountants stands an instance of an actual loss : the last account that was passed of Lord Lincoln's, was on the 24th of December 1719, between which and the 25th of June 1720, four hundred and seventy-three thousand one hundred twenty-seven pounds were issued to him from the Exchequer : of this sum it does not appear that any account was ever given, nor have we been able to trace, either in the pay-office, or in that of the auditors of the imprest, the expenditure of any part of it ; neither book nor paper, relative to this account, is to be found in either

of those offices. It has been the practice of the paymasters-general, when they went out of office, to take with them the books and papers that relate to their accounts, as their own private property : but as the paymaster-general is an officer appointed to a public trust, his office created for the use of, and supported by, the public, and his books contain accounts of the receipt and expenditure of public money ; we are of opinion, that all these official books and papers are, and should be considered as the property of the public, and as such, left and deposited in the pay-office, for the use and information of posterity.

The regulations hitherto suggested are on a supposition that the constitution of this office continues in its present form : but there is a modification, which, if it can be adopted, will effectually remove the power, and therefore the possibility, of loss or abuse ; that is, by taking away from the paymaster-general of the forces, the custody of the public cash, and placing it in the bank of England : this treasury will then be converted into an office of mere account, and the paymaster-general, instead of being the banker of the army, will be the instrument only through whom the army services are paid, without having the power of applying the public money to any other purposes whatever. Some judgment may be formed how far this plan is practicable, by comparing the alteration it will make in the great outlines of the business of this office, the receipt, the issue, the keeping the accounts, and the accounting, with the forms now in use. The imprest must be to the bank, the bank must make the payments, by means of the cheque drafts

drafts drawn by the paymaster-general, specifying the warrant, and the service; the paymaster-general must keep the account of these receipts and payments, and the bank a duplicate; both must join in passing the accounts, the one producing the warrants discharged by his drafts, the other producing the drafts discharged by payments. Under the present constitution of this office the paymaster-general keeps his cash at the bank; the bank receives it at the exchequer on his account; he never pays in cash, but by his cashiers drafts on the bank: he keeps the account of all these receipts and payments as if they were transacted in cash: the warrant indorsed, or the warrant and receipt, or the warrant and regimental pay-book, signed by the agent, and receipt for the off-reckonings, are his vouchers; his deputies pay, when they can, by drafts upon the agent to the remitter, who is the bank abroad and accountable to the public.

Such is the similitude between the mode proposed and the mode in use; and thus far this regulation carries with it all the appearance of being reduceable to practice.

We are well aware of the difficulties that must for ever attend the introducing novelty of form into ancient offices, framed by the wisdom of our ancestors, and established by the experience of ages.

They are considered as incapable of improvement; the officers, educated in, and accustomed to the forms in use, are insensible of their defects; or, if they feel them, have no leisure, often no ability, seldom any inclination, to correct them; alarmed at the idea of innovation, they resist the proposal of a regulation, because it is a change, though from a perplexed and intricate, to a more simple and intelligible system.

To trace this alteration through every branch of the business, to mark all its effects, that it does not in any wise disturb the pay of the army, perplex the accounts, or throw difficulties or delay in the passing them; to point out the steps by which it ought gradually and methodically to be introduced, is a work of long serious attention and accurate examination; but the appearance this plan carries with it of being practicable, and the advantage it holds out to the public, in an office that certainly stands in need of some reform, afford us sufficient reason for submitting the consideration of it to the wisdom of the legislature.

GUY CARLETON, (L. S.)

T. ANGUISH, (L. S.)

A. PIGGOTT, (L. S.)

RICHARD NEAVE, (L. S.)

SAM. BEACHCROFT, (L. S.)

GEO. DRUMMOND, (L. S.)

*Office of Accounts, Surrey-street, Aug. 1, 1781.*

## Parliamentary SUPPLIES, and WAYS and MEANS for 1781.

*November 16, 1780.*

**R**esolved, That, towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty, the sum of four shillings in the pound, and no more, be raised within the space of one year, from the 25th day of March, 1781, upon lands, tenements, hereditaments, pensions, offices and personal estates, in that part of Great Britain called England, Wales, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed; and that a proportionable cess, according to the ninth article of the treaty of union, be laid upon that part of Great Britain called Scotland.

Resolved, That towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty, the duties upon malt, mum, cyder, and perry, which, by an act of parliament of the twentieth year of his present Majesty's reign, have continuance to the 24th day of June, 1781, be further continued, and charged upon all malt which shall be made, and all mum which shall be made or imported, and all cyder and perry which shall be made for sale, within the kingdom of Great Britain, from the 23d day of June, 1781, to the 24th day of June, 1782.

*November 28, 1780.*

Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding one million and forty-nine thousand seven hundred seventy-four pounds, eight shillings, and eleven pence, be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the charge of thirty-nine thousand six hundred and sixty-six effective men, for guards, garrisons, and other his Majesty's land forces in Great Britain, Jersey, and Guernsey, for the

year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one.

Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding one million four hundred eighty-eight thousand nine hundred and twenty-seven pounds, be granted to his Majesty, for maintaining his Majesty's forces and garrisons in the plantations, Africa, and the East Indies, including those in garrison at Minorca and Gibraltar, and for provisions for the forces in North America, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Gibraltar, the West Indies, and Africa, for the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one.

Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding forty-two thousand nine hundred and twenty-seven pounds and sixteen shillings, be granted to his Majesty, for the pay of the general and general staff-officers in Great Britain, for the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one.

Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding fifty-six thousand and seventy-four pounds, nineteen shillings, and fourpence halfpenny, be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the charge of five Hanoverian battalions of foot at Gibraltar and Minorca, and for provisions for the three battalions of the said troops at Gibraltar, for the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one.

Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding three hundred sixty-seven thousand two hundred and three pounds, nine shillings, and ten pence, be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the charge of thirteen thousand four hundred and seventy-two men, of the troops of the  
landgrave

landgrave of Hesse Cassel, in the pay of Great Britain, together with the subsidy, for the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one, pursuant to treaty.

Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding thirty-nine thousand five hundred ninety-seven pounds, one shilling, and eleven pence and one farthing, be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the charge of two regiments of Hanau, in the pay of Great Britain, together with the subsidy, pursuant to treaty with the hereditary prince of Hesse Cassel, for the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one.

Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding seventeen thousand four hundred ninety-eight pounds, three shillings, and two pence three farthings, be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the charge of a regiment of foot of Waldeck, in the pay of Great Britain, together with the subsidy, pursuant to treaty with the reigning prince of Waldeck, for the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one.

Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding ninety-three thousand nine hundred forty-seven pounds, fifteen shillings, and eight pence, be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the charge of four thousand three hundred men, the troops of the reigning duke of Brunswick, in the pay of Great Britain, together with the subsidy, for the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one.

Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding thirty-nine thousand six hundred forty-four pounds, fourteen shillings, and three pence, be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the charge of fourteen hundred and forty-seven men, the troops of the Margrave of Brandebourg Anspach, in the pay of Great Britain,

together with the subsidy, for the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one, pursuant to treaty.

Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding sixteen thousand six hundred and thirty pounds, eleven shillings, and nine pence, and one farthing, be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the charge of a corps of foot of Anhalt Zerbst, in the pay of Great Britain, together with the subsidy, pursuant to treaty with the reigning prince of Anhalt Zerbst, for the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one.

Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding forty-nine thousand three hundred and seventy-three pounds, seventeen shillings, and one penny, be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the charge of provisions for the foreign troops serving in North America, in the pay of Great Britain, for the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one.

Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding six thousand four hundred sixty-three pounds, eight shillings, and five pence, and three farthings, be granted to his Majesty, to make good a deficiency in the sums voted for the troops of the hereditary prince of Hesse Cassel, in the pay of Great Britain, being the charge of an augmentation to the said troops from the twenty-ninth day of March, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine, to the twenty-fourth day of December, one thousand seven hundred and eighty.

Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding twenty-seven thousand six hundred eighty-three pounds, and fourteen shillings, be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the charge of artillery for the foreign troops in the pay of Great Britain, pursuant to treaties, for the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one.

Resolved,

Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding six hundred seventy-two thousand four hundred fifty-seven pounds, and fifteen shillings, be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the charge of the embodied militia of the several counties in South Britain, and of four regiments of fencible men in North Britain, for the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one.

Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding ninety-nine thousand, six hundred seventy-nine pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence, be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the charge of the cloathing for the embodied militia in South Britain, for the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one.

*November 30, 1780.*

Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding five hundred and eighty-two thousand nine hundred and twenty-four pounds, eleven shillings, and nine pence, be granted to his Majesty, for the charge of the office of ordnance, for land service, for the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one.

Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding four hundred and forty-seven thousand one hundred and eighty-two pounds, four shillings, and six pence, be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the expence of services performed by the office of ordnance for land service, and not provided for by parliament, in one thousand seven hundred and eighty.

Resolved, That the sum of one million five hundred thousand pounds, be granted to his Majesty, for paying off and discharging the exchequer bills, made out by virtue of an act passed in the last session of parliament, intituled, "An

act for raising a certain sum of money, by loans or exchequer bills, for the service of the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty," and charged upon the first aids to be granted in this session of parliament.

Resolved, That the sum of one million be granted to his Majesty, for paying off and discharging the exchequer bills, made out by virtue of an act passed in the last session of parliament, intituled, "An act for enabling his Majesty to raise the sum of one million, for the uses and purposes therein mentioned," and charged upon the first aids to be granted in this session of parliament.

*December 5, 1780.*

Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding three hundred and eighty-six thousand, two hundred and sixty-one pounds, five shillings, and eight pence, be granted to his Majesty, for the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to sea and marine officers, for the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one.

Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding six hundred seventy thousand and sixteen pounds, be granted to his Majesty, towards the buildings, rebuildings, and repairs, of ships of war in his Majesty's yards, and other extra works, over and above what are proposed to be done upon the heads of wear and tear, and ordinary, for the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one.

*January 25, 1781.*

Resolved, That the sum of eighty thousand pounds be granted to his Majesty, to be applied in such manner as his Majesty in his great wisdom shall judge most proper and effectual, for affording immediate assistance

assistance to our unhappy fellow subjects in the island of Barbadoes, and to relieve and support such of them as have been reduced to distress and necessity by the dreadful calamity which, in the month of October last, ravaged and laid waste the greatest part of that island.

Resolved, That the sum of forty thousand pounds be granted to his Majesty, to be applied in such manner as his Majesty in his great wisdom shall judge most proper and effectual, for affording immediate assistance to our unhappy fellow subjects in the island of Jamaica, and to relieve and support such of them as have been reduced to distress and necessity by the dreadful calamity which, in the month of October last, ravaged and laid waste a considerable part of that island.

Resolved, That the said two several sums of eighty thousand pounds and forty thousand pounds be issued and paid without any fee or deduction whatsoever.

*February 6, 1781.*

Resolved, That, towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty, there be issued and applied the sum of two hundred and eighty-eight thousand three hundred and forty-six pounds, nineteen shillings, and eight pence, remaining in the receipt of the exchequer on the fifth day of January, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one, for the disposition of parliament, of the monies which had then arisen of the surplusses, excesses, overplus monies, and other revenues, composing the fund commonly called The Sinking Fund.

*February 8, 1781.*

Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding seventy-nine thousand and

fifty-nine pounds, be granted to his Majesty upon account of the reduced expense of his Majesty's land forces and marines, for the year 1781.

Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding five hundred ninety-six pounds, four shillings, and two pence, be granted to his Majesty for defraying the charge of allowances to the several officers and private gentlemen of the two troops of horse guards reduced, and to the superannuated gentlemen of the four troops of horse guards, for the year 1781.

Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding ninety-one thousand six hundred and four pounds, seven shillings, and one penny, be granted to his Majesty upon account, towards defraying the charge of the out-pensioners of Chelsea hospital, for the year 1781.

Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding five thousand and ninety-nine pounds, ten shillings, and five pence, be granted to his Majesty upon account, for maintaining and supporting the civil establishment of his Majesty's colony of Nova Scotia, for the year 1781.

Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding two thousand nine hundred and eighty-six pounds, be granted to his Majesty upon account, for defraying the charges of the civil establishment of his Majesty's colony of Georgia, and other incidental expenses attending the same, from the 24th day of June, 1780, to the 24th day of June, 1781.

Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding three thousand nine hundred and sixty pounds, be granted to his Majesty upon account, for defraying the charges of the civil establishment of his Majesty's colony of East Florida, and other incidental expenses

expences attending the same, from the 24th day of June, 1780, to the 24th day of June, 1781.

Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding three thousand nine hundred pounds, be granted to his Majesty upon account, for defraying the charges of the civil establishment of his Majesty's colony of West Florida, and other incidental expences attending the same, from the 24th day of June, 1780, to the 24th day of June, 1781.

Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding three thousand one hundred and fifty pounds, be granted to his Majesty on account, for defraying the charges of the civil establishment of his Majesty's island of St. John in America, and other incidental expences attending the same, from the 1st day of January, 1781, to the 1st day of January, 1782.

Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding two hundred and seven pounds, be granted to his Majesty upon account, for defraying the expences attending general surveys of his Majesty's dominions in North America, for the year 1781.

Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding eight thousand pounds, be granted to his Majesty, to be advanced to the governor and company of the merchants of England trading into the Levant seas, to be applied in assisting the said company in carrying on their trade.

*February 19, 1781.*

Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding twenty thousand six hundred and seventy-one pounds, twelve shillings, and six pence, be granted to his Majesty, to enable the commissioners appointed by virtue of an act, made in the last session of parliament, intituled, "An act to vest certain messuages, lands, tenements,

and hereditaments, in trustees, for better securing his Majesty's docks, ships, and stores, at Chatham," to make compensation to the proprietors of such lands and hereditaments, at and near Chatham, as have been purchased for the purposes mentioned in the said act.

Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding thirteen thousand four hundred and fifty-two pounds and seventeen shillings, be granted to his Majesty, to enable the commissioners appointed by virtue of an act, made in the last session of parliament, intituled, "an act to vest certain messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, in trustees, for the better securing his Majesty's docks, ships, and stores, at Plymouth and Sheerness, and for better defending the passage of the river Thames at Gravesend and Tilbury Fort," to make compensation to the proprietors of such lands and hereditaments, at and near Sheerness and Gravesend, as have been purchased for the purposes mentioned in the said act.

Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding one hundred and forty-eight pounds and eighteen shillings, be granted to his Majesty, to enable the commissioners appointed by virtue of an act, made in the last session of parliament, intituled, "an act to vest certain messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, in trustees, for the better securing his Majesty's docks, ships, and stores, at Plymouth and Sheerness, and for better defending the passage of the river Thames at Gravesend and Tilbury Fort," to make compensation to the proprietors of such lands and hereditaments, at and near Tilbury Fort, as have been purchased for the purposes mentioned in the said act, and for damage

damage done to the lands adjacent.

*February 20, 1781.*

Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding fifteen thousand four hundred and eighty-seven pounds, and seventeen shillings, be granted to his Majesty, to replace the like sum which has been issued, by his Majesty's orders, to Mr. Duncan Campbell, for the expence of confining maintaining, and employing, convicts on the river Thames.

Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding twenty-two thousand two hundred and twenty-two pounds, be granted to his Majesty, to make good to his Majesty the like sum which has been issued, by his Majesty's orders, in pursuance of the addresses of this house.

Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding fifty-seven thousand nine hundred and ten pounds, and twelve shillings, be granted to his Majesty, to make good the like sum which has been issued, by his Majesty's orders, to be applied for the relief and benefit of sundry American civil officers, and others, who have suffered on account of their attachment to his Majesty's government.

Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding thirty thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine pounds, eleven shillings, and two pence, be granted to his Majesty, to replace to the sinking fund the like sum paid out of the same, to make good the deficiency on the 5th day of July, 1780, of the fund established for paying annuities granted by an act, made in the thirty-first year of the reign of his late Majesty, towards the supply granted for the service of the year 1758.

Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding one hundred ninety-one

thousand six hundred sixty-four pounds, seven shillings, and two pence, be granted to his Majesty, to replace to the sinking fund the like sum paid out of the same, to make good the deficiency on the 5th day of July, 1780, of the fund established for paying annuities granted by an act, made in the eighteenth year of the reign of his present Majesty, towards the supply granted for the service of the year 1778.

Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding one hundred ninety-three thousand six hundred sixty-three pounds, and one penny three farthings, be granted to his Majesty, to replace to the sinking fund the like sum paid out of the same, to make good the deficiency on the 5th day of July, 1780, of the fund established for paying annuities granted by an act made in the nineteenth year of the reign of his present Majesty, towards the supply granted for the service of the year 1779.

Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding two hundred twenty-two thousand seven hundred and forty-five pounds, four shillings, and six pence, be granted to his Majesty, to replace to the sinking fund the like sum paid out of the same, to make good the deficiency on the 10th day of October, 1780, of the fund established for paying annuities granted by an act, made in the twentieth year of the reign of his present Majesty, towards the supply granted for the service of the year 1780.

Resolved, That provision be made for the pay and cloathing of the militia, and for their subsistence during the time they shall be absent from home, on account of the annual exercise for the year 1781.

*March*

*March 1, 1781.*

Resolved, That the charge of the pay and cloathing of the militia in that part of Great Britain called England, for one year, beginning the 25th day of March, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one, be defrayed out of the monies arising by the land-tax, granted for the service of the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one.

*March 8, 1781.*

Resolved, That, towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty, the sum of twelve millions be raised by annuities, and the further sum of four hundred and eighty thousand pounds by a lottery, in manner following; that is to say,

That every contributor to the said twelve millions shall, for one hundred pounds contributed and paid, be entitled to the principal sum of one hundred pounds in annuities, after the rate of three pounds per Centum; and to an additional principal sum of fifty pounds in like annuities, after the rate of three pounds per Centum, and also to a farther principal sum of twenty-five pounds in annuities, after the rate of four pounds per Centum; the said several annuities, after the rate of three pounds per Centum, and four pounds per Centum, respectively, to commence from the fifth day of January one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one.

That the sum of twelve millions, to be contributed as aforesaid, together with the additional capital of fifty pounds to every one hundred pounds advanced and paid, amounting to six millions, making together in the whole eighteen millions in annuities after the rate of three pounds per centum, be, from the time of their commencement, added to, and made one joint stock with,

the three pounds per cent. annuities consolidated by the acts of the twenty-fifth, twenty-eighth, twenty-ninth, thirty-second, and thirty-third of George the Second, and by several subsequent acts, and charged upon the sinking fund, and shall be payable and transferrable at the bank of England at the same time, and in the same manner, and subject to the like redemption by parliament, as the said three pounds per cent. consolidated annuities are payable and transferrable there, and redeemable by parliament:

That the annuity, in respect of the said additional sum or capital of twenty-five pounds, to which every contributor of one hundred pounds contributed as aforesaid shall be entitled, making together in the whole three millions, to carry an interest and annuity, after the rate of four per cent. shall be paid at the bank of England for one quarter of a year, from the 5th day of January one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one, to the fifth day of April following, and from that time shall be added and made one joint stock with certain annuities, after the rate of four pounds per cent. which were consolidated by an act of the last session of parliament, and shall also be charged upon the sinking fund, and shall be payable and transferrable at the bank of England at the same time, and in the same manner, and subject to the like redemption by parliament, as the said consolidated four pounds per cent. annuities are payable and transferrable there, and redeemable by parliament.

That every contributor towards raising the said sum of twelve millions shall, for every one thousand pounds contributed, be entitled to four tickets in a lottery to consist of forty-eight thousand tickets, amounting

ing to four hundred and eighty thousand pounds, upon payment of the further sum of ten pounds for each ticket, the said four hundred and eighty thousand pounds to be distributed into prizes for the benefit of the proprietors of the fortunate tickets in the said lottery, which shall be paid in money, at the bank of England, to such proprietors upon demand, as soon after the first day of March one thousand seven hundred and eighty two as certificates can be prepared, without any deduction whatsoever.

That every contributor shall, on or before the fifteenth day of this instant March, make a deposit of fifteen pounds per cent. on such sum as he or she shall chuse to subscribe, towards raising the said sum of twelve millions, with the chief cashier or cashiers of the governor and company of the bank of England, and also a deposit of fifteen pounds per cent. with the said cashier or cashiers, in part of the monies to be contributed towards raising the said sum of four hundred and eighty thousand pounds by lottery, as a security for making the future payments respectively, on or before the days or times hereinafter limited; that is to say,

On £. 12,000,000, to be raised by annuities.

£. 10 per cent. on or before the 27th day of April next.

£. 10 per cent. on or before the 18th day of May next.

£. 10 per cent. on or before the 14th day of June next.

£. 10 per cent. on or before the 24th day of July next.

£. 15 per cent. on or before the 21st day of August next.

£. 10 per cent. on or before the 18th day of September next.

£. 10 per cent. on or before the 23d day of October next.

£. 10 per cent. on or before the 23d day of November next.

On the lottery for £. 480,000

£. 20 per cent. on or before the 11th day of May next.

£. 25 per cent. on or before the 10th day of July next.

£. 20 per cent. on or before the 11th day of September next.

£. 20 per cent. on or before the 9th day of October next.

That all the monies, so to be received by the said chief cashier or cashiers of the governor and company of the bank of England, shall be paid into the receipt of the exchequer, to be applied from time to time to such services as shall then have been voted by this house in this session of parliament.

That every contributor, who shall pay in the whole of his or her contribution money towards the sum of twelve millions to be contributed as aforesaid at any time before the twenty-second day of October next, or on account of his or her share in the said lottery on or before the tenth day of September next, shall be allowed an interest, by way of discount, after the rate of three pounds per cent. per annum, on the sum so completing his or her contribution respectively, to be computed from the day of completing the same, to the twenty-third day of November next, in regard to the sum to be paid for the said annuities, and to the eighth day of October next in respect of the sum to be paid on account of the said lottery; and that all such persons as shall make their full payments on the said lottery shall have their tickets delivered to them as soon as they can conveniently be made out.

Resolved, That every person who shall keep any office or place for buying, selling, insuring, registering,

storing, disposing, or otherwise dealing in, any tickets or chances, or parts thereof, or on the numbers of any tickets in any lottery whatsoever, or shall by writing or printing publish the setting-up or using such office or place, shall first take out a licence for that purpose.

Resolved, That there shall be raised, levied, and paid, unto his Majesty, his heirs and successors, the sum of fifty pounds, for every such licence.

Resolved, That the monies, to arise by the said duties, shall be applied towards defraying the expences attending the commission to be made forth, for managing, directing, and drawing, such lottery.

Resolved, That the sum of eighteen millions nine hundred eighty-six thousand and three hundred pounds, remaining unsubscribed of the sum of twenty millions two hundred and forty thousand pounds, in four pounds per cent. annuities, made one joint stock by an act of the second year of his present Majesty's reign, which stood reduced to three pounds per cent. per annum, from the fifth day of January, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one, be, with the consent of the several proprietors, from the fifth day of April, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one, added to, and made one joint stock with, certain three pounds per cent. annuities consolidated by the acts of the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth years of his late Majesty, and an act of the fifth year of the reign of his present Majesty; and that the charges and expences, payable in respect of the same, shall continue to be paid and payable out of the sinking fund, until redemption by parliament, in the same manner, and at the same time, as the last-mentioned annuities are paid

and payable; and that such persons, who shall not, on or before the twentieth day of March, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one, signify their dissent in books to be opened at the bank for that purpose, shall be deemed and taken to assent thereto.

*March 15, 1781.*

Resolved, That, towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty, an additional duty or charge of five pounds per cent. be laid upon the produce and amount of the several duties and revenues under the management of the respective commissioners of excise in Great Britain (except on the produce of the duties on malt, beer, soap, candles, and leather) the said additional duty of five pounds per cent. to be charged, collected, paid, and drawn back, under the same rules and regulations, and in the same manner and form, as the present duties of excise are now charged, collected, paid, and drawn back.

Resolved, That all discounts or abatements (which, by virtue of the seventeenth rule annexed to the book of rates, made in the twelfth year of the reign of king Charles the Second, or of any other act of parliament, are made in the computation of the subsidies, imposts, and other duties of customs in Great Britain, or for prompt payment) shall cease, determine, and be no longer made or allowed out of the said duties on entries, except the allowances to the East India company, for charges of sale and prompt payment, provided that the duties on unrated East India goods, sold at their sales, be paid within three months from the termination of each sale respectively; that is to say, that the duties on the March sale shall be paid on or before the first day of

December

December following, and the duties on the September sale on or before the first day of June following, such sales; and except the usual discount on bonds for tobacco warehoused, for the time they have to run when they are paid off before they are due, and except the usual allowances for leakage on wine.

Resolved, That the five pounds per cent. additional duty, or impost, granted by an act of the nineteenth of his present Majesty, or by any subsequent act, shall be laid, computed, and received, upon the gross duties which shall accrue, and become due and payable, when such discounts or abatements shall cease, determine, and be no longer allowed or made.

Resolved, That so much of the several acts of parliament as relate to the importer giving bond, with one or more securities, for the duties on tobacco, be repealed; and that, when the duties on tobacco are paid down at the time of entry, the impost of five pounds per cent. granted by an act of the nineteenth of his present Majesty, shall not be collected on such duties so paid down; but if the tobacco shall be warehoused, and bond given for the duties, pursuant to an act of the twelfth of queen Anne, or any other act of parliament, then there shall be taken ten pounds per cent. instead of five pounds per cent. for the impost, granted by the said act of the nineteenth of his present Majesty, on the gross duties.

Resolved, That, towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty, an additional duty of one penny and three farthings per pound weight be laid upon all tobacco imported into Great Britain.

Resolved, That, towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty,

an additional duty of four shillings and eight pence per hundred weight, containing one hundred and twelve pounds, be laid upon all sugars imported into Great Britain, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity.

Resolved, That, towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty, the said additional duties shall be subject and liable to the payment of the duty or charge of five pounds per cent. laid upon the produce and amount of the several duties under the management of the respective commissioners of the customs and excise, by an act made in the nineteenth year of the reign of his present Majesty.

*March 20, 1781.*

Resolved, That the several rates and duties upon paper, millboards, pasteboards, and scaleboards, made in Great Britain (except so much as are imposed upon paper to be printed, painted, or stained, in Great Britain, to serve for hangings and other uses) do cease, determine, and be no longer paid.

Resolved, That a duty of nine shillings per ream be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain for writing, called Imperial, of the value of two pounds eleven shillings per ream and upwards, and not exceeding the dimensions of twenty-two inches by thirty inches and a quarter.

Resolved, That a duty of six shillings and nine pence per ream be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain for writing, called super-royal, of the value of one pound eighteen shillings per ream and upwards, and not exceeding the dimensions of nineteen inches and a quarter by twenty-seven inches and a half.

Resolved,

Resolved, That a duty of five shillings per ream be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain for writing, called Royal, of the value of one pound nine shillings per ream and upwards, and not exceeding the dimensions of nineteen inches and a quarter by twenty-four inches.

That a duty of four shillings per ream be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain for writing, called Medium, of the value of one pound two shillings and six pence per ream and upwards, and not exceeding the dimensions of seventeen inches and a half by twenty-two inches and a half.

That a duty of two shillings and nine pence per ream be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain for writing, called Demy, of the value of sixteen shillings per ream and upwards, and not exceeding the dimensions of fifteen inches and a half by twenty inches.

That a duty of two shillings and three pence per ream be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain for writing, called Thick Post, of the value of thirteen shillings per ream and upwards, and not exceeding the dimensions of fifteen inches and a quarter by nineteen inches and a half.

That a duty of one shilling and nine pence per ream be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain for writing, called Thin Post, of the value of ten shillings per ream and upwards, and not exceeding the dimensions of fifteen inches and a quarter by nineteen inches and a half.

That a duty of one shilling and three pence per ream be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain for writing, called Small Post, of the value of seven shillings and six

pence per ream and upwards, and not exceeding the dimensions of thirteen inches and a half by sixteen inches and a half.

That a duty of one shilling and six pence per ream be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain for writing, called Fools Cap, of the value of nine shillings per ream and upwards, and not exceeding the dimensions of thirteen inches and a half by sixteen inches and three quarters.

That a duty of one shilling per ream be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain for writing, called Pott, of the value of six shillings per ream and upwards, and not exceeding the dimensions of twelve inches and a half by fifteen inches and a half.

That a duty of one pound ten shillings per ream be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain for writing or copper-plate printing, called Double Atlas, of the value of fifteen pounds per ream and upwards, and not exceeding the dimensions of fifty-five inches by thirty-one inches and a half.

That a duty of one shilling and nine pence per ream be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain for writing or copper-plate printing, called Demy, of the value of twelve shillings per ream and upwards, and not exceeding the dimensions of fifteen inches and a half by twenty inches.

That a duty of one shilling per ream be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain for writing or copper-plate printing, called Copy or Bastard, of the value of seven shillings and six pence per ream and upwards, and not exceeding the dimensions of sixteen inches by twenty inches and a quarter.

That a duty of ten pence per  
(O) ream

ream be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain for writing or copper-plate printing, called Fools Cap, of the value of six shillings per ream and upwards, and not exceeding the dimensions of thirteen inches and a half by sixteen inches and three quarters.

That a duty of ten pence per ream be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain for writing or copper-plate printing, called Littrix Fools Cap, of the value of six shillings per ream and upwards, and not exceeding the dimensions of thirteen inches and a half by seventeen inches and a half.

That a duty of eight pence per ream be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain for writing or copper-plate printing, called Pott, of the value of four shillings per ream and upwards, and not exceeding the dimensions of twelve inches and a half by fifteen inches and a half.

That a duty of eleven shillings per ream be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain for writing or copper-plate printing, called Grand Eagle or Double Elephant, of the value of four pounds per ream and upwards, and not exceeding the dimensions of twenty-six inches and three quarters by forty inches.

That a duty of seven shillings per ream be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain for writing or copper-plate printing, called Colombier, of the value of two pounds and ten shillings per ream and upwards, and not exceeding the dimensions of twenty-three inches and a half by thirty-four inches and a half.

That a duty of ten shillings per ream be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain for writing or copper-plate printing, called Atlas, of the value of three pounds per

ream and upwards, and not exceeding the dimensions of twenty-six inches and a quarter by thirty-four inches.

That a duty of six shillings and six pence per ream be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain for writing or copper-plate printing, called Atlas, of the value of two pounds per ream and upwards, and not exceeding the dimensions of twenty-six inches and a quarter by thirty-four inches.

That a duty of five shillings per ream be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain for writing or copper-plate printing, called Small Atlas, of the value of one pound and ten shillings per ream and upwards, a not exceeding the dimensions of twenty-five inches by thirty-one inches.

That a duty of four shillings and nine pence per ream be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain for writing or copper-plate printing, called Imperial, of the value of one pound and ten shillings per ream and upwards, and not exceeding the dimensions of twenty-two inches by thirty inches and a quarter.

That a duty of three shillings and six pence per ream be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain for writing or copper-plate printing, called Super Royal, of the value of one pound and five shillings per ream and upwards, and not exceeding the dimensions of nineteen inches and a quarter by twenty-seven inches and a half.

That a duty of three shillings per ream be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain for writing or copper-plate printing, called Long Royal, of the value of one pound per ream and upwards, and not exceeding the dimensions of twenty seven inches and a half by eighteen inches.

That

That a duty of two shillings and six pence per ream be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain for writing or copper-plate printing, called Royal, of the value of eighteen shillings per ream and upwards, and not exceeding the dimensions of nineteen inches and a quarter by twenty-four inches.

That a duty of one shilling and nine pence per ream be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain for writing or copper-plate printing, called Demy, of the value of thirteen shillings per ream and upwards, and not exceeding the dimensions of seventeen inches by twenty-two inches.

That a duty of one shilling and three pence per ream be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain for writing or copper-plate printing, called Short Demy, or Crowns, of the value of nine shillings per ream and upwards, and not exceeding the dimensions of fourteen inches by twenty inches and a quarter, or of fifteen inches by twenty inches.

That a duty of two shillings per ream be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain for writing or copper-plate printing, called Large Fan, of the value of fourteen shillings per ream and upwards, and not exceeding the dimensions of twenty-three inches and a half by twenty inches and a half.

That a duty of one shilling and six pence per ream be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain for writing or copper-plate printing, called Small Fan, of the value of eleven shillings per ream and upwards, and not exceeding the dimensions of twenty-two inches and a quarter by thirteen inches and a quarter.

That a duty of two shillings and three pence per ream be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain for

writing or copper-plate printing, called Elephant, of the value of fifteen shillings per ream and upwards, and not exceeding the dimensions of twenty-three inches by twenty-eight inches.

That a duty of two shillings per ream be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain for bank or bankers bills, or notes, allowing two bills, or notes, in each sheet, and so in proportion for a greater or less number of bills, or notes, in each sheet.

That a duty of five shillings and six pence per bundle be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain for printing, called Double Demy, of the value of one pound and eighteen shillings per bundle and upwards, and not exceeding the dimensions of twenty-six inches by thirty-eight inches and a half.

That a duty of three shillings and six pence per bundle be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain for printing, called Royal, of the value of one pound and four shillings per bundle and upwards, and not exceeding the dimensions of nineteen inches and a half by twenty-four inches and a quarter, or of twenty inches by twenty-six inches.

That a duty of two shillings per bundle be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain for printing, called Royal Inferior, of the value of fourteen shillings per bundle and upwards, and not exceeding the dimensions of nineteen inches and a half by twenty-four inches and a quarter.

That a duty of two shillings and nine pence per bundle be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain for printing, called Medium, of the value of one pound per bundle and upwards, and not exceeding the dimensions of eighteen inches by twenty-three inches.

That a duty of two shillings and six pence per bundle be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain for printing, called Demy Single, of the value of seventeen shillings per bundle and upwards, and not exceeding the dimensions of seventeen inches and a half by twenty-two inches, or of nineteen inches by twenty inches and a half.

That a duty of one shilling and six pence per bundle be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain for printing, called Demy Inferior, of the value of ten shillings per bundle and upwards, and not exceeding the dimensions of seventeen inches and a half by twenty-two inches.

That a duty of two shillings and four pence per bundle be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain for printing, called Double Crown, of the value of seventeen shillings per bundle and upwards, and not exceeding the dimensions of twenty-inches by thirty inches.

That a duty of one shilling and nine pence per bundle be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain for printing, called Double Crown Inferior, of the value of twelve shillings per bundle and upwards, and not exceeding the dimensions of twenty-inches by thirty inches.

That a duty of two shillings per bundle be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain for printing, called Single Crown, of the value of thirteen shillings per bundle and upwards, and not exceeding the dimensions of fifteen inches by twenty inches.

That a duty of one shilling and three pence per bundle be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain for printing, called Single Crown Inferior, of the value of eight shillings per bundle and upwards, and not exceeding the dimensions of fifteen inches by twenty inches.

That a duty of one shilling and three pence per bundle be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain for printing, called Demy Tissue, of the value of eight shillings per bundle and upwards, and not exceeding the dimensions of seventeen inches and a half by twenty-two inches.

That a duty of ten pence per bundle be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain for printing, called Crown Tissue, of the value of five shillings per bundle and upwards, and not exceeding the dimensions of fifteen inches by twenty inches.

That a duty of one shilling and six pence per bundle be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain for printing, called Double Pott, of the value of nine shillings per bundle and upwards, and not exceeding the dimensions of seventeen inches by twenty-five inches and a half.

That a duty of one shilling and nine pence per ream be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain, called Cartridge, not exceeding the dimensions of twenty-one inches by twenty-six inches.

That a duty of two shillings per ream be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain, called Square Cartridge, not exceeding the dimensions of twenty-four inches and a half by twenty-five inches and a half.

That a duty of one shilling and six pence per ream be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain, called Cartridge, not exceeding the dimensions of nineteen inches and a quarter by twenty-four inches.

That a duty of one shilling and three pence per ream be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain, called Elephant Common, not exceeding the dimensions of twenty-three inches by twenty-eight inches.

That

That a duty of two shillings per ream be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain, called Sugar Blue, not exceeding the dimensions of twenty-one inches and a half by thirty-three inches.

That a duty of one shilling and six pence per ream be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain, called Sugar Blue Smaller Size, not exceeding the dimensions of eighteen inches and three quarters by twenty-seven inches.

That a duty of one shilling and three pence per ream be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain, called Sugar Blue Demy Size, not exceeding the dimensions of seventeen inches and a half by twenty-two inches.

That a duty of one shilling and three pence per ream be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain, called Sugar Blue Crown Size, not exceeding the dimensions of fifteen inches by twenty inches.

That a duty of one shilling per ream be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain, called Purple Royal, not exceeding the dimensions of nineteen inches and a half by twenty-four inches and a quarter.

That a duty of one shilling and six pence per ream be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain, called Blue Elephant, not exceeding the dimensions of twenty-three inches by twenty-eight inches.

That a duty of two shillings per bundle be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain, called Blue Royal, not exceeding the dimensions of nineteen inches and a half by twenty-four inches and a quarter.

That a duty of one shilling and three pence per bundle be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain, called Blue Demy and Blossom, not exceeding the dimensions of fe-

venteen inches by twenty-two inches.

That a duty of nine pence per bundle be laid upon all paper made in Great Britain, called Blue Crown Single, not exceeding the dimensions of fifteen inches by twenty inches.

That a duty of ten pence per ream be laid upon all whited brown paper made in Great Britain, called Royal Hand Thick, not exceeding the dimensions of twenty-four inches by nineteen inches and a quarter.

That a duty of one shilling per bundle be laid upon all whited brown paper made in Great Britain, called Royal Hand, not exceeding the dimensions of twenty-four inches by nineteen inches and a quarter.

That a duty of one shilling per bundle be laid upon all whited brown paper made in Great Britain, called Lumber Hand, not exceeding the dimensions of twenty-three inches by eighteen inches.

That a duty of nine pence per bundle be laid upon all whited brown paper made in Great Britain, called Double Two Pound, not exceeding the dimensions of twenty-four inches by sixteen inches.

That a duty of four pence per bundle be laid upon all whited brown paper made in Great Britain, called Single Two Pound, not exceeding the dimensions of sixteen inches by eleven inches.

That a duty of one shilling and six pence per bundle be laid upon all whited brown paper made in Great Britain, called Middle Hand Double, not exceeding the dimensions of thirty-three inches by twenty-one inches.

That a duty of nine pence per bundle be laid upon all whited brown

paper made in Great Britain, called Middle Hand, not exceeding the dimensions of twenty-two inches by sixteen inches.

That a duty of one shilling per bundle be laid upon all whited brown paper made in Great Britain, called Small Hand Double, not exceeding the dimensions of thirty-two inches by twenty inches.

That a duty of six pence per bundle be laid upon all whited brown paper made in Great Britain, called Small Hand, not exceeding the dimensions of nineteen inches and three quarters by sixteen inches.

That a duty of four pence per bundle be laid upon all whited brown paper made in Great Britain, called Couples Pound and Half Pound, not exceeding the dimensions of twelve inches by ten inches, and of nine inches by seven inches and a half.

That a duty of one shilling per ream be laid upon all brown paper made in Great Britain, called Imperial Cap, not exceeding the dimensions of twenty-nine inches by twenty-two inches.

That a duty of nine pence per ream be laid upon all brown paper made in Great Britain, called Havon Cap, not exceeding the dimensions of twenty-four inches by twenty inches.

That a duty of eight pence per ream be laid upon all brown paper made in Great Britain, called Bag Cap, not exceeding the dimensions of twenty-three inches and a half by nineteen inches.

That a duty of six pence per ream be laid upon all brown paper made in Great Britain, called Kentish Cap, not exceeding the dimensions of twenty-one inches by eighteen inches.

That a duty of six pence per ream be laid upon all brown paper made in Great Britain, called Four Pounds, not exceeding the dimensions of twenty inches by sixteen inches.

That a duty of four pence per ream be laid upon all brown paper made in Great Britain, called Small Cap, not exceeding the dimensions of twenty-inches by fifteen inches.

That a duty of one shilling per ream be laid upon all brown paper made in Great Britain, called Double Four Pounds, not exceeding the dimensions of thirty-three inches by twenty inches.

That a duty of six pence per bundle be laid upon all brown paper made in Great Britain, called Single Two Pounds, not exceeding the dimensions of sixteen inches by eleven inches.

That a duty of four pence per bundle be laid upon all brown paper made in Great Britain, called Couples Pound and Half Pound, not exceeding the dimensions of twelve inches by ten inches, and of nine inches by seven inches and a half.

That a duty of four shillings and six pence per hundred weight be laid upon all pasteboard, millboard, scaleboard, and glazed paper, made in Great Britain, for clothiers and hot-pressers.

That an additional duty, or charge, of ten pounds per cent. be laid upon the produce and amount of the said several duties upon paper, millboards, pasteboards, and scaleboards.

That the said duties upon paper, millboards, pasteboards, and scaleboards, made or imported into Great Britain, be applied to the same uses and purposes as the former duties upon paper, millboards,

boards, pasteboards, and scaleboards, were applicable.

*April 9, 1781.*

Resolved, That an additional duty of two pence be charged upon every almanack or calendar for one particular year, or for any time less than a year, printed on one side only of any one sheet or piece of paper.

That, for every almanack or calendar made to serve for several years, the said additional duty be charged for every such year, not exceeding three years.

*April 12, 1781.*

Resolved, That, towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty, there be issued and applied the sum of seven hundred fifty-seven thousand and eighty-seven pounds, seventeen shillings, and ten pence, remaining in the receipt of the exchequer on the 5th day of April, 1781, for the disposition of parliament, of the monies which had then arisen of the surplusses, excesses, overplus monies, and other revenues, composing the fund, commonly called the Sinking Fund.

That, towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty, there be issued and applied the sum of twenty-three thousand seven hundred and eight pounds, eleven shillings, and ten pence halfpenny, remaining in the receipt of the exchequer on the 5th day of April, 1781, of the two sevenths excise granted by an act of parliament of the fifth and sixth years of the reign of their late majesties king William and queen Mary, after satisfying the several charges and incumbrances thereupon for the half year then ended.

That, towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty, there be is-

sued and applied the sum of forty thousand pounds, remaining in the receipt of the exchequer on the fifth day of April, 1781, of the duties on wines, granted by an act of the eighteenth year of the reign of his late Majesty, for paying annuities on single lives, pursuant to the said act, after reserving sufficient to satisfy the several annuities to the fifth day of January, 1781.

That, towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty, there be issued and applied the sum of fifty-six thousand pounds, remaining in the receipt of the exchequer on the 5th day of April, 1781, of the duties on glass, for paying annuities on lives, granted by an act of the nineteenth year of the reign of his late Majesty, after reserving sufficient to satisfy the several annuities to the 5th day of January, 1781.

That the sum of one million nine hundred thousand pounds be granted to his Majesty, for paying off and discharging the exchequer bills, made out by virtue of an act, passed in the last session of parliament, intituled, "An act for raising a farther sum of money, by loans or exchequer bills, for the service of the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty," and charged upon the first aids to be granted in this session of parliament.

That a sum, not exceeding eight thousand five hundred and fifty-one pounds, eight shillings, and eight pence three farthings, be granted to his Majesty, to make good the deficiency of the grants for the service of the year 1780.

*May 1, 1781.*

Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding one hundred and seventeen thousand six hundred and eight pounds six shillings, and eight pence, be  
(O 4) granted

granted to his Majesty, for defraying the charge of eighty independent companies of foot, to be raised from the 25th day of March, 1781, to the 24th day of December following, both days inclusive, being 275 days.

That a sum, not exceeding six thousand and ten pounds, three shillings, and nine pence, be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the charge of additional companies, and additional, to the embodied militia in South Britain, including cloathing, for the year 1781.

That a sum, not exceeding eight thousand four hundred and fifty-two pounds, four shillings, and eight pence, be granted to his Majesty, to make good a deficiency on the pay of additional companies, and additional, to the embodied militia in South Britain, including cloathing, for the year 1780.

That a sum, not exceeding one thousand one hundred and seven pounds, sixteen shillings, and four pence, be granted to his Majesty, to make good a deficiency on the sums voted in the last session of parliament, for defraying the pay of the two battalions of lord John Murray's regiment of foot, for the year 1780.

*May 9, 1780.*

Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding three millions four hundred and forty-three thousand two hundred and seventeen pounds, nineteen shillings, and eight pence half-penny, be granted to his Majesty, towards defraying the extraordinary expences of his Majesty's land forces and other services incurred, between the 31st day of January, 1780, and the 1st day of February, 1781, and not provided for by parliament,

That a sum, not exceeding four thousand nine hundred ninety-four pounds, seventeen shillings, and six pence, be granted to his Majesty, upon account of the expences of the new roads of communication and building bridges in the Highlands of North Britain, in the year 1781.

That a sum, not exceeding thirteen thousand pounds, be granted to his Majesty, to be employed in repairing, maintaining, and supporting, the British forts and settlements on the coast of Africa.

*May 22, 1781.*

Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding two hundred fifty-two thousand one hundred and four pounds, three shillings, and four pence, be granted to his Majesty, for the charge of services performed, and necessary to be performed, by the office of ordnance within the year 1781, exclusive of those services which were specified in the last estimate presented by the said office to parliament for land service.

That a sum, not exceeding thirty-six thousand two hundred and seven pounds, four shillings, and three pence, be granted to his Majesty upon account, towards carrying on the buildings at Somerset House, for the year 1781; and that the said sum be issued and paid without any deduction whatsoever.

That a sum, not exceeding one thousand two hundred pounds, be granted to his Majesty, to be paid to William Smith, doctor of physic, of Brook-street, in the parish of St. George, Hanover-square, in recompence for his assiduous and humane attendance upon the sick and diseased prisoners confined in several prisons within and near this metropolis, for upwards of four years, from the month

month of March, 1776, and for his trouble, loss of time, and expences, in enquiring into the state, condition, and management of such prisons, and for making public the result of such enquiries.

*May 24, 1781.*

Resolved, That, towards raising the supply granted to his majesty, the farther sum of one million nine hundred thousand pounds be raised, by loans or exchequer bills, to be charged upon the first aids to be granted in the next session of parliament; and such exchequer bills, if not discharged, with interest thereupon, on or before the 5th day of April, 1782, to be exchanged and received in payment in such manner as exchequer bills have usually been exchanged and received in payment.

*May 30, 1781.*

Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding ten thousand pounds, be granted to his Majesty, towards re-building his Majesty's gaol of Newgate, in the city of London.

That a sum, not exceeding twenty-five thousand pounds, be granted to his Majesty upon account, towards defraying the expences incurred in repairing the damages sustained at the prison of the King's-bench, and the prison of the Fleet, during the tumultuous riots in the month of June, 1780.

*June 7, 1781.*

Resolved, That a sum not exceeding three thousand six hundred pounds be granted to his Majesty, to be paid to Mr. Henry Phillips, on his making a proper discovery for the use of the public, of the

composition of his powder for the destruction of insects.

That a sum, not exceeding five thousand pounds, be applied, out of any monies unapplied, to the use of the navy, in the hands of the treasurer of the navy, towards encouraging and rewarding such person, or persons, who shall make any discoveries for finding the longitude at sea, which though they do not intitle the discoverers to the greater rewards specified in an act, made in the fourteenth year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, "An act for the repeal of all former acts concerning the longitude at sea, except so much thereof as relates to the appointment and authority of the commissioners thereby constituted; and also such clauses as relate to the constructing, printing, publishing, vending, and licensing of nautical almanacks, and other useful tables, and for the more effectual encouragement and reward of such person and persons as shall discover a method for finding the same, or shall make useful discoveries in navigation, and for the better making experiments relating thereto," yet may be adjudged by the commissioners for making the discovery of longitude at sea, to be of considerable use to the public; and also such person, or persons, as shall make any other useful discoveries and improvements in navigation, and towards the better making of experiments relating thereto, subject to the same directions and regulations as are for the like purposes contained in the said act.

*June 14, 1781.*

Resolved, That, towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty, the proposal of the governor and company of the bank of England, for

for advancing the sum of two millions on exchequer bills, upon such terms and conditions as are therein mentioned, be accepted.

*June 18, 1781.*

Resolved, That, towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty, there be applied the sum of sixteen thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine pounds, six shillings, and eight-pence halfpenny, remaining in the receipt of the exchequer on the 5th day of April, 1781, subject to the disposition of parliament, exclusive of the surplus then remaining of the sinking fund.

That such of the monies as shall be paid into the receipt of the exchequer after the 5th day of April, 1781, and on or before the 5th day of April, 1782, of the produce of the duties charged by two acts, made in the fifth and fourteenth years of his present Majesty's reign, upon the importation and exportation of gum senega and gum arabic, be applied towards making good the supply granted to his Majesty.

That a sum, not exceeding fifty-one thousand, seven hundred forty-seven pounds, seventeen shillings, and six pence, out of the monies or savings of the sums voted by parliament for the charge of several augmentations to his Majesty's forces for the year 1780, be applied towards making good the supply granted to his Majesty, towards defraying the extraordinary expences of his Majesty's land forces, and other services incurred between the 31st day of January, 1780, and the 1st day of February, 1781, and not provided for by parliament.

That a sum, not exceeding twenty-five thousand five hundred and one pounds, remaining of the sums voted for levy money for an aug-

mentation to several regiments of foot for the year 1779, in consequence of the said regiments having been reduced to lower numbers for the current year, be applied towards making good the supply granted to his Majesty towards defraying the extraordinary expences of his Majesty's land forces, and other services incurred between the 31st day of January, 1780, and the 1st day of February, 1781, and not provided for by parliament.

That a sum, not exceeding fourteen thousand three hundred seventy-nine pounds, eight shillings, and ten pence, out of the monies or savings remaining of the sums voted by parliament for the year 1780, for the pay of several corps of infantry, be applied towards making good the supply granted to his Majesty, towards defraying the extraordinary expences of his Majesty's land forces, and other services incurred between the 31st day of January, 1780, and the 1st day of February, 1781, and not provided for by parliament.

*June 19, 1781.*

Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding three millions two hundred thousand pounds, be granted to his Majesty, towards paying 'off' and discharging the debt of the navy.

That a sum, not exceeding five thousand two hundred pounds, be granted to his Majesty, to be paid to such persons as have sustained losses by reason of the rebellious insurrections in the month of June, 1780, whose losses amount to the sum of one hundred pounds and under, and who have not been reimbursed the same.

That, towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty, there be issued and applied the sum of one million seven hundred forty-two thousand

thousand nine hundred and twelve pounds, two shillings, and two pence, out of such monies as have arisen, or shall or may arise, of the surplusses, excesses, or overplus monies, and other revenues, composing the fund commonly called the sinking fund.

That, towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty, there be applied a sum, not exceeding four hundred thousand pounds, out of the balances remaining in the hands of the right honourable George Nugent Earl Temple, the personal representative of the right honourable George Grenville, deceased, and of the right honourable William, lord viscount Barrington in the kingdom of Ireland, and of the right honourable Richard lord viscount Howe in the kingdom of Ireland, and of sir Gilbert Elliot, baronet, the personal representative of the right honourable sir Gilbert Elliot, baronet, deceased, late treasurers of his Majesty's navy, and of John Powell, esquire, the only acting executor of the late right honourable Henry lord Holland, deceased, and of the right honourable Caroline baroness Greenwich, the personal representative of the right honourable Charles Townshend, deceased, and of the right honourable Frederick Lord North, and of George John Cooke and Charles Molloy, esquires, the personal representatives of the late George Cooke, esquire, deceased, and of the right honourable Thomas Townshend, and of George John Cooke and Charles Molloy, esquires, the personal representatives of the late George Cooke, esquire, deceased, late paymasters general of his Majesty's forces.

That, towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty, there be

applied the sum of eighteen thousand seven hundred and twenty-three pounds, thirteen shillings, and eleven pence, remaining in the hands of sir William Howe, late commander in chief in North America; and the sum of one thousand three hundred and fifty-seven pounds, fourteen shillings, remaining in the hands of the executors of Zachary Philip Fonnereau, esquire, deceased, and sir Merrick Burrell, baronet, contractors for furnishing the garrison of Gibraltar with provisions, from the 12th day of May, 1777, to the 17th day of January, 1779; and the sum of eight thousand eight hundred and forty-eight pounds, one shilling, and four pence farthing, remaining in the hands of Thomas Rumsey, esquire, acting executor of John Richardson, esquire, agent to the out-pensioners of Chelsea Hospital, from the 25th day of December, 1773, to the 24th day of June, 1774; and the sum of seven hundred and seventy-two pounds, eight shillings, and six pence half-penny, remaining in the hands of sir William Erskine, as quartermaster-general of the forces, from the 25th day of December, 1776, to the 30th day of June, 1779.

That such of the monies as shall be paid into the receipt of the exchequer by the united company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies, in full discharge and satisfaction of the claims and demands of the public to the net profits which have accrued to the company at home, before the 1st day of March, 1781, be applied towards making good the supply granted to his Majesty.

That, towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty, there be applied the sum of sixteen thousand eight

eight hundred seventy-nine pounds, six shillings, and eight pence half-penny, remaining in the receipt of the exchequer on the 5th day of April, 1781, subject to the disposition of parliament, exclusive of the surplus then remaining, of the sinking fund.

That such of the monies as shall be paid into the receipt of the exchequer after the 5th day of April, 1781, and on or before the 5th day of April, 1782, of the produce of the duties charged by two acts, made in the fifth and fourteenth years of his present Majesty's reign, upon the importation and exportation of gum Senega and gum Arabic, be applied towards making good the supply granted to his Majesty.

That a sum, not exceeding fifty-one thousand seven hundred forty-seven pounds, seventeen shillings, and six pence, out of the monies or savings of the sums voted by parliament for the charge of several augmentations to his Majesty's forces for the year 1780, be applied towards making good the supply granted to his Majesty, towards defraying the extraordinary expences of his Majesty's land forces, and other services incurred between the 31st day of January, 1780, and the 1st day of February, 1781, and not provided for by parliament.

That a sum, not exceeding twenty-five thousand five hundred and one pounds, remaining of the sums voted for levy money for an augmentation to several regiments of foot for the year 1779, in consequence of the said regiments having been reduced to lower numbers for the current year, be applied towards making good the supply granted to his Majesty, towards defraying the extraordinary expences

of his Majesty's land forces, and other services incurred between the 31st day of January, 1780, and the 1st day of February, 1781, and not provided for by parliament.

That a sum, not exceeding fourteen thousand three hundred seventy-nine pounds, eight shillings, and ten pence, out of the monies or savings remaining of the sums voted by parliament for the year 1780, for the pay of several corps of infantry, be applied towards making good the supply granted to his Majesty, towards defraying the extraordinary expences of his Majesty's land forces, and other services incurred between the 31st day of January, 1780, and the 1st day of February, 1781, and not provided for by parliament.

*July 3, 1781.*

Resolved, That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to order the sum of seven hundred pounds to be advanced to John Hatsell, esquire, clerk of this house, towards defraying the expence of printing the journal of this house, from the end of the last session of parliament, to the end of this present session; and to defray such extraordinary expences as have been, or shall be, incurred on account of the printed journals and reports of this house; and to assure his Majesty, that this house will make good the same.

That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to give directions for defraying the expence of printing and delivering the votes of this house of this session of parliament; and to assure his Majesty, that this house will make good the same.

*Translation*

*Translation of a Persian Petition from the native Inhabitants of the Subah Azeemabad, or Province of Patna, to his Britannic Majesty.*

**W**E, the poor distressed inhabitants of the Subah Azeemabad, subjects of the most sacred king, the shadow of the Almighty, have the honour to represent to his exalted Majesty,

**T H A T** whereas, for some time past, by reason of the innovations which have taken place, we have been seized with infinite afflictions; and whereas, on account of the misfortunes which have befallen us, and which are augmented day by day, and aggravated hour by hour, the knife has pierced to the bone, and the danger has come home to our lives: the power of submission and patience is exhausted, and conceiving the representation of our situation not only proper, but incumbent from us:

From a physician how long can you conceal your pain?

It is not the part of a wise man to secrete his disorder.

We lay before the throne of his exalted Majesty a summary of the circumstances of our situation:

When this country first became subject to the dominion of the lords of victorious fortune, the English gentlemen, great fear and apprehension prevailed in our minds, from the diversity of our faith and religion, and from the difference of customs and usages; we doubted what conduct those gentlemen would have observed towards us; and to what extremity they might carry our affairs. But, after the establishment of their power and authority, such was the behaviour they observed, and such was the kindness, beneficence, and favour, with which

they treated us, that those fears and alarms vanished at once from our minds. For in their adjudications and determinations of causes, in their decrees and decisions upon actions and facts, they introduced no change or alteration; on the contrary, they established in the several courts of justice, with the utmost attention and greatest circumspection, that the ordinances should be executed conformably to our books, and agreeably to the customs and usages of this country, as they had existed and prevailed from the period of its population.

This conduct produced the utmost satisfaction and happiness to us, and the decision of causes was neither attended with enormous expence, nor protracted to a length of time, the source of ruin and vexation; nor was it repugnant to our customs and usages, which to us would be severe and insupportable. For this reason we reposed in the cradle of ease and security, notwithstanding, on account of the want of employment from the loss of our services and offices, and the deprivation of the means of subsistence, we were affected with poverty and hunger, with narrow circumstances and distress.

But even however at that time, as the management of affairs was delegated, on the part of the English gentlemen, to the nobles of this country, and trust reposed in them; if some were reduced to distress, yet others had employment sufficient for their maintenance, and, all circumstances considered, we were upon the whole happy and satisfied; and all of us, great and small, nobles and vulgar, employed ourselves in thanksgivings and praises to his Majesty, and in prayers for the increase of his life and

and prosperity ; till at last the English court of judicature was appointed from the Presence, and came into this country.

We were informed by many of the English gentlemen, that the cause and reason of this was, that as the sacred mind of his excellent Majesty was strongly disposed, and firmly inclined, to promote the happiness of the inhabitants of this country, and the prosperity of the country itself, from an apprehension lest any of the English gentlemen might extend the hand of violence and oppression on any of the inhabitants of it, and thus prove the authors of vexation and distress to them, this English court of judicature was expressly established ; that no one might impose the hand of despotic violence upon any other person, but that the court might be a cause of security and happiness to the people here. This information produced new confidence and satisfaction to us.

But when the ordinances of this court of judicature were issued, as they were all contrary to the customs, modes, usages, and institutions of this country, they occasioned terror in us ; and day by day, as the powers of this court have become more established, our ruin, uneasiness, dishonour, and discredit have accumulated ; till at last we are reduced to such a situation, that we even consider death to us as infinitely preferable to the dread we entertain of the court ; for from this court no credit or character is left to us, and we are now driven to the last extremity. Several, who possessed means and ability, deeming flight as their only security, have banished themselves from the country ; but bound as we are by poverty and inability, and fettered

by the dearest ties of consanguinity, we do not all of us possess the means of flight, nor have we power to abide the oppression of this court.

We did till this time hope, that, since the most sacred heart of his exalted Majesty is so well disposed to promote the welfare of the people, and the prosperity and tranquillity of this country, that, as soon as the intelligence of the miserable state of the natives here (from the English court of judicature) should reach his royal ear, he would certainly be induced, from his wisdom and benevolence, to commiserate our condition ; but as, to this time, which is a long interval, the powers of this court have daily increased in severity, and no pity has yet appeared from that quarter, being without remedy, we have presumed in this situation of distress to represent our own grievances.

To lay before his Majesty a full explanation of all the bad innovations of this court of judicature, which in this length of time have produced universal distress, would require innumerable books and volumes without end : we therefore content ourselves by giving a short abstract, as one handful is a sample of a heap, so, when this is presented to his Majesty, all the circumstances will be revealed and laid open to his sublime wisdom.

First, the circumstances of warrants ; which on the instant of application from any low, mean, contemptible person, are issued against men of character who have ever lived with credit and reputation, on any trifling cause which even may have no foundation ; and without allowing the party any delay or respite, he is carried off, immediately upon his arrival at the court ; if he

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has means and ability, at a very great expence, to engage an attorney, and procure bail, still years are required, before his cause is brought to an enquiry, to ascertain whether he is amenable to the jurisdiction of the court, or whether the complaint of the suitor against him be true or false. In this interval he is ruined; his family and affairs go to wreck; wretched and harrassed, without credit or character, he returns to his home: so that death itself, on every account, considering his condition, would be more eligible and better than to return home in this condition. But, should he be unable to engage an attorney and procure bail, without farther delay or respite, without any enquiry or investigation into his case, he is shut up and confined in the gaol; and there remains for a length of time in prison, and, till he can engage an attorney and procure bail, his cause does not come on to a hearing. When afterwards it is proved upon enquiry, that he is not amenable to the court, or that the complaint of the suitor against him is ill-founded, and his cause is decided, yet from the charges of this long period, his wealth and substance being wasted, and being himself withheld from the pursuit of the occupations by which his substance was procured, if he should escape with life, and return to his home, it is worse than death itself.

And notwithstanding what is generally said, that, if the plaintiff should fail in proving his complaint, they compel him to pay all the charges incurred; and though it is so in fact; yet when the plaintiff is a low person, what can they make him pay? But even when they do make him pay, the amount re-

ceived is expended in gratifying the attorneys of the court, and something more besides. But by way of supposition, if even a small overplus should remain in the hands of the party, yet, his honour and credit being lost, of what use is life to him?

And since the regulations and institutions of this court have been carried into execution in this manner, and a degree of confidence has arisen from this, that, if even the suit of the complainant should prove false or defamatory, there is no calling him to account for it; the traffick of the vilest and lowest of knaves and villains flourishes. An additional cause of the boldness and confidence of such persons is, that, on account of a trifling dissatisfaction that may at any time have happened to any person, he may appear before the court, and procure a warrant; or else, from a motive only of obtaining damages, he may make a complaint of defamation against another, whether true or false, alledging that, "such a person, at such a time, defamed me, or lifted his hand up against me," and, having trained two false witnesses, carries them to give evidence upon oath, induced by the view of reward; and immense sums in this mode are by the court given to him as the price of reputation, notwithstanding such is his (the plaintiff's) condition, and that for seventy generations his value in any market, was never equal to five rupees.

And thus for the mean, and for knaves, and those of no credit, a comfortable means of subsistence is provided; whilst men of repute, and honourable persons, who have lived with credit and reputation, are debased, ruined, dishonoured, and discredited by this court to  
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such a degree, that some from the terror of it are fled, and others have withdrawn themselves to secrecy, privacy, and retirement.

And even this is difficult; for every man, according to his ability, has an establishment of menial servants, watermen, bearers, and sweepers, without which people in the country cannot subsist; and the custom of this country, from time immemorial, has ever been, upon the commission of a fault in this low tribe of servants, to rebuke, threaten, and punish the offender according to the degree of his fault; and no person under any government before this time ever called any man to account for so doing; for, knowing such a person to be the servant of another, he knew also, if he had no fear of his master, he would not discharge his duty: and on this account they performed their appointed services with industry and application. But now from this court affairs have come to this pass, that, though this low tribe should be guilty of an enormous offence, no man of character, from an apprehension of this court, dares to take notice of him, uncertain, if he should be called to account, what may be the consequences.

The whole basis of right and wrong in this court is in the hands of the attornies of it. The person to whom they are inclined, and with whom they are satisfied, him they constitute the master of right; but the man to whom they are disinclined, and with whom they are dissatisfied, they make him in the wrong.

We hear continually, that the jurisdiction of this court does not extend to those who are not dependents on the company; but several

persons, who could not dream that they were dependents on the company, and the fact of whose independence is clearer than the sun, about which no doubt or hesitation was ever entertained, so that there should be any necessity for ascertaining it, notwithstanding have had warrants issued against them, and they are confined in the gaol. After a time, during which their families are ruined, their character and reputation gone, if they should be released, what advantage is it?

In the same manner, if one person has any money transactions with another, and should importune him for his due, the debtor appears before court, procures a warrant, and, reversing the order of things, receives thousands from his creditor on a plea of defamation.

Thus in many causes, which have been examined and decided in a district by the superintendant of the provincial court of justice, the person who has lost his suit prefers his complaint in this court, and procures the former decree to be reversed; this is also a source of vexation and distress to great numbers; for why have they given evidence before the superintendant of another court?

Or otherwise, a writ of subpoena is issued against many persons in order to procure their evidences, who are obliged to undergo the fatigues of a journey of one or two hundred krores, to leave their house and families, to relinquish their concerns in obedience to this mandate, and give attendance; and after experiencing an age of vexation and distress, if the thread of life should remain unbroken, they are released; or else their life in this manner becomes a sacrifice to the court.

As the people of this country have no knowledge or information of the process, customs, and institutions of this court, or of the English language, by a trifling deviation, the effect of ignorance, they suffer, and are perplexed, and are involved in a variety of ruin and distress; neither is any mode of relief open to them; no man has the power of recommending another, nor is there any other remedy. If even, as a last resource, a person should find means to appear before the justices, and there explain and make clear to them that he is not amenable to their institution, or point out the falshood of the complainant's suit, they reply, "we have no remedy; the rules of the court are so and so; apply to an attorney, and see if he can procure you relief."

The sum of what we have observed and what we still see is, that, if any person has a sufficiency to pay the charges of the attorneys of the court, and satisfy them, he obtains his suit in the court; or else he loses it. If this is justice, then what is injustice? For this injustice is without bounds.

In the same manner as we experience distress, dishonour, and disrepute from this court, so it also occasions loss and detriment to the government. Thus for instance: suppose a person who has taken a district from the government in farm or contract, he is obliged to collect the rents of the governments from the Ryots and Zemindars, and pay them to the government: it is not in the nature of the tribe of Zemindars to discharge the amount of their rents with their own free-will; but, on any appearance of coercion, one of them is dispatched without

1781.

loss of time to the court, who procures a warrant against that farmer or contractor, who is treated with the same contempt and ignominy as if he were a dog, and is dragged away: the amount of his engagements remains unpaid.

Thus the violence and oppression of this court, in an act of severity and cruelty, were experienced at Dacca by men of character and reputation, and high stations, to such a degree, that the tongue is incompetent to describe it. Mr. William Boughton Rous was at that time chief at Dacca, and is since gone to Europe: whenever he is examined upon oath as to the circumstances of this violent and oppressive transaction, the whole will be made clear to your sublime comprehension.

What has been here represented is but a particle; it is as one from a thousand, a little out of gross; but since the sacred mind of his supreme Majesty (the shadow of the Almighty) is earnestly directed to the advancement of the prosperity of this country, and the ease and happiness of the people, we hope he will, out of his compassion and love of justice, look down upon the contents of this petition; and, having weighed and considered them, take pity upon the situation of us who are humble, infirm, without help, and in bondage; by removing the establishment of this court from our heads, which is the most absolute tyranny and oppression; and that he will out of his grace and benevolence ordain, that the rules of justice shall be administered to us according to the fixed law of the country, as it has ever prevailed, agreeable to our usages and customs; that, being thus placed under

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the shadow of his favour, and in the circle of ease and security of his Majesty's benevolence, we may continually pour forth fresh praises and thanksgivings for the increase of his life and fortune. But if (which God forbid) it should so happen, that this our petition should not be accepted, and should be rejected at the chamber of audience, those amongst us who have power and

ability, discarding all affection for our families, will fly to any quarter we can ; whilst the remainder, who have no means or ability, giving themselves up with pious resignation to their fate, will sit down in expectation of their death. After this let the soil of this country remain, and the court of justice ! let the court of justice remain upon the earth, or the earth cover it !

# PRICES of STOCK, for the Year 1781.

N. B. The Highest and Lowest Prices of each Stock in the Course of any Month are put down to that Month.

	Bank Stock	3 per c. red.	3 ditto conf.	3 ditto 1726.	3 ditto 1758.	4 p. c. 1777.	Long Ann.	ditto 1778.	S. Sea An.	ditto new.	3 p. c. 1751.	India Stock.	ditto Ann.	Bonds 14s. pr.	ditto Navy Bills.
Jan.	{ 108 1/4 105 1/2 }	{ 57 3/4 56 1/8 }	{ 60 1/4 57 3/4 }	{ 55 — }	{ 57 56 1/2 }	{ 71 3/4 69 1/8 }	{ 15 1/16 15 1/2 }	{ 11 1/8 11 1/16 }	{ 6 1/8 54 1/4 }	{ 55 54 1/4 }	{ 54 1/4 53 3/4 }	{ 48 1/4 145 3/4 }	{ 55 1/2 54 1/2 }	{ 3 14 }	{ 13 1/2 11 1/2 }
Feb.	{ 108 1/2 105 1/8 }	{ 57 1/2 56 3/4 }	{ 59 57 3/4 }	{ 55 1/2 55 }	{ 57 1/2 56 1/2 }	{ 72 1/4 70 1/2 }	{ 16 1/8 15 1/8 }	{ 11 1/16 11 1/16 }	{ 56 54 1/4 }	{ 54 1/4 54 1/4 }	{ 56 1/2 55 1/2 }	{ 148 146 3/4 }	{ 54 1/4 54 1/4 }	{ 1 5 par }	{ 14 13 1/2 }
Mar.	{ 112 3/4 106 1/4 }	{ 57 3/8 57 1/2 }	{ 63 1/4 58 3/8 }	{ — 58 3/8 }	{ 59 57 1/2 }	{ 76 1/2 71 1/2 }	{ 17 1/8 15 1/8 }	{ 12 1/16 11 1/2 }	{ 56 1/2 54 1/4 }	{ 57 1/2 54 1/4 }	{ 56 1/2 55 1/2 }	{ 148 144 1/2 }	{ 54 1/4 54 1/4 }	{ 11 3 }	{ 13 11 1/4 }
Apr.	{ 112 1/4 108 1/4 }	{ 58 57 1/2 }	{ 58 1/4 58 1/2 }	{ 56 3/8 57 1/4 }	{ 58 1/2 58 1/8 }	{ 74 1/2 73 1/2 }	{ 17 1/2 17 1/4 }	{ 12 1/8 12 1/2 }	{ 57 1/4 57 1/4 }	{ 57 1/4 58 1/4 }	{ 57 1/4 56 3/4 }	{ 147 1/4 144 }	{ 57 1/4 54 1/8 }	{ 15 9 }	{ 12 1/4 11 1/8 }
May	{ 113 1/2 110 1/4 }	{ 58 1/2 57 1/2 }	{ 58 1/2 57 1/2 }	{ 57 1/4 57 1/4 }	{ 59 1/2 59 1/2 }	{ 74 1/8 73 1/4 }	{ 17 1/8 17 1/16 }	{ 12 1/8 12 1/4 }	{ 58 1/2 57 1/2 }	{ 59 1/4 58 3/8 }	{ 58 1/2 57 1/2 }	{ 145 1/2 143 1/4 }	{ 55 1/2 55 1/4 }	{ 16 9 }	{ 11 1/2 10 1/8 }
June	{ 113 3/4 112 1/4 }	{ 58 1/2 57 3/4 }	{ 58 1/2 58 1/2 }	{ 57 1/4 57 1/4 }	{ 59 1/2 58 1/2 }	{ 74 1/8 73 1/4 }	{ 17 1/8 17 1/16 }	{ 12 1/8 12 1/4 }	{ 58 1/2 57 1/2 }	{ 59 1/4 58 3/8 }	{ 58 1/2 57 1/2 }	{ 145 1/2 143 1/4 }	{ 55 1/2 55 1/4 }	{ 16 9 }	{ 11 1/2 10 1/8 }
July	{ 114 1/4 113 1/8 }	{ 58 1/2 57 3/4 }	{ 57 1/2 57 1/2 }	{ 57 1/4 57 1/4 }	{ 57 1/2 57 1/2 }	{ 74 1/8 73 1/4 }	{ 17 1/8 17 1/16 }	{ 12 1/8 12 1/4 }	{ 58 1/2 57 1/2 }	{ 59 1/4 58 3/8 }	{ 58 1/2 57 1/2 }	{ 145 1/2 143 1/4 }	{ 55 1/2 55 1/4 }	{ 16 9 }	{ 11 1/2 10 1/8 }
Aug.	{ 114 1/4 113 1/8 }	{ 58 1/2 57 3/4 }	{ 57 1/2 57 1/2 }	{ 57 1/4 57 1/4 }	{ 57 1/2 57 1/2 }	{ 74 1/8 73 1/4 }	{ 17 1/8 17 1/16 }	{ 12 1/8 12 1/4 }	{ 58 1/2 57 1/2 }	{ 59 1/4 58 3/8 }	{ 58 1/2 57 1/2 }	{ 145 1/2 143 1/4 }	{ 55 1/2 55 1/4 }	{ 16 9 }	{ 11 1/2 10 1/8 }
Sep.	{ 119 113 }	{ 57 1/2 57 1/2 }	{ 57 1/2 57 1/2 }	{ 57 1/4 57 1/4 }	{ 57 1/2 57 1/2 }	{ 74 1/8 73 1/4 }	{ 17 1/8 17 1/16 }	{ 12 1/8 12 1/4 }	{ 58 1/2 57 1/2 }	{ 59 1/4 58 3/8 }	{ 58 1/2 57 1/2 }	{ 145 1/2 143 1/4 }	{ 55 1/2 55 1/4 }	{ 16 9 }	{ 11 1/2 10 1/8 }
Oct.	{ 115 1/4 108 1/2 }	{ 55 1/2 55 1/4 }	{ 56 1/2 55 1/2 }	{ 56 1/4 54 1/4 }	{ 58 56 1/2 }	{ 73 1/8 70 1/2 }	{ 16 1/4 16 1/16 }	{ 12 1/8 12 1/4 }	{ 55 1/2 54 1/4 }	{ 56 1/2 55 1/2 }	{ 56 1/2 55 1/2 }	{ 140 3/4 138 1/2 }	{ 53 52 1/4 }	{ 5 p. 2 }	{ 12 1/2 11 1/8 }
Nov	{ 113 107 3/4 }	{ 58 54 1/8 }	{ 58 1/2 55 1/2 }	{ 56 55 1/4 }	{ 57 1/2 55 1/4 }	{ 73 1/8 70 1/2 }	{ 16 1/4 16 1/16 }	{ 12 1/8 12 1/4 }	{ 56 1/2 54 1/4 }	{ 56 1/2 55 1/2 }	{ 56 1/2 55 1/2 }	{ 141 3/4 138 1/2 }	{ 53 1/2 52 1/4 }	{ 5 dif. 4 }	{ 12 10 3/4 }
Dec.	{ 111 3/4 110 }	{ 57 1/2 56 1/2 }	{ 57 1/2 57 1/2 }	{ 56 1/4 56 1/4 }	{ 57 1/2 57 1/2 }	{ 72 1/8 71 1/8 }	{ 16 1/4 16 1/16 }	{ 12 1/8 12 1/4 }	{ 56 1/2 55 1/2 }	{ 57 1/2 56 1/2 }	{ 56 1/2 55 1/2 }	{ 142 138 1/2 }	{ 55 1/2 53 1/4 }	{ 8 p. 3 }	{ 12 11 1/8 }



BIOGRAPHICAL  
ANECDOTES  
AND  
CHARACTERS.



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# BIOGRAPHICAL

## ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS.

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Some PARTICULARS of the LIFE of the celebrated  
LINNÆUS.

[From Dr. PULTENEY's General View of the Writings of Linnæus.]

“**C**HARLES VON LINNE, the son of a Swedish divine, was born May 24, 1707, at Roeskhult, in the province of Smaland, in Sweden; of which place his father had the cure when this son was born, but was soon after preferred to the living of Stenbrihult, in the same province, where dying in the year 1748, at the age of 70, he was succeeded in his cure by another son.

“This eminent man, whose talents enabled him to reform the whole science of natural history, accumulated, very early in life, some of the highest honours that await the most successful proficients in medical science; since we find that he was made professor of physic and botany, in the university of Upsal, at the age of 34; and six years afterwards, physician to his sovereign, the late king Adolphus; who in the year 1753 honoured him still farther, by creating him knight of the order of the Polar Star. His honours did not terminate here, for in 1757 he was ennobled; and in

1776 the present king of Sweden accepted the resignation of his office, and rewarded his declining years by doubling his pension, and by a liberal donation of landed property, settled on him and his family.

“It seems probable, that his father's example first gave Linnæus a taste for the study of nature; who, as he has himself informed us, cultivated, as his first amusement, a garden plentifully stored with plants. Young Linnæus soon became acquainted with these, as well as the indigenous ones of his neighbourhood. Yet, from the straightness of his father's income, our young naturalist was on the point of being destined to a mechanical employment: fortunately, however, this design was over-ruled. In 1717 he was sent to school at Wexfio, where, as his opportunities were enlarged, his progress in all his favourite pursuits was proportionably extended. At this early period he paid attention to other branches of natural history; particularly to the knowledge of insects.

"The first part of his academical education Linnæus received under professor Stobæus, at Lund, in Scania, who favoured his inclinations to the study of natural history. After a residence of about a year, he removed in 1728 to Upsal. Here he soon contracted a close friendship with Artedi, a native of the province of Angermannia, who had already been four years a student in that university, and, like himself, had a strong bent to the study of natural history in general, but particularly to ichthyology.

"These young men prosecuted their studies together with uncommon vigour, mutually communicating their observations, and laying their plans, so as to assist each other in every branch of natural history and physic.

"Soon after his residence at Upsal, our author was also happy enough to obtain the favour of several gentlemen of established character in literature. He was in a particular manner encouraged in the pursuit of his studies by the patronage of Dr. Olaus Celsius, at that time professor of divinity, and the restorer of natural history in Sweden; since so distinguished for oriental learning, and more particularly for his *Hierobotanicon*, or Critical Dissertations on the Plants mentioned in Scripture. This gentleman is said to have given Linnæus a large share of his esteem, and he was fortunate enough to obtain it very early after his removal to Upsal. He was at that time meditating his *Hierobotanicon*, and being struck with the diligence of Linnæus, in describing the plants of the Upsal garden, and his extensive knowledge of their names, fortunately for him, at that time involved in difficulties, from the

narrow circumstances of his parents, Celsius not only patronized him in a general way, but admitted him to his house, his table, and his library. Under such encouragement, it is not strange that our author made a rapid progress, both in his studies, and the esteem of the professors: in fact, we have a very striking proof of his merit and attainments, inasmuch as we find, that after only two years residence, he was thought sufficiently qualified to give lectures occasionally from the botanic chair, in the room of professor Rudbeck.

"In the year 1731, the Royal Academy of Sciences at Upsal having for some time meditated the design of improving the natural history of Sweden, at the instance particularly of professors Celsius and Rudbeck, deputed Linnæus to make the tour of Lapland, with the sole view of exploring the natural history of that arctic region; to which undertaking, his reputation, already high as a naturalist, and the strength of his constitution, equally recommended him.

"As this expedition could not take place till the succeeding summer, Linnæus spent his winter with his friends and relations in the south; and particularly paid a visit, in January 1732, to his former preceptor Stobæus, at Lund; whom he left in February, to visit his native province of Smaland, and returned to Upsal about the middle of April, to prepare for his journey. He left Upsal the 13th of May, and took his route to Gevalia, or Gevels, the principal town of Gestrícia, 45 miles distant from Upsal. Hence he travelled through Helfingland, into Medelpadia, where he made an excursion, and ascended a remarkable mountain, before he reached Hudwicksfald, the chief town of Helfingland.

Helsingham. From hence he went through Angermanland, to Hernofand, a sea-port on the Bothnic gulf, seventy miles distant from Hudwicksvald. When he had proceeded thus far, he found it proper to retard his journey, as the spring was not sufficiently advanced; and took this opportunity of visiting those remarkable caverns on the summit of mount Skula, though at the hazard of his life.

“ When Linnæus arrived at Uma, in West Bothnia, about ninety-six miles from Hernofand, he quitted the public road, and took his course through the woods westward, in order first to traverse the most southern parts of Lapland. Being now come to the country that was more particularly the object of his enquiries, equally a stranger to the language and to the manners of the people, and without any associate, he committed himself to the hospitality of the inhabitants, and never failed to experience it fully. He speaks in several places, with peculiar satisfaction, of the innocence and simplicity of their lives, and their freedom from diseases. In this excursion, he reached the mountains towards Norway, and, after encountering great hardships, returned into West Bothnia, quite exhausted with fatigue. Our traveller next visited Pitha and Lula, upon the gulf of Bothnia, from which latter place he took again a western route, by proceeding up the river of that name, and visited the ruins of the temple of Jockmock, in Lula Lapland, or Lap Mark: thence, he traversed what is called the Lapland Desert, destitute of all villages, cultivation, roads, or any conveniences; inhabited only by a few straggling people, originally descended from the Finlanders, and

who settled in this country in remote ages, being entirely a distinct people from the Laplanders. In this district he ascended a noted mountain called Wallevari, in speaking of which he has given us a pleasant relation of his finding a singular and beautiful new plant (*Andromeda tetragona*) when travelling within the arctic circle, with the sun in his view at midnight, in search of a Lapland hut. From hence he crossed the Lapland Alps into Finmark, and traversed the shores of the North Sea as far as Sallero.

“ These journeys from Lula and Pitha, on the Bothnian gulf, to the north shore, were made on foot, and our traveller was attended by two Laplanders; one his interpreter, and the other his guide. He tells us, that the vigour and strength of those two men, both old, and sufficiently loaded with his baggage, excited his admiration; since they appeared quite unhurt by their labour, while he himself, although young and robust, was frequently quite exhausted. In this journey he was wont to sleep under the boat with which they forded the rivers, as a defence against rain, and the gnats, which in the Lapland summer are not less teasing than in the torrid zones. In descending one of these rivers, he narrowly escaped perishing by the oversetting of the boat, and lost many of the natural productions which he had collected.

Linnæus thus spent the greater part of the summer in examining this arctic region, and those mountains, on which, four years afterwards, the French philosophers secured immortal fame to Sir Isaac Newton. At length, after having suffered incredible fatigues and hardships, in climbing precipices, pass-

ing rivers in miserable boats, suffering repeated vicissitudes of extreme heat and cold, and not unfrequently hunger and thirst, he returned to Tornöa in September. He did not take the same route from Tornöa as when he came into Lapland, having determined to visit, and examine, the country on the eastern side of the Bothnian gulf: his first stage, therefore, was to Ula, in East Bothnia; from thence to Old and New Carleby, eighty-four miles south from Ula. He continued his route through Wasa, Christianstedt, and Borneburgh, to Åbo, a small university in Finland. Winter was now setting in apace: he therefore crossed the gulf by the island of Åland, and arrived at Upsal in November, after having performed, and that mostly on foot, a journey of ten degrees of latitude in extent, exclusively of those deviations which such a design rendered necessary.

“In 1733 he visited and examined the several mines in Sweden, and made himself so well acquainted with mineralogy, and the docimastic art, that we find he was sufficiently qualified to give lectures on those subjects, upon his return to the university. The outlines of his system on mineralogy appeared in the early editions of the *Systema Naturæ*; but he did not exemplify the whole until the year 1768.

“In the year 1734 Linnæus was sent by Baron Reuterholm, governor of Dalecarlia, with several other naturalists, into that province, to investigate the natural productions of that part of the Swedish dominions. Each gentleman had his particular department assigned; and they noted daily the observations made relating to geography, &c. but particularly, and as their prin-

cipal object, the economical and natural history, and mineralogy. A full account of these observations was intended to have been published; but the design was laid aside. It was in this journey that our author first laid the plan of an excellent institution, which was afterwards executed, in a certain degree at least, by himself, with the assistance of many of his pupils, and the result published under the title of *Pan Suecus*, in the second volume of the *Amœnitates Academicæ*.

“After the completion of this expedition, it appears that Linnæus resided for a time at Fahlun, the principal town in Dalecarlia; where, he tells us, that he taught mineralogy, and the docimastic art, and practised physic; and where he was very hospitably treated by Dr. More, the physician of the place. It also appears, that he contracted at this time an intimacy with one of that gentleman’s daughters, whom he married about five years afterwards, upon his settling as a physician at Stockholm.

“In this journey he extended his travels quite across the Dalecarlian Alps into Norway; but we have no particular account of his discoveries in that kingdom.

“In the year 1755, Linnæus travelled over many other parts of Sweden, some parts of Denmark and Germany, and fixed in Holland, where he chiefly resided until his return to Stockholm, about the year 1739. He here took his doctor’s degree in physic, 1735.

“In this year Linnæus also published the first sketch of his *Systema Naturæ*, in a very compendious way, and in the form of tables only, in twelve pages in Folio. By this it appears, that he had at a very early period of his life (certainly before

before he was twenty-four years old) laid the basis of that great structure which he afterwards raised, not only to the increase of his own fame, but to that of natural science.

"In 1736, Linnæus came into England, and visited Dr. Dillenius, the late learned professor at Oxford, whom he justly considered as one of the first botanists in Europe. He mentions with particular respect the civilities he received from him, and the privileges he gave him of inspecting his own, and the Sherardian collections of plants. It is needless to say, that he visited Dr. Martyn, Mr. Rand, and Mr. Miller, and that he was in a more singular manner indebted to the friendship of Dr. Isaac Lawson. He also "contracted an intimate friendship "with Mr. Peter Collinson, which "was reciprocally increased by a "multitude of good offices, and continued to the last without any diminution." Dr. Boerhaave had furnished him with letters to our great naturalist Sir Hans Sloane; but, it is with regret that we must observe, they did not procure him the reception which the warmth of his recommendation seemed to claim.

"One of the most agreeable circumstances that happened to Linnæus, during his residence in Holland, arose from the patronage of Mr. Clifford, in whose house\* he lived a considerable part of his time, being now as it were the child of fortune:—*Exivi patriâ triginta sex nummis aureis dives*—are his own words. With Mr. Clifford, however, he enjoyed pleasures and privileges scarcely at that time to be met with elsewhere in the world;

that of a garden excellently stored with the finest exotics, and a library furnished with almost every botanic author of note. How happy he found himself in this situation, those only who have felt the same kind of ardour can conceive.

"Whilst in Holland, our author was recommended by Boerhaave to fill the place, then vacant, of physician to the Dutch settlement at Surinam; but he declined it, on account of his having been educated in so opposite a climate.

"Besides being favoured with the particular patronage and friendship of Boerhaave and Mr. Clifford, as is above mentioned, our author had also the pleasure of being contemporary with, and of reckoning among the number of his friends, many other learned persons, who have since proved ornaments to their profession, and whose merit has most deservedly raised them to fame and honour. Among these we may properly mention Dr. John Burman, professor of botany at Amsterdam, whose name and family are well known in the republic of letters, to whom our author dedicated his *Bibliotheca Botanica*, having been greatly assisted in compiling that work, by the free access he had to that gentleman's excellent library; John Frederick Gronovius, of Leyden, editor of Clayton's *Flora Virginica*, and who very early adopted Linnæus's system; Baron Van Swieten, late physician to the Empress Queen; Isaac Lawson, before mentioned, afterwards one of the physicians to the British army, who died much regretted at Oosterhout, in the year 1747, and from whom Linnæus received singular and very

\* The country seat and garden of Mr. Clifford was at Hartcamp, about three miles from Haerlem.

important civilities; Kramer, since well known for an excellent treatise on the docimastic art; Van Royen, botanic professor at Leyden; Lieberkun, of Berlin, famous for his skill in microscopical instruments and experiments. To these may be added also the names of Albinus and Gaubius, and of others, were it requisite to shew that our author's talents had very early rendered him conspicuous, and gained him the regard of all those who cultivated and patronized any branch of medical science; and to which, doubtless, the singular notice with which Boerhaave honoured him, did not a little contribute.

“Early in the year 1738, after Linnæus had left Mr. Clifford, and, as it should seem, when he resided with Van Royen, he had a long and dangerous fit of sickness; and upon his recovery, went to Paris, where he was properly entertained by the Jussieus, at that time the first botanists in France. The opportunity this gave him of inspecting the Herbaria of Surian and Tournefort, and those of the above named gentlemen, afforded him great satisfaction. He had intended to have gone from thence into Germany, to visit Ludwig, and the celebrated Haller, with whom he was in close correspondence; but he was not able to complete this part of his intended route, and was obliged to return without this gratification.

“Our author did not fail to avail himself of every advantage, that access to the several museums of this country afforded him, in every branch of natural history; and the number and importance of his publications, during this absence from his native country, sufficiently demonstrate that fund of knowledge which he must have imbibed be-

fore, and no less testify his extraordinary application.

“About the latter end of the year 1738, or the beginning of the next, our author settled as a physician at Stockholm, where he seems to have met with considerable opposition, and was oppressed with many difficulties; all of which at length he overcame, and got into extensive practice; and, soon after his settlement, married the lady beforespoken of. By the interest of Count Tessin, who was afterwards his great patron, and even procured medals to be struck in honour of him, he obtained the rank of physician to the fleet, and a stipend from the citizens for giving lectures in botany. And what at this time especially was highly favourable to the advancement of his character and fame, by giving him an opportunity of displaying his abilities, was the establishment of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Stockholm; of which Linnæus was constituted the first president, and to which establishment the king granted several privileges, particularly that of free postage to all papers directed to the secretary. By the rules of the academy, the president held his place but three months, at the expiration of which, he made his *Oratio de memorabilibus in Insectis*, Oct. 3, 1739; in which he endeavours to excite an attention and enquiry into the knowledge of insects, by displaying the many singular phenomena that occur in contemplating the nature of those animals, and by pointing out, in a variety of instances, their usefulness to mankind in particular, and to the economy of nature in general.

“During all this time, however, Linnæus appears to have had his eye upon the botanic and medical chair

chair at Upsal, at this time occupied by Rudbeck, who was far advanced in life. We learn indeed that he was so intent on pursuing, and perfecting, his great designs in the advancement of his favourite study of nature, that he had determined, if he failed in procuring the professorship at Upsal, to accept the offer that had been made to him by Haller, of filling the botanic chair at Gottingen. However, in course of time, he obtained his wish. In the year 1741, upon the resignation of Roberg, he was constituted joint professor of physic, and physician to the king, with Rosen, who had been appointed in the preceding year on the death of Rudbeck. These two colleagues agreed to divide the medical departments between them; and their choice was confirmed by the university. Rosen took anatomy, physiology, pathology, and the therapeutic part. Linnæus, natural history, botany, materia medicæ, the dietetic part, and the diagnosis morborum.

“During the interval of his removal from Stockholm to Upsal, in consequence of this appointment, our professor was deputed by the states of the kingdom, to make a tour to the islands of Oëland and Gothland, in the Baltic, attended by six of the pupils, commissioned to make such enquiries as might tend to improve agriculture, and arts, in the kingdom; to which the Swedish nation had for some time paid a particular attention; awakened, as it were, by the desolating wars of Charles the XIIth, to extend their commerce, and cultivate the arts of peace. The result of this journey was very successful, and proved fully satisfactory to the states, and was afterwards communicated to the public.

“Linnæus, on his return, entered upon the professorship, and pronounced before the university his Oration *de Peregrinationum intra Patriam necessitate*, Oct. 17, 1741; in which he forcibly displays the usefulness of such excursions, by pointing out to the students that vast field of objects which their country held out to their cultivation; whether in geography, physics, mineralogy, botany, zoology, or economics; and by shewing the benefit that must accrue to themselves and their country as rewards to their diligence. That animated spirit which runs through the whole of this composition, renders it one of the most pleasing and instructive of all our author's productions. That intimate knowledge which Linnæus himself had acquired of his own country by his repeated travels (fraught as he was too with every requisite for making useful observations) enabled him to point out with the utmost precision, the most proper objects of investigation, in every part of nature; and his love to his country gave a zeal to his wishes, that shewed him on this occasion to great advantage; not to add, the aid arising from that self-congratulation, which he must feel, having just gained, by his late appointment, the summit of his wishes.

“Linnæus was now fixed in the situation that was the best adapted to his character, his taste, and abilities, and which seems to be the object of his ambition, and center of his hopes. Soon after his establishment, he laboured to get the academical garden, which had been founded in 1657, put on a better footing, and very soon effected it; procuring also a house to be built for the residence of the professor. The whole had been in ruin ever since the fire in

1702, and at the time Linnæus was appointed professor of botany, the garden did not contain above fifty plants that were exotic. His correspondence with the first botanists in Europe, soon supplied him with great variety. He received Indian plants from Jussieu of Paris, and from Van Royen of Leyden; European plants from Haller and Ludwig; American plants from the late Mr. Collifon, Mr. Catesby, and others; and variety of annuals from Dillenius: in short, how much the garden owed to his diligence and care, in a few years, may be seen by the catalogue published under the title of *Hortus Upsalienfis exhibens plantas exoticas horto Upsalienfis academiciæ a sepe (Linnæo) illatas ab anno 1742, in annum 1748, additis, differentiis synonymis, habitationibus, hospitibus, rariorumque descriptionibus, in gratiam studiosæ juventutis*. Holm. 1748, 8vo. pp. 306, tab. 3. By this catalogue it appears that the professor had introduced 1100 species, exclusively of all the Swedish plants, and of varieties; which latter, in ordinary gardens, amount not unfrequently to one third of the whole number. The preface contains a curious history of the climate at Upsal, and the progress of the seasons throughout the whole year.

“From the time that Linnæus and Rosen were appointed professors at Upsal, it should seem that the credit of that university, as a school of physic, had been increasing; and the fact indeed is certain, that numbers of students resorted thither from Germany, attracted by the character of these two able men: and certainly in Sweden itself many young men were invited to the study of physic, by the excellent manner in which

it was taught, who otherwise would have engaged in different pursuits.

“Whilst Linnæus was meditating one of his capital performances, which had long been expected, and greatly wished for, he was interrupted by a very long and painful fit of the gout, which left him in a very weak and dispirited state; and, according to the intelligence that his friends gave of him, nothing was thought to have contributed more to the restoration of his spirits than the seasonable acquisition, at this juncture, of a collection of rare and undescribed plants.

“The same which our author had now acquired by his *Systema Naturæ*, of which a sixth edition, much enlarged, had been published at Stockholm, in 1748, in 8vo. pp. 232 with eight tables, explanatory of the classes and orders; and which was also republished by Gronovius at Leyden; had brought, as it were, a conflux of every thing rare and valuable in every branch of nature, from all parts of the globe, into Sweden. The king and queen of Sweden had their separate collections of rarities; the former at Ulricksdahl, the latter, very rich in exotic insects and shells, procured at a great expence, at the palace of Drottningholm. These our author was employed in arranging and describing. Besides these, the museum of the royal academy of Upsal, had been augmented by a considerable donation from the king, whilst hereditary prince, in 1746; by another, from count Gyllenborg, the year before; by a third, from M. Grill, an opulent citizen of Stockholm.

“From this time we see the professor in a more elevated rank and situation in life. His reputation had already procured him honours from

from almost all the Royal Societies in Europe. Into the Imperial Academy, he had been very early received, and distinguished, according to the custom of that institution, with a classic name, having most aptly been called *Dioscorides Secundus*: and in the year 1753 he received this honour from the Royal Society of London: and his own sovereign, truly sensible of his merit, and greatly esteeming his character and abilities, favoured him with a mark of his distinction and regard, by creating him a knight of the polar star. It was no longer, *laudatur et alget*. His emoluments kept pace with his fame and honours: his practice in his profession became lucrative, and we find him soon after possessed of his country house and gardens at Hammarby, about five miles from Upsal. He had moreover received one of the most flattering testimonies of the extent and magnitude of his fame, that perhaps was ever shewn to any literary character, the state of the nation which conferred it, with all its circumstances, duly considered. This was an invitation to Madrid, from the king of Spain, there to preside as a naturalist, with the offer of an annual pension for life of 2000 pistoles, letters of nobility, and the perfect free exercise of his own religion. An offer not readily paralleled in the history of modern times! That he did not accept of it is certain, having, after the most perfect acknowledgements of the singular honour done him, returned for answer, "that, if he had any merits, they were due to his own country."

"In the year 1755, the Royal Academy of Sciences at Stockholm, honoured our professor with one of the first premiums, agreeably to the

will of count Sparree; who had decreed two gold medals, of ten ducats value each, to be annually given by the academy, to the authors of such papers, in the preceding year's Stockholm Acts, as should be adjudged most useful in promoting agriculture particularly, and all branches of rural œconomy. This medal bore on one side, the arms of the count, with this motto, *Superstes in scientiis amor Frederici Sparre*. Linnæus obtained it in consequence of a paper *de Plantis quæ Alpium Suecicarum indigenæ, magno rei œconomice et medicæ emolumento fieri possint*, and the ultimate intention was to recommend these plants, as adapted to culture in Lapland. This paper was inserted in the Stockholm Acts for 1754, vol. xv.

"Linnæus also obtained the *præmium centum aurcorum*, proposed by the Imperial Academy of Sciences at Petersburg, for the best paper written to establish, or disprove, by new arguments, the doctrine of the sexes of plants.

"It was, if possible, an additional glory to Linnæus to have merited this premium from the Petersburg academy; inasmuch as a professor of that society, a few years before, had with more than common zeal, although with a futility like that of the other antagonists of our author, endeavoured to overturn the whole Linnæan system of botany, by attempting to shew that the doctrine of the sexes of plants, had no foundation in nature, and was unsupported by facts and experiments.

In the spring of the year 1772, Dr. Murray, professor of physic and botany at Göttingen, a Swede by birth, who had been educated under Linnæus, and had long enjoyed a great share of his confidence and esteem, paid his preceptor a visit: he found

found his faculties unimpaired, and his ardor for the improvement of science as strong and vigorous as ever. He speaks with great delight of the satisfaction he received from his company, and in the contemplation and inspection of his museum at Hammarby; but regretted much to find, that Linnæus had no farther thoughts of publishing a new edition of his System of Nature; purposing only to give a supplement.

"It appears that Linnæus, upon the whole, enjoyed a good constitution. At times, however, he had been severely afflicted with an hæmicrania; and had not been exempted from the gout. And notwithstanding the sound state in which Dr. Murray left him, we find, that very soon after, his memory became somewhat impaired. The consciousness of this defect was said to have induced him to decline all thoughts of farther publications, and to transmit to Dr. Murray such materials as were in readiness to complete future editions of his System.

"In the summer of 1776, it was known here that his strength was declining apace, and his infirmities in general much increased, he being unable to take his usual walks in his garden without assistance. At the latter end of the year he was seized with an apoplexy, which left him paralytic; and at the beginning of the year 1777 he suffered another stroke, which very much impaired his mental powers. These attacks, at his advanced stage of life, shewed that dissolution was not far off. But the disease, which was said to have been the more immediate cause of his death, was an ulceration of the urinary bladder. Nevertheless, he languished through

the year, and died on the 11th of January, 1778, aged 70 years and 8 months.

"To the lovers of science it will not appear strange, nor will it be unpleasant, to hear, that uncommon respect was shewn to the memory of this great man. We are told, that, "on his death, a general mourning took place at Upsal, and that his funeral procession was attended by the whole university, as well professors as students, and the pall supported by sixteen doctors of physic, all of whom had been his pupils." The king of Sweden, after the death of Linnæus, ordered a medal to be struck, of which "one side exhibits Linnæus's bust and name, and the other Cybele, in a dejected attitude, holding in her left hand a key, and surrounded with animals and growing plants, with this legend—*Deam luctus angit amissæ*;—and beneath,—*post obitum Upsaliæ, die x. Jan. M.DCC.LXXVIII. Rege jubente.*"—The same generous monarch not only honoured the Royal Academy of Sciences with his presence when Linnæus's commemoration was held at Stockholm, but, as a still higher tribute, in his speech from the throne to the assembly of the states, lamented Sweden's loss by his death. Nor was he honoured only in his own country. The present learned and worthy professor of botany at Edinburgh, not only pronounced an eulogium in honour of Linnæus, before his students, at the opening of his lectures in the spring 1778, but laid also the foundation-stone of a monument to be raised to his memory; which, while it perpetuates the name and merits of Linnæus, will do honour to the founder, and, it may be hoped, prove the means of raising an emulation favourable

to

to that science which this illustrious Swede so highly dignified and improved. This monument consists of a vase, supported on a pedestal, with this inscription.

LINNÆO POSUIT J. HOPE.

“The high reputation which this great man has long held among the naturalists throughout the world, might readily perhaps preclude any encomium from our pen; since, to all lovers of natural science, his name itself is eulogy, and will doubtless very long be inseparable from the idea of his extraordinary merit. Might we, nevertheless, be indulged so far, we hope the following brief estimate of his talents will be thought just, and easily deduced from an impartial view of his writings.

“Nature had, in an eminent manner, been liberal in the endowments of his mind. He seems to have been possessed of a lively imagination, corrected however by a strong judgment, and guided by the laws of system. Add to these, the most retentive memory, an unremitting industry, and the greatest perseverance in all his pursuits; as is evident from that continued vigour with which he prosecuted the design, that he appears to have formed so early in life, of totally reforming, and fabricating anew the whole science of natural history: and this fabric he raised, and gave to it a degree of perfection unknown before; and had moreover the uncommon felicity of living to see his own structure rise above all others, notwithstanding every discouragement its author at first laboured under, and the opposition it afterwards met with. Neither has any writer more cautiously avoided that common error of building his own fame

on the ruin of another man's. He every where acknowledged the several merits of each author's system; and no man appears to have been more sensible of the partial defects of his own. Those anomalies which had principally been the objects of criticism, he well knew every artificial arrangement must abound with; and having laid it down as a firm maxim, that every system must finally rest on its intrinsic merit, he willingly commits his own to the judgment of posterity. Perhaps there is no circumstance of Linnæus's life, which shews him in a more dignified light, than his conduct towards his opponents. Disavowing controversy, and justly considering it as an unimportant and fruitless sacrifice of time, he never replied to any, numerous as they were at one season.

“To all who see the aid this extraordinary man has brought to natural science, his talents must appear in a very illustrious point of view; but more especially to those who, from similarity of taste, are qualified to see more distinctly the vast extent of his original design, the greatness of his labour, and the elaborate execution he has given to the whole. He had a happy command of the Latin tongue, which is alone the language of science; and no man ever applied it more successfully to his purposes, or gave to description such copiousness, united with that precision and conciseness, which so eminently characterize his writings.

“The ardour of Linnæus's inclinations to the study of nature, from his earliest years, and that uncommon application which he bestowed upon it, gave him a most comprehensive view, both of its pleasures and usefulness, at the same time that

that it opened to him a wide field, hitherto but little cultivated, especially in his own country. Hence he was early led to regret, that the study of natural history, as a public institution, had not made its way into the universities; in many of which, logical disputations, and metaphysical theories, had too long prevailed, to the exclusion of more useful science. Availing himself therefore of the advantages which he derived from a large share of eloquence, and an animated style, he never failed to display, in a lively and convincing manner, the relation this study hath to the public good; to incite the great to countenance and protect it; to encourage and allure youth into its pursuits, by opening its manifold sources of pleasure to their view, and shewing them how greatly this agreeable employment would add, in a variety of instances, both to their comfort and emolument. His extensive view of natural history, as connected with almost all the arts of life, did not allow him to confine these motives and incitements to those only who were designed for the practice of physic. He also laboured to inspire the great and opulent with a taste for this study; and wished particularly that such as were devoted to an ecclesiastical life should share a portion of natural science; not only as a means of sweetening their rural situation, confined, as many are, perpetually to a country residence, but as what would almost inevitably lead, in a variety of instances, to discoveries which only such situations could give rise to, and which the learned in great cities could have no opportunities to

make. Not to add, that the mutual communication and enlargement of this kind of knowledge among people of equal rank in a country situation, must prove one of the strongest bonds of union and friendship, and contribute, in a much higher degree than the usual perishing amusements of the age, to the pleasures and advantage of society.

“Linnaeus lived to enjoy the fruit of his own labour in an uncommon degree. Natural history raised itself in Sweden, under his culture, to a state of perfection unknown elsewhere, and was from thence disseminated through all Europe. His pupils dispersed themselves all over the globe, and, with their master's fame, extended both science and their own. More than this, he lived to see the sovereigns of Europe establish several public institutions in favour of this study, and even professorships established in divers universities for the same purpose, which do honour to their founders and patrons, and which have excited a curiosity for the science, and a sense of its worth, that cannot fail to further its progress, and in time raise it to that rank, which it is entitled to hold among the pursuits of mankind.”

Notwithstanding the extent of the preceding article, it by no means doth full justice to the memory of Linnaeus. For that purpose, it would be requisite to make large extracts from Dr. Pulteney's Account of his Writings; which would carry us far beyond the rule of proportion necessary to be observed in the present publication.

# SKETCH of the LIFE and CHARACTER of the famous Spanish Poet LOPE DE VEGA.

[From the Letters from an English Traveller in Spain, in 1778, on the Origin and Progress of Poetry in that Kingdom.]

**L**OPE Felix de Vega Carpio, born the 25th November, 1562, was the son of Felix Vega de Carpio, a gentleman of Madrid, who had the reputation of being a very good poet, a turn which he observed with rapture in his child from its infancy, and which the fond parent cherished with the greatest delight. At five years of age young Lope could read Spanish and Latin fluently, and even make verses, which he exchanged with his school-fellows for pictures and other trifles. His father, charmed with this surprizing dawn of genius, spared no pains to cultivate a darling plant that seemed to encourage the most flattering expectations. At the age of twelve, Lope was master of the Latin tongue and the art of rhetoric; could dance and fence with ease and dexterity, and sing with a tolerable taste. Endowed with these accomplishments, he became an orphan at his first entrance into the world with every pressure of distress, and was taken into the service of the bishop of Avila, in whose praise he wrote several pastorals, and made his first dramatic essay, with a comedy intitled, *La Pastoral de Jacinto*. He soon after quitted his patron, went to the university of Alcala, where he studied philosophy, and took a degree, then returned to Madrid, and became secretary to the duke of Alva, who entrusted him with his most weighty concerns. Encouraged by his new Mecenas, he again tuned his lyre, and sung his praise in a

poem intitled *Arcadia*. About this time he married Donna Isabela de Urbina, a lady of fashion, on account of whose gallantries he soon after fought a duel, and having grievously wounded his antagonist, fled to Valencia, where he lived some years; after which he returned again to Madrid, where losing his wife, he felt himself animated with a military ardour, and repaired to Cadiz to embark on board the great armada, fitting out by Philip II. against queen Elizabeth. In this fleet he sailed for Lisbon, in company with his brother, a lieutenant in the Spanish navy, who lost his life in that expedition. Our poet had his share of the misfortunes of that disappointed fleet, and appearing at Madrid without a single friend, became secretary to the marquis of Malpica, and afterwards to the count of Lemos. Though his first marriage was so unsuccessful, he was in hopes of being more fortunate in that state with Donna Juana de Guardia, a lady of rank whom he soon, after lost. Inconsolable at these repeated afflictions, he entered into the ecclesiastic state, was ordained a priest and appointed head chaplain to a congregation of priests at Madrid, though he still courted the muses, making this the chief relaxation that softened his sorrows. He was now in the zenith of his poetic glory, and his reputation became so universal, that pope Urban the Eighth sent him the degree of doctor in divinity, and

the cross of the order of Malta, and added too a lucrative post in the apostolic exchequer, which Lope held to his death, which happened in his seventy-third year, to the great regret of the court, and every learned man in the kingdom. The duke of Sesa, who was his patron and executor, caused him to be interred at his own expence with such pomp and magnificence as had never been seen before for a private person. The duke invited all the grandees of the kingdom, who attended in person, in token of their concern at the loss of so distinguished a character. The funeral obsequies lasted three days, all the clergy of the king's chapel assisted, three bishops officiated pontifically, and three of the most eloquent orators exerted themselves in praise of the deceased, adding new laurels to the fame of Lope de Vega, with whom, when living, many princes gloried in being acquainted. Pope Urban wrote him a letter in answer to a dedication of his poem in favour of Mary queen of Scots, intitled, *Corona tragica de Maria Stuardo*. Cardinal Barbarini held a very intimate correspondence with him, as did many other cardinals and noblemen, who courted his friendship. When he walked in the streets, he was gazed upon and followed as a prodigy: he was, moreover, loaded with presents, and by the rapid sale of his numerous works soon amassed a considerable fortune, and acquired a capital of 150,000 ducats, besides his annual income of fifteen hundred ducats, arising out of his benefices and employments. So great was the fertility of his genius, the amazing readiness of his wit and rapidity of thought, added to his animated expression, that perhaps there never was a poet in the world, either ancient or modern, that could

be compared to him. His lyric compositions and fugitive pieces, with his prose essays, form a collection of fifty volumes, besides his dramatic works, which make twenty-six volumes more; exclusively of four hundred scriptural dramatic pieces, called in Spain *Autos Sacramentales*, all which were successively brought on the stage: and what is still more extraordinary, speaking of his printed works, in one of his pastorals to Claudio, he says they form the least part of what still remained in his closet. It appears from his own authority, that he used constantly to write five sheets a day, which multiplied by the days of his life, would make 133,225 sheets: then reckoning the number of verses corresponding to each sheet, it will appear that exclusively of prose he wrote 21,316,000 verses, an unheard of exertion and facility of versification! Our author possessed an inexhaustible fund, which, like the fire of Vesuvius, continually afforded new matter, and blazed out incessantly. So extraordinary was the rapidity of his genius, that he would often finish a play in twenty-four hours, and some comedies in less than five hours, with as much correctness and elegance in his verse, as the most laboured pieces of other writers of his time. Such was the contemporary of Sir Philip Sidney, Shakspeare, and Spenser. In his *Laurel de Apollo*, he has celebrated all the good poets of his time, but none were more universally praised from all parts than himself: his surprising faculties were such, that though in his dramatic pieces he broke through all rules of art, yet such was his success, that he was constantly the favourite of the public, and drew perpetual bursts of applause. It was not his fault if his suc-

Successors had not his talents to conceal their defects, and only imitated his imperfections, rendering the Spanish drama insupportable when deprived of the beauties of Lope. This was foreseen by Cervantes, who reproaches our poet with destroying the rules of the drama, as laid down by the ancients, in order to court popular applause; to obtain which he lost sight of every idea of nature, or good taste; adding, that the probability of fable dwindled in his hands, and was waisted away by the enchanting magic of verse; all unity of time and place was annihilated; his heroes came out of their cradles, and wandered from east or west as lovers or combatants, put on the cowl of monks, died in cloysters, and worked miracles on the stage. The scene is transported from Italy to Flanders, and as easily shifted from Valencia to Mexico. Footmen discourse like courtiers, princes like bullies, and ladies like chambermaids. The actors appear in legions, often seventy at a time, and close with numerous processions, which are still kept up with us, as well as opening graves, and burying the dead, performing the most awful rites of mortality by way of amusement, which for my part I must own makes my heart recoil at the dismal sight; nor can the most captivating language of Shakspeare overcome my feelings at this glaring indecorum.

“So sensible was Lope of the wildness of his imagination, and how

wantonly he sported with the confidence of the public, that, speaking of himself, he acknowledges his fault in the following words :

Mas ninguno de todos llamar puedo  
Mas barbaro que yo, pues contra el arte  
Me atrevo a dar preceptos, y me dexo  
Llevar de la vulgar corriente, a donde  
Me llaman ignorante, Italia y Francia.

And again,

Y escrivo por el arte, que inventaron  
Los que el vulgar aplauso pretendieron  
Porque como los paga el vulgar, es justo  
Hablarle en necio, para darle gusto.

That is, “that he was sensible of the reproaches Italy and France would make him, for breaking through all rules to please the ignorant public; but since it was they, that paid for it, they had a right to be pleased in their own way.”

“I have now given you both sides of the question, respecting this great man: were I to speak to you of his personal virtues, they are yet superior to his literary talents. His benevolence and charity towards the indigent and distressed were so great, that he always extended his hand to the needy; insomuch that notwithstanding his considerable fortune and income, not more than six thousand ducats were found at his death. O illustrious bard, if an Englishman is not capable of doing justice to thy poetical numbers, and the harmony of thy verse, accept at least of this tribute to the goodness of thy heart.”

## ACCOUNT of the MARQUIS OF VILLENA, in a great Measure the Father of Spanish Poetry.

[From the same Work.]

“IT remains for me, however, to say something of the marquis of Villena, whose great  
1781.

character appears conspicuous in the poetical annals of his country; being in a manner the father of poetry  
in

in Spain, as well as the brightest ornament of his age. This illustrious nobleman, of the royal house of Aragon, distinguished himself early in poetry, philosophy, and astrology, and with such attachment to this last science, that amongst his ignorant countrymen he generally passed for a necromancer. As his family had been dispossessed of the marquisate of Villena, Henry III. had given him the earldom of Cangas, and afterwards procured him to be elected grand-master of the military and religious order of Calatrava. For this purpose, the marquis obtained a divorce from his wife, under pretence of a natural impediment; then ceded the earldom of Cangas to the crown, that it might not fall into his order at his death, and was elected grand-master. Some of the knights however protested, and elected Don Luis de Gusman, a Castilian nobleman; but the king went in person to Calatrava, put the marquis in possession, and every thing was quiet till the death of the king, when Gusman, who had fled to Rome, renewed his claim before the pope, and the knights refused farther obedience. A long suit was commenced, which lasted six years, and was referred to the general chapter of the order of Cister, held in Burgundy. Whilst this was depending, the marquis attended on his uncle Don Ferdinand of Aragon, when he succeeded to that crown, and came with him to Barcelona, where he presided at the consistory of Trobadours, and wrote a theatrical piece, in which, justice, truth, mercy, and peace, were the principal characters. In the midst of these rejoicings, news came, in 1414, that he had lost his election, and was deprived of his grand-mastership; with an injunction to cohabit again with his lawful wife, which he

complied with, and became a suitor at the court of king John II. then an infant, for an indemnification for his earldom of Cangas. After much solicitation he obtained the lordship of Iniesta, where he retired with his wife, and gave himself up to philosophy and the Muses. Besides a translation of Dante into prose, he translated the *Æneis* of Virgil in Spanish verse, at the request of his kinsman John king of Navarre, and intended to dedicate it to that monarch; for which purpose he had affixed a painting, in which the king of Navarre is represented sitting on his throne, and the marquis presenting him his book: but when all this was completed, he dropped his design, as that monarch went to war with the king of Castile, on which account he avoided all farther communication with him. His most famous piece was his book on the *Gaya Sciencia*, which is a complete system of poetry, rhetoric, and oratory, besides describing all the ceremonies of the Trobadours at their public exhibitions. This work he dedicated to his illustrious and learned friend, the marquis of Santillana.

After suffering much from the gout, he died in retirement in 1434. His fine library was burned under the notion of his knowledge of magic; and the bishop of Segovia, confessor to the king, who was charged with this commission, is said to have reserved most of the books for himself.

“ Thus ended this great philosopher and friend of the Muses, who was contemporary with our poet Lydgate, and had just reached the days of the renowned Chaucer, the father of English poetry, whom he greatly resembled. With him he ran the career of courts, and experienced the fickleness of royal favour,

vour, equally preferring retirement and study; and like him, had the merit of refining the language and poetry of his country. Thus the names of both bards have been jointly handed down with veneration, by a grateful posterity! If their verse wanted melody, it was owing to the inaccuracy of measure, and imper-

fection of language at that time, when both the English and Castilians seem more to have courted the god Mars, than Apollo; for while the Castilians were daily encroaching on the Moors, the victorious banners of England were triumphant in Paris, where our Henry VI. was crowned king of France."

Some PARTICULARS concerning the celebrated QUEVEDO,

[From the same Work.]

"**M**ANY poets, however, supported the spirit of the golden age, such as Vicente Espinel, Don Louis de Ulloa, Pedro de Espinosa, Don Francisco Quevedo, Don Juan de Jauregui, Solis the historian, and others, who like falling leaves announced the long winter that was to follow. The name of Quevedo is well known to you, and his Visions, which have been translated into English. His genius was such, that neither the persecutions he suffered from his enemies, or other mortifications could damp his bold masculine spirit, or the keenness of his satire. Besides his merit as a poet he was well versed in the oriental languages, and of great erudition.—His poems appeared under the feigned name of the Bachelor Francisco de la Torre. When the Duke of Ossuna was viceroy of Naples, he was employed in several commissions of consequence amongst the Italian states, and had the address to go to Venice, on a particular object, disguised as a mendicant. The viceroy sent him to court, acknowledging his great services, for which he was made a knight of St. James.—When the duke's interest and favour declined,

he came in for his share of disgrace, and was three years in confinement, afflicted with illness; but nothing appearing against him, he was set at liberty. Disgusted with the fickleness of court favour, and attendance of the great, he refused several employments that were offered him, as well in the ministry, as the embassy to Genoa; and retired to his own seat, where he gave himself up intirely to literary pursuits. At the age of fifty-four, he entered into the state of matrimony, with Dona Esperanza de Aragon, a lady of rank, whom he soon had the misfortune to lose, finding no other alleviation than such as arose from his philosophical disposition. But the envenomed shafts of envy still reached him in his solitude.—On a false accusation of being the author of an infamous libel, he was arrested in the night, put in close confinement, and his estate sequestered. In this situation he laboured under various diseases, with acute pain of body and mind; his patrimony seized, and himself supported by charity! Under this distress he wrote that elegant and pathetic letter to the prime-minister Olivarez, which procured his enlargement.

the case was enquired into, and the calumny, as well as its author, discovered. He once more returned to court to recover his estate, which had suffered various depredations: but this ungrateful theatre he soon abandoned, and retired to his country seat, overwhelmed with illness, the consequence of his cruel imprisonment, all which he bore with manly fortitude, and finished his days with exemplary and Christian resignation, in the 65th year of his age, in 1645. His person was engaging, his complexion fair, and he had great expression in his countenance; but from continual study, his eyes were so weakened, that he constantly wore spectacles.—Such was Quevedo, one of the greatest scholars and most eminent poets of his time; whose youth was spent in the service of his country in Italy, where he distinguished himself with the utmost sagacity and prudence.—To give you an idea of his extensive knowledge and profound erudition, I own myself at a loss; much less to speak of his numerous though ex-

cellent writings. — His moral discourses prove his sound doctrine and religious sentiments, while his literary pieces display his infinite judgment and refined taste.—His great knowledge of Hebrew is apparent from the report of the historian Mariana to the king, requesting that Quevedo might revise the new edition of the Bible of Arias Montanus. His translations of Epictetus and Phocylides, with his imitations of Anacreon, and other Greek authors, shew how well he was versed in that language: that he was a Latin scholar, his constant correspondence, from the age of twenty, with Lipsius, Chifflet, and Scioppius, will sufficiently illustrate.—As a poet, he excelled both in the serious and burlesque style, and was singularly happy in that particular turn we have since admired in Butler and Swift. His library, which consisted of about five thousand volumes, was reduced, at his death, to about two thousand, and is preserved in the convent of St. Martin, at Madrid.”

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BEHAVIOUR of the present QUEEN of FRANCE, upon her first coming into that Country as Dauphiness, in 1770.

[From the Private Life of Lewis the Fifteenth.]

“THE dauphiness was the general topic of conversation: every one applauded her lively and engaging manners, and the freedom with which she got away from the multitude that surrounded her. She did nothing, however, without the king’s consent. She used to call the countess de Noailles, her lady of the bed-chamber, Madame Etiquette. This lady was

very grave and austere, and was continually representing to the princefs that she derogated from the customs of her rank: but the dauphiness did not the less follow her own inclinations, especially in matters which suited the chearfulness of her disposition, and her health. She walked alone, without a gentleman-usher; she went out when, and in what manner she pleased; she walked on foot;

foot; and in this way she formed her natural powers, and improved the strength she acquired by age. She invited to dinner and supper, whenever it occurred to her, her brothers, her sisters, her aunts; and went to eat along with them with the same freedom: in a word, she introduced, as much as she could, the intimate familiarity in which the court of Vienna live among themselves, who, though very jealous of their ceremonials in public, pass their lives in the utmost ease and good humour within.

“ This mode of living, so analogous to the real disposition of Lewis XV. would have been infi-

nately suitable to him in those happy times, when he possessed the same innocence as his daughter-in-law. But at a certain time of life, reformation takes place no more. Besides, it was the interest of the ministers, of the favourites, and of his mistress, that he should not give himself up too much to his family: and if his friendship and kindness for the dauphiness did not permit him to restrain her as much as they could have wished, they at least succeeded in keeping him from her, instead of drawing him nearer to her; to which the easy manners she had adopted with his majesty would necessarily have contributed.”

## CHARACTER of the ABBE TERRAI, Comptroller General of the Finances in France.

[From the same Work.]

“ **T**HIS villain—for posterity will no doubt confirm to him a qualification he has so justly acquired from his contemporaries—was distinguished from the others which surrounded the sovereign, by a singular apathy: the others were at least tormented with violent passions, the effects of which cannot be calculated, and from which the most virtuous men are not always exempt. The Abbé Terrai was indifferent either to good or evil: he did the one without inclination, and the other without remorse. Under Henry IV. he might have been a Sully, under Lewis XV. he was a monster: he had all the qualities necessary to succeed in both the extremes. Unfortunately, he had only an occasion to display the most detestable of them, and he did it in

the highest degree. Intrepid in crimes, he disdained the hypocrisy of the chancellor, and did not attempt to conceal his character. He was little inclined to love, but from constitution; and displayed the same apathy in his amorous pursuits, as in every other particular. In his new house, in the street of Notre Dame des Champs, he had a superb bed, the bottom of which was furnished with a picture concealed: on drawing up the curtain, a woman was represented naked, and, to those who were curious of seeing it, he used to say “ Ladies, this is the costume.” He was never governed by any of his mistresses: the Barons de la Garde sold the favours of this minister, rather publicly: he winked at it, because he found it convenient to return her favours in

this manner. When he saw that this might do him an injury, and that very dangerous murmurs resulted from it, he caused her to be exiled, and sent her from his house in a very harsh manner. He made no scruple of cohabiting with Madame Dumerval, his illegitimate daughter: this was a delicate morsel he had reserved for himself, and he had had her educated on purpose. He detached himself from her, when she became agreeable to Madame Dubarri, and when it was in agitation to propose her to Lewis XV.

“The Abbé Terrai was very little concerned about the complaints of the malecontents. He did not wish that they should be silenced: he used to say, it was fit that those who were slayed should be suffered to cry out. The same sincerity made him acknowledge what he was. The agents of the clergy represented to him, in a circumstance which concerned their order, that he was committing an injustice: he answered, “Who tells you that it is just? Do you expect any thing else from me?” Another time, when one of them, being violently piqued, exclaimed “Why, Monseigneur, this is taking it out of people’s pockets,” he replied, “Where else would you have me take it?” He laughed at all the witticisms, epigrams, and pamphlets which were made against him. He was called at court the spoiled child, because he touched every thing; and the long broom, because he reached every where: all these nick-names were a matter of sport to him. One day, passing through an oval space filled with courtiers, he was following one of the Muys, for whom the croud had opened with a kind of respect: but the pres-

sure afterwards increasing, the Abbé found himself violently squeezed; and, humbly asking that he might be suffered to pass, and that they would not stifle him, he heard a voice which answered, “We make room here only for honest people;” an answer, which, when his person was safe, gave him no kind of disturbance. His only care was to find money, in order that he might not be dismissed; and, as he was not nice in expedients, he had little difficulty. While he maintained himself in his place, and even extended it (for, without being fond of either the arts or the sciences, he had taken from the Marquis de Mairigny the post of director of the buildings), he waited till he had a favourable opportunity to resign his department for one that was better. In order even to hasten this moment, he had thought of being made cardinal, and the report was spread, that he had bought of the Pretender the nomination to the hat for five hundred thousand livres. With this dignity he could not have been suffered to remain a comptroller, and it would have been necessary to revive for him the post of superintendant, as he would then have been raised above all the other ministers. Till this brilliant prospect was realized, he was continually issuing money edicts; and on the day of the death of Lewis XV. a declaration was posted up in the park of Versailles, signifying the continuation of the new taxes. This declaration had been published a little before, or even while the monarch was breathing his last, with the following inscription: “*C’est ainsi qu’en partant, je vous fais mes adieux.*” i. e. Thus I depart, and take my last farewell.”

# ANECDOTES of MADAME DUBARRI, the late King of France's Mistress.

[From the same Work.]

**I**N a short time she had acquired an ascendant greater than any of those who had preceded her; and the sceptre of Lewis XV. —hitherto alternately the plaything of love, ambition, or avarice—became, in the hands of the countess, the bauble of folly. Could any thing, indeed, be more extravagant than the frivolous actions then passing at court; than those private scenes between the two lovers, still too public, since they were revealed by indiscreet spectators? Upon hearing a multiplicity of anecdotes related, with which the societies at Paris were enlivened, one might have imagined, that the extravagances of the palace of Caligula were reproduced under a different costume. At one time, it was Madame Dubarri, who, rising from her bed, in presence of the king and a notary, made the pope's nuncio give her one of her slippers, and the grand almoner the other; while these two prelates thought themselves amply indemnified for this mean and ridiculous employment, by casting a fugitive glance upon the charms of this beauty. Another time, it was the Marchioness de Roses, a lady attending on the Countess de Provence, who was whipped by the women of the favourite, in her presence, under pretence that the king, making an excuse for her on the score of her youth, with respect to some fault committed by her, had said in jest, "Pshaw! she is but a child fit to be whipped;" after which ceremony, those two madcaps embraced

each other, and grew more intimate than ever. It was by an adulation still more contemptible, that the Duke de Tresmes, not finding the favourite at home, wrote upon her door, "The Marmozet of the Countess Dubarri is come to pay his homage to her, and to make her laugh;" because she used to divert herself with this nobleman's deformity, and that he thought himself too fortunate to be the object of her ridicule. Add to this, M. de Boisnes' granting the cross of St. Louis to the commissary of the navy, in acknowledgment of a parrot he had made a present of to the countess. Farther, what a ridiculous indecency was it to see Madame Dubarri tap the Duke of Orleans upon his belly, when he came to solicit her to favour his marriage with Madame de Montesson, and to engage the king to acknowledge her as Duchess of Orleans, and at the same time say to him, "Marry her nevertheless, GROS PERE, we will see what we can do for you afterwards; you are sensible that I am strongly interested in the matter;" as if she had not despaired one day of treading in the steps of Madame de Maintenon.

"Nothing, undoubtedly, could equal the fervility of Lewis XV. who, participating the favours of this lady with her little Negro, created, in order to please her, Zamore governor of the castle of Lucienne, with an appointment of six hundred livres, and made the chancellor seal the grant of it for him; who suffered his mistress to rank him with

his footmen, and received the name of La France from her, and used to laugh at it, in his little apartments, where he frequently delighted in making his own breakfast. What man in the kingdom has not heard the exclamation of Madame Dubarri, while she was in bed, to the king, who, preparing his coffee, had his attention engaged with some other object: "Hoe, La France! take care! your coffee runs over at a d—l of a rate!"

"It was this very woman, so abandoned, so gross, and so disgusting in domestic life, who gave audience to the ambassadors; who saw herself surrounded by the deputies of the confederates, and by those of all the petty principalities in Germany, trembling for their destiny, at the time of the division of Poland, and soliciting her interest with the king for their support. It was this same woman whom Lewis XV. carried in triumph to see the ceremony of the clearing of the arches of the bridge of Neuilli; a sight from which the princesses, and even the dauphiness, were excluded, in order that she might not be eclipsed. It was this same woman who had raised the anger of Lewis XV.—on account of the presumptive heir of the throne having kept her from the society of his august consort, in a supper of reconciliation contrived by an intriguing woman of the court—to such a degree, that he signified

his displeasure by saying, "I see my children do not love me!" It was this same woman for whom a toilet of gold was preparing, although the dauphiness had not one, and the queen never had had any. The looking-glass especially was remarkable, in having at the top of it two little Cupids holding a crown suspended over her head, every time she looked in it; a symbol of that she one day thought herself destined to wear. It was this very woman who, not finding herself sufficiently well lodged in the palace of a princess of the blood, had caused the new pavillion of Lucienne to be constructed; a toy, the expence of which could not be calculated, because every thing in it was whim, and could have no price, but such as the cupidity of the artist, or the folly of the proprietor, might put upon it. It was this woman, finally, who, upon the scraps of paper signed by her, drew whenever she pleased upon the public treasury, for herself and all her adherents; who herself alone was more expensive than all the preceding mistresses of Lewis XV. and whose prodigalities and depredations, notwithstanding the misery of the people, and the public calamities, were increasing to such a degree, that in a few years she would have swallowed up the kingdom, if the death of Lewis XV. had not put a stop to these enormities."

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### CHARACTER of the EMPEROR CONSTANTINE.

[From the Second Volume of Mr. GIBBON's History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.]

"THE character of the prince who removed the seat of empire, and introduced such im-

portant changes into the civil and religious constitution of his country, has fixed the attention, and divided the

the opinions, of mankind. By the grateful zeal of the Christians, the deliverer of the church has been decorated with every attribute of a hero, and even of a saint; while the discontent of the vanquished party has compared Constantine to the most abhorred of those tyrants, who, by their vice and weakness, dishonoured the imperial purple. The same passions have in some degree been perpetuated to succeeding generations, and the character of Constantine is considered, even in the present age, as an object either of satire or panegyric. By the impartial union of those defects which are confessed by his warmest admirers, and of those virtues which are acknowledged by his most implacable enemies, we might hope to delineate a just portrait of that extraordinary man, which the truth and candour of history should adopt without a blush. But it would soon appear, that the vain attempt to blend such discordant colours, and to reconcile such inconsistent qualities, must produce a figure monstrous rather than human, unless it is viewed in its proper and distinct lights, by a careful separation of the different periods of the reign of Constantine.

“The person, as well as the mind of Constantine, had been enriched by nature with her choicest endowments. His stature was lofty, his countenance majestic, his deportment graceful, his strength and activity were displayed in every manly exercise, and from his earliest youth, to a very advanced season of life, he preserved the vigour of his constitution by a strict adherence to the domestic virtues of chastity and temperance. He delighted in the social intercourse of familiar conversation; and though he might some-

times indulge his disposition to railery with less reserve than was required by the severe dignity of his station, the courtesy and liberality of his manners gained the hearts of all who approached him. The sincerity of his friendship has been suspected: yet he shewed, on some occasions, that he was not incapable of a warm and lasting attachment. The disadvantage of an illiterate education had not prevented him from forming a just estimate of the value of learning; and the arts and sciences derived some encouragement from the munificent protection of Constantine. In the dispatch of business, his diligence was indefatigable; and the active powers of his mind were almost continually exercised in reading, writing, or meditating, in giving audience to ambassadors, and in examining the complaints of his subjects. Even those who censured the propriety of his measures were compelled to acknowledge, that he possessed magnanimity to conceive, and patience to execute, the most arduous designs, without being checked either by the prejudices of education, or by the clamours of the multitude. In the field, he infused his own intrepid spirit into the troops, whom he conducted with the talents of a consummate general; and to his abilities, rather than to his fortune, we may ascribe the signal victories which he obtained over the foreign and domestic foes of the republic. He loved glory, as the reward, perhaps as the motive, of his labours. The boundless ambition, which, from the moment of his accepting the purple at York, appears as the ruling passion of his soul, may be justified by the dangers of his own situation, by the character of his rivals, by the consciousness of su-

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perior merit, and by the prospect that his success would enable him to restore peace and order to the distracted empire. In his civil wars against Maxentius and Licinius, he had engaged on his side the inclinations of the people, who compared the undissembled vices of those tyrants, with the spirit of wisdom and justice, which seemed to direct the general tenor of the administration of Constantine.

“ Had Constantine fallen on the banks of the Tyber, or even in the plains of Hadrianople, such is the character which, with a few exceptions, he might have transmitted to posterity. But the conclusion of his reign (according to the moderate and indeed tender sentence of a writer of the same age) degraded him from the rank which he had acquired among the most deserving of the Roman princes. In the life of Augustus, we behold the tyrant of the republic, converted, almost by imperceptible degrees, into the father of his country and of human kind. In that of Constantine, we may contemplate a hero, who had so long inspired his subjects with love, and his enemies with terror, degenerating into a cruel and dissolute monarch, corrupted by his fortune, or raised by conquest above the necessity of dissimulation. The general peace which he maintained during the last fourteen years of his reign, was a period of apparent splendor rather than of real prosperity; and the old age of Constantine was disgraced by the opposite yet reconcileable vices of rapaciousness and prodigality. The accumulated treasures found in the palaces of Maxentius and Licinius, were lavishly consumed; the various innovations introduced by the conqueror, were attended with an en-

creasing expence; the cost of his buildings, his court, and his festivals, required an immediate and plentiful supply; and the oppression of the people was the only fund which could support the magnificence of the sovereign. His unworthy favourites, enriched by the boundless liberality of their master, usurped with impunity the privilege of rapine and corruption. A secret but universal decay was felt in every part of the public administration, and the emperor himself, though he still retained the obedience, gradually lost the esteem, of his subjects. The dress and manners, which, towards the decline of life, he chose to affect, served only to degrade him in the eyes of mankind. The Asiatic pomp, which had been adopted by the pride of Diocletian, assumed an air of softness and effeminacy in the person of Constantine. He is represented with false hair of various colours, laboriously arranged by the skilful artists of the times; a diadem of a new and more expensive fashion; a profusion of gems and pearls, of collars and bracelets, and a variegated flowing robe of silk, most curiously embroidered with flowers of gold. In such apparel, scarcely to be excused by the youth and folly of Elagabalus, we are at a loss to discover the wisdom of an aged monarch, and the simplicity of a Roman veteran. A mind thus relaxed by prosperity and indulgence, was incapable of rising to that magnanimity which disdains suspicion, and dares to forgive. The deaths of Maximian and Licinius may perhaps be justified by the maxims of policy, as they are taught in the schools of tyrants; but an impartial narrative of the executions, or rather murders, which sullied the

declining age of Constantine, will suggest to our most candid thoughts, the idea of a prince, who could sacrifice without reluctance the laws

of justice, and the feelings of nature, to the dictates either of his passions or of his interest."

## CHARACTER of ATHANASIUS.

[From the same Work.]

"**W**E have seldom an opportunity of observing, either in active or speculative life, what effect may be produced, or what obstacles may be surmounted, by the force of a single mind, when it is inflexibly applied to the pursuit of a single object. The immortal name of Athanasius will never be separated from the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity, to whose defence he consecrated every moment and every faculty of his being. Educated in the family of Alexander, he had vigorously opposed the early progress of the Arian heresy; he exercised the important functions of secretary under the aged prelate; and the fathers of the Nicene council beheld with surprize and respect, the rising virtues of the young deacon. In a time of public danger, the dull claims of age and of rank are sometimes superseded; and within five months after his return from Nice, the deacon Athanasius was seated on the archiepiscopal throne of Egypt. He filled that eminent station above forty-six years, and his long administration was spent in a perpetual combat against the powers of Arianism. Five times was Athanasius expelled from his throne; twenty years he passed as an exile or a fugitive; and almost every province of the Roman empire was successively witness to his merit, and his sufferings in the cause of

the Homousion, which he considered as the sole pleasure and business, as the duty, and as the glory, of his life. Amidst the storms of persecution, the archbishop of Alexandria was patient of labour, jealous of fame, careless of safety; and although his mind was tainted by the contagion of fanaticism, Athanasius displayed a superiority of character and abilities, which would have qualified him, far better than the degenerate sons of Constantine, for the government of a great monarchy. His learning was much less profound and extensive than that of Eusebius of Cæsarea, and his rude eloquence could not be compared with the polished oratory of Gregory or Basil; but whenever the primate of Egypt was called upon to justify his sentiments or his conduct, his unpremeditated style, either of speaking or writing, was clear, forcible, and persuasive. He has always been revered in the orthodox school, as one of the most accurate masters of the Christian theology; and he was supposed to possess two profane sciences, less adapted to the episcopal character; the knowledge of jurisprudence, and that of divination. Some fortunate conjectures of future events, which impartial reasoners might ascribe to the experience and judgment of Athanasius, were attributed by his friends to heavenly inspiration, and imputed

imputed by his enemies to infernal magic.

“But as Athanasius was continually engaged with the prejudices and passions of every order of men, from the monk to the emperor, the knowledge of human nature was his first and most important science. He preserved a distinct and unbroken view of a scene which was incessantly shifting; and never failed to improve those decisive moments which are irrecoverably past before they are perceived by a common eye. The archbishop of Alexandria was capable of distinguishing how far he might boldly command, and where he must dextrously insinuate; how long he might contend with power, and when he must withdraw from persecution; and while he directed the thunders of the church against heresy and rebellion, he could assume, in the bosom of his own party, the flexible and indulgent temper of a prudent leader. The election of Athanasius has not escaped the reproach of irregularity and precipitation; but the propriety of his behaviour conciliated the affections both of the

clergy and of the people. The Alexandrians were impatient to rise in arms for the defence of an eloquent and liberal pastor. In his distress he always derived support, or at least consolation, from the faithful attachment of his parochial clergy; and the hundred bishops of Egypt adhered, with unshaken zeal, to the cause of Athanasius. In the modest equipage, which pride and policy would affect, he frequently performed the episcopal visitation of his provinces, from the mouth of the Nile to the confines of Æthiopia; familiarly conversing with the meanest of the populace, and humbly saluting the saints and hermits of the desert. Nor was it only in ecclesiastical assemblies, among men whose education and manners were similar to his own, that Athanasius displayed the ascendancy of his genius. He appeared with easy and respectful firmness in the courts of princes; and in the various turns of his prosperous and adverse fortune, he never lost the confidence of his friends, or the esteem of his enemies.”

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### Civil GOVERNMENT and Private LIFE of the EMPEROR JULIAN.

[From the same Work.]

“PHILOSOPHY had instructed Julian to compare the advantages of action and retirement; but the elevation of his birth, and the accidents of his life, never allowed him the freedom of choice. He might perhaps sincerely have preferred the groves of the Academy, and the society of Athens; but he was constrained, at first by

the will, and afterwards by the injustice, of Constantius, to expose his person and fame to the dangers of imperial greatness; and to make himself accountable to the world, and to posterity, for the happiness of millions. Julian recollected with terror the observation of his master Plato, that the government of our flocks and herds is always committed

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ted to beings of a superior species ; and that the conduct of nations requires and deserves the celestial powers of the Gods or of Genii. From this principle he justly concluded, that the man who presumes to reign, should aspire to the perfection of the divine nature ; that he should purify his soul from her mortal and terrestrial part ; that he should extinguish his appetites, enlighten his understanding, regulate his passions, and subdue the wild beast, which, according to the lively metaphor of Aristotle, seldom fails to ascend the throne of a despot. The throne of Julian, which the death of Constantius fixed on an independent basis, was the seat of reason, of virtue, and perhaps of vanity. He despised the honours, renounced the pleasures, and discharged with incessant diligence the duties, of his exalted station ; and there were few among his subjects who would have consented to relieve him from the weight of the diadem, had they been obliged to submit their time and their actions to the rigorous laws which their philosophic emperor imposed on himself. One of his most intimate friends, who had often shared the frugal simplicity of his table, has remarked, that his light and sparing diet (which was usually of the vegetable kind) left his mind and body always free and active, for the various and important business of an author, a pontiff, a magistrate, a general, and a prince. In one and the same day, he gave audience to several ambassadors, and wrote, or dictated, a great number of letters to his generals, his civil magistrates, his private friends, and the different cities of his dominions. He listened to the memorials which had been received, considered the subject of the petitions, and signi-

fied his intentions more rapidly than they could be taken in short-hand by the diligence of his secretaries. He possessed such flexibility of thought, and such firmness of attention, that he could employ his hand to write, his ear to listen, and his voice to dictate ; and pursue at once three several trains of ideas, without hesitation, and without error. While his ministers rested, the prince flew with agility from one labour to another, and, after a hasty dinner, retired into his library, till the public business, which he had appointed for the evening, summoned him to interrupt the prosecution of his studies. The supper of the emperor was still less substantial than the former meal ; his sleep was never clouded by the fumes of indigestion ; and, except in the short interval of a marriage, which was the effect of policy rather than love, the chaste Julian never shared his bed with a female companion. He was soon awakened by the entrance of new secretaries, who had slept the preceding day ; and his servants were obliged to wait alternately, while their indefatigable master allowed himself scarcely any other refreshments than the change of occupations. The predecessors of Julian, his uncle, his brother, and his cousin, indulged their puerile taste for the games of the circus, under the specious pretence of complying with the inclinations of the people ; and they frequently remained the greatest part of the day, as idle spectators, and as a part of the splendid spectacle, till the ordinary round of twenty-four races was completely finished. On solemn festivals, Julian, who felt and professed an unfashionable dislike to those frivolous amusements, condescended to appear in the circus ;

cus; and after bestowing a careless glance on five or six of the races, he hastily withdrew, with the impatience of a philosopher, who considered every moment as lost, that was not devoted to the advantage of the public, or the improvement of his own mind. By this avarice of time, he seemed to protract the short duration of his reign; and if the dates were less securely ascertained, we should refuse to believe, that only sixteen months elapsed between the death of Constantius and the departure of his successor for the

Persian war. The actions of Julian can only be preserved by the care of the historian; but the portion of his voluminous writings, which is still extant, remains as a monument of the application, as well as of the genius, of the emperor. The *Misopogon*, the *Cæsars*, several of his orations, and his elaborate work against the Christian religion, were composed in the long nights of the two winters, the former of which he passed at Constantinople, and the latter at Antioch."

### CHARACTER of the EMPEROR JULIAN.

[From the same Work.]

"THE generality of princes, if they were stripped of their purple, and cast naked into the world, would immediately sink to the lowest rank of society, without a hope of emerging from their obscurity. But the personal merit of Julian was, in some measure, independent of his fortune. Whatever had been his choice of life; by the force of intrepid courage, lively wit, and intense application, he would have obtained, or at least he would have deserved, the highest honours of his profession; and Julian might have raised himself to the rank of minister, or general, of the state in which he was born a private citizen. If the jealous caprice of power had disappointed his expectations; if he had prudently declined the paths of greatness, the employments of the same talents in studious solitude, would have placed, beyond the reach of kings, his present happiness, and his immortal fame. When we inspect, with minute, or

perhaps malevolent attention, the portrait of Julian, something seems wanting to the grace and perfection of the whole figure. His genius was less powerful and sublime than that of Cæsar; nor did he possess the consummate prudence of Augustus. The virtues of Trajan appear more steady and natural, and the philosophy of Marcus is more simple and consistent. Yet Julian sustained adversity with firmness, and prosperity with moderation. After an interval of one hundred and twenty years from the death of Alexander Severus, the Romans beheld an emperor who made no distinction between his duties and his pleasures; who laboured to relieve the distress, and to revive the spirit, of his subjects; and who endeavoured always to connect authority with merit, and happiness with virtue. Even faction, and religious faction, was constrained to acknowledge the superiority of his genius, in peace as well as in war; and to

confess, with a sigh, that the country, and that he deserved the apostate Julian was a lover of his empire of the world."

Some ACCOUNT of GEORGE of CAPPADOCIA, the PATRON SAINT of ENGLAND.

[From the same Work.]

"GEORGE, from his parents or his education, furnished the Cappadocian, was born at Epiphania in Cicilia, in a fuller's shop. From this obscure and servile origin he raised himself by the talents of a parasite: and the patrons, whom he assiduously flattered, procured for their worthless dependent a lucrative commission, or contract, to supply the army with bacon. His employment was mean: he rendered it infamous. He accumulated wealth by the basest arts of fraud and corruption; but his malversations were so notorious, that George was compelled to escape from the pursuits of justice. After this disgrace, in which he appears to have saved his fortune at the expence of his honour, he embraced, with real or affected zeal, the profession of Arianism. From the love, or the ostentation, of learning, he collected a valuable library of history, rhetoric, philosophy, and theology; and the choice of the prevailing faction promoted George of Cappadocia to the throne of Athanasius. The entrance of the new archbishop was that of a Barbarian conqueror; and each moment of his reign was polluted by cruelty and avarice. The Catholics of Alexandria and Egypt were abandoned to a tyrant, qualified, by nature and education, to exercise the office of persecution; but he oppressed with an impartial hand the various inhabitants of his

extensive diocese. The primate of Egypt assumed the pomp and insolence of his lofty station; but he still betrayed the vices of his base and servile extraction. The merchants of Alexandria were impoverished by the unjust, and almost universal, monopoly, which he acquired, of nitre, salt, paper, funerals, &c. and the spiritual father of a great people condescended to practise the vile and pernicious arts of an informer. The Alexandrians could never forget, nor forgive, the tax, which he suggested, on all the houses of the city; under an obsolete claim, that the royal founder had conveyed to his successors, the Ptolemies and the Cæsars, the perpetual property of the soil. The Pagans, who had been flattered with the hopes of freedom and toleration, excited his devout avarice; and the rich temples of Alexandria were either pillaged or insulted by the haughty prelate, who exclaimed, in a loud and threatening tone, "How long will these sepulchres be permitted to stand?" Under the reign of Constantius, he was expelled by the fury, or rather by the justice, of the people; and it was not without a violent struggle, that the civil and military powers of the state could restore his authority, and gratify his revenge. The messenger who proclaimed at Alexandria the accession of Julian, announced the downfall of the archbishop. George,

with

with two of his obsequious ministers, count Diodorus, and Dracontius, master of the mint, was ignominiously dragged in chains to the public prison. At the end of twenty-four days, the prison was forced open by the rage of a superstitious multitude, impatient of the tedious forms of judicial proceedings. The enemies of gods and men expired under their cruel insults; the lifeless bodies of the archbishop and his associates were carried in triumph through the streets on the back of a camel; and the inactivity of the Athanasian party was esteemed a shining example of evangelical patience. The remains of these guilty wretches were thrown into the sea; and the popular leaders of the tumult declared their resolution to disappoint the devotion of the Christians, and to intercept the future

honours of these martyrs, who had been punished, like their predecessors, by the enemies of their religion. The fears of the Pagans were just, and their precautions ineffectual. The meritorious death of the archbishop obliterated the memory of his life. The rival of Athanasius was dear and sacred to the Arians, and the seeming conversion of those sectaries introduced his worship into the bosom of the Catholic church. The odious stranger, disguising every circumstance of time and place, assumed the mask of a martyr, a saint, and a Christian hero; and the infamous George of Cappadocia has been transformed into the renowned St. George of England, the patron of arms, of chivalry, and of the Garter."

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### Some PARTICULARS concerning Mr. HOGARTH.

[From Mr. NICHOLS's Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth.]

**T**HIS great and original Genius is said by Dr. Burn to have been the descendant of a family originally from Kirkby Thore, in Westmoreland. And I am assured, that his grandfather was a plain yeoman, who possessed a small tenement in the vale of Bampton, a village about 15 miles north of Kendal, in that county. He had three sons. The eldest assisted his father in farming, and succeeded to his little freehold. The second settled in Troutbeck, a village eight miles north-west of Kendal, and was remarkable for his talent at provincial poetry. The third, who had been a schoolmaster in the same county, went early to London, where he was employed as

a corrector of the press, and appears to have been a man of no inconsiderable learning; a Dictionary in Latin and English, which he composed for the use of schools, being still existing in MS. He married in London, and our hero and his sisters, Mary and Anne, are believed to have been the only product of the marriage.

"William Hogarth was born in 1698, in the parish of St. Bartholomew, London, to which he was afterwards, as far as lay in his power, a benefactor. The outset of his life, however, was unpromising. "He was bound, says Mr. Walpole, to a mean engraver of arms on plate." Hogarth probably chose this occupation,

pation, as it required some skill in drawing, to which his genius was particularly turned, and which he contrived assiduously to cultivate. His master, it since appears, was Mr. Gamble, a silver-smith of eminence, who resided on or near Snowhill. In this profession it is not unusual to bind apprentices to the single branch of engraving arms and cyphers on every species of metal; and in that particular department of the business young Hogarth was placed; "but, before his time was expired, he felt the impulse of genius, and that it directed him to painting."

"During his apprenticeship, he set out one Sunday, with two or three companions, on an excursion to Highgate. The weather being hot, they went into a public-house, where they had not been long before a quarrel arose between some persons in the same room, in which one of the disputants struck the other on the head with a quart pot, and cut him very much. The blood running down the man's face, with the agony of the wound, which had distorted his features into a most hideous grin, presented Hogarth, who shewed himself thus early "apprehensive of the mode Nature had intended he should pursue," with too laughable a subject to escape the powerful efforts of his genius. He drew out his pencil, and produced on the spot one of the most ludicrous figures that ever was seen. What rendered this piece the more pleasing was, that it exhibited an exact likeness of the man, with the portrait of his antagonist, and the figures in caricature of the principal persons gathered round him.

"From the date of the earliest plate that can be ascertained to be the work of Hogarth, it may be  
1781.

presumed that he began business, on his own account, at least as early as the year 1720.

"His first employment seems to have been the engraving of arms and shop-bills. The next step was to design and engrave for book-sellers; and here we are fortunately supplied with dates. Twelve folio prints, with his name to each, appeared in Aubry de la Motraye's Travels, in 1723; seven small prints (two of them characteristically his own) for Apuleius' Golden Ass, in 1724; thirteen head-pieces to Beaver's Military Punishments of the Ancients, and five small prints for the translation of Cassandra, in 1725; seventeen for a duodecimo edition of Hudibras (with Butler's head), in 1726; two for Perseus and Andromeda, in 1730; two for Milton, 1732; and a variety of frontispieces between 1726 and 1733.

"Mr. Bowles, at the Black Horse in Cornhill, was one of his earliest patrons; and is said to have bought many a plate from Hogarth by the weight of the copper. His next friend in that line was Mr. John Overton, opposite Fetter-lane, in Fleet-street, who paid him a somewhat better price for his labour and ingenuity.

"A gentleman still living informs me, that being once with Mr. Hogarth at the Bedford Coffee-house, he observed him to draw something with a pencil on his nail. Enquiring what had been his employment, he was shewn the countenance (a whimsical one) of a person who was then sitting in sight.

"Mr. Walpole has observed, that if our artist "indulged his spirit of ridicule in personalities, it never proceeded beyond sketches and drawings," and wonders "that he never, without intention, delivered the very features of any identical person."

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But this elegant writer, who may be said to have received his education in a court, perhaps had few opportunities of acquaintance with the low popular characters with which Hogarth occasionally peopled his scenes. The friend to whom I owe this remark was assured by an ancient gentleman of unquestionable veracity and acuteness of remark, that almost all the personages who attend the levee of the Rake were undoubted Portraits; and that in Southwark Fair, and the Modern Midnight Conversation, as many more were discoverable. In the former plate he pointed out Essex the dancing-master; and in the latter, Figg the prize-fighter. He mentioned several others by name, from his immediate knowledge both of the painter's design and the characters represented; but the rest of the particulars, by which he supported his assertions, have escaped the memory of my informant. I am also assured, that while Hogarth was painting the Rake's Progress, he had a summer residence at Isleworth; and never failed to question those who came to see his pictures, if they knew who this or that figure was designed for? When they guessed wrong, he set them right.

"The Duke of Leeds has an original scene in the Beggar's Opera, painted likewise by Hogarth. It is that in which Lucy and Polly contend for the hero of the piece. All the figures are either known or supposed to be portraits. If we are not misinformed, the late Sir Thomas Robinson (perhaps better known by the name of Long Sir Thomas) is standing in one of the side-boxes. Macheath, unlike his spruce representative on our present stage, is a slouching bully; and Polly appears

happily disencumbered of such a hoop as the daughter of Peachum within our younger memories has worn. His Grace gave 35*l.* for this picture at Mr. Rich's auction. An engraving from it would prove a valuable present to the public. Mr. Walpole has likewise a picture of the scene, in the same piece, where Macheath is going to execution. In this also the likenesses of Walker and Miss Fenton, afterwards Duchesses of Bolton, are well preserved.

"In the year 1726, when the affair of Mary Tofts, the rabbit-breeder of Guilford, engaged the public attention, a few of our principal surgeons subscribed a guinea a-piece to Hogarth, for an engraving from a ludicrous sketch he had made on that very popular subject. This plate, amongst other portraits, contains that of the notorious St. André, then anatomist to the royal household, and in high reputation as a surgeon.

"In 1730, Mr. Hogarth married the only daughter of Sir James Thornhill, by whom he had no child. This union, indeed, was a stolen one, and consequently without the approbation of Sir James and his lady, who, considering the extreme youth of their daughter, then barely eighteen, and the slender finances of her husband, as yet an obscure artist, were not easily reconciled to the match. Soon after this period, however, he began his Harlot's Progress; and was advised to have some of his pictures placed in the way of his father-in-law. Accordingly, one morning early, Mrs. Hogarth undertook to convey several of them into his dining-room. When he awoke, he enquired from whence they came; and being told by whom they were introduced, he

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cried out, "Very well; the man who can produce representations like these, can also maintain a wife without a portion." He designed this remark as an excuse for keeping his purse-strings close; but soon after became both reconciled and generous to the young couple. Lady Thornhill's forgiveness was but slowly obtained, though it followed at last.

"In 1732 he ventured to attack Mr. Pope, in the plate called taste; containing a view of the Gate of Burlington-house; with Pope white-washing it, and bespattering the Duke of Chandos's coach. This plate was intended as a satire on Mr. Pope, Mr. Kent the architect, and the Earl of Burlington. But Mr. Hogarth, being apprehensive that the pen of the poet was as pointed as the graver of the artist, recalled the impressions, and destroyed the plate. It was fortunate for Mr. Hogarth that he escaped the lash of Mr. Pope. Either his obscurity at that time was his protection, or the bard was too prudent to exasperate a painter who had already given such proof of his abilities for satire. What must he have felt who could complain of the "pictured shape" prepared to Gulliveriana, had Hogarth undertaken to express in colours a certain transaction recorded by Cibber?

"Soon after his marriage, Mr. Hogarth had summer-lodgings at South Lambeth. Having a natural taste for gardening, and being in intimacy with Mr. Tyers, he contributed very much to the improvement of The Spring Gardens at Vauxhall, and first suggested the hint of embellishing them with paintings, some of which were the production of his own truly comic pencil. For his assistance, Mr. Ty-

ers gratefully presented him with a gold ticket for the admission of himself and his friends, inscribed

*In perpetuam beneficii memoriam.*

This ticket is now (1782) in the possession of his widow, and is still occasionally made use of.

"In 1733, his genius became conspicuously known. The third scene of his "Harlot's Progress," introduced him to the notice of the great. At a board of Treasury, which was held a day or two after the appearance of that print, a copy of it was shewn by one of the lords as containing, among other excellencies, a striking likeness of Sir John Gonson. It gave universal satisfaction; from the Treasury each lord repaired to the print-shop for a copy of it, and Hogarth rose completely into fame.

"The ingenious Abbé Du Bos has often complained, that no history painter of his time went through a series of actions, and thus, like an historian, painted the successive fortune of an hero, from the cradle to the grave. What Du Bos wished to see done, Hogarth performed. He launches out his young adventurer a simple girl upon the town, and conducts her through all the vicissitudes of wretchedness to a premature death. This was painting to the understanding and to the heart; none had ever before made the pencil subservient to the purposes of morality and instruction; a book like this is fitted to every foil and every observer, and he that runs may read. Nor was the success of Hogarth confined to his persons. One of his excellencies consisted in what may be termed the furniture of his pieces; for as in sublime and historical representations the fewer trivial circumstances are permitted to divide the spectator's

attention from the principal figures, the greater is their force; so in scenes copied from familiar life, a proper variety of little domestic images contributes to throw a degree of verisimilitude on the whole. 'The Rake's levee-room,' says Mr. Walpole, 'the nobleman's dining-room, the apartments of the husband and wife in Marriage à la mode, the Alderman's parlour, the bed-chamber, and many others, are the history of the manners of the age.'

"The novelty and excellence of Hogarth's performances soon tempted the needy artist and print-dealer to avail themselves of his designs, and rob him of the advantages which he was entitled to derive from them. This was particularly the case with 'The Midnight Conversation,' 'The Rake's' and 'Harlot's Progresses,' and others of his early works. To put a stop to depredations like these on the property of himself and others, and to secure the emoluments resulting from his own labours, as Mr. Walpole observes, he applied to the legislature, and obtained an act of parliament, 8 George II. chap. 38, to vest an exclusive right in designers and engravers, and to restrain the multiplying of copies of their works without the consent of the artist. This statute was drawn by his friend Mr. Huggins, who took for his model the eighth of Queen Anne, in favour of literary property; but it was not so accurately executed as entirely to remedy the evil; for, on a cause founded on it, which came before lord Hardwicke in Chancery, that excellent lawyer determined that no assignee, claiming under an assignment from the original inventor, could take any benefit by it.

Hogarth had projected a 'Happy Marriage,' by way of counterpart to his 'Marriage à la mode.' A design for the first of his intended six plates he had sketched out in colours; and the following is as accurate an account of it as could be furnished by a gentleman who, long ago, enjoyed only a few minutes sight of so imperfect a curiosity.

"The time supposed was immediately after the return of the parties from church. The scene lay in the hall of an antiquated country mansion. On one side, the married couple were represented sitting. Behind them was a group of their young friends of both sexes, in the act of breaking bride-cake over their heads. In front appeared the father of the young lady, grasping a bumper, and drinking, with a seeming roar of exultation, to the future happiness of her and her husband. By his side was a table covered with refreshments. Jollity rather than politeness was the designation of his character. Under the screen of the hall, several rustic musicians in grotesque attitudes, together with servants, tenants, &c. were arranged. Through the arch by which the room was entered, the eye was led along a passage into the kitchen, which afforded a glimpse of sacerdotal luxury. Before the dripping-pan stood a well-fed divine, in his gown and cassock, with his watch in his hand, giving directions to a cook, dressed all in white, who was employed in basting a haunch of venison.

"Among the faces of the principal figures, none but that of the young lady was completely finished. Hogarth had been often reproached for his inability to impart grace and dignity to his heroines. The bride

therefore meant to vindicate his pencil from so degrading an imputation. The effort, however, was unsuccessful. The girl was certainly pretty; but her features, if I may use the term, were uneducated. She might have attracted notice as a chambermaid, but would have failed to extort applause as a woman of fashion. The parson, and his culinary associate, were more laboured than any other parts of the picture. It is natural for us to dwell longest on that division of a subject, which is most congenial to our private feelings. The painter sat down with a resolution to delineate beauty improved by art; but seems, as usual, to have deviated into meanness; or could not help neglecting his original purpose, to luxuriate in such ideas as his situation in early life had fitted him to express. He found himself, in short, out of his element in the parlour, and therefore hastened, in quest of ease and amusement, to the kitchen fire. It must be allowed, that such a painter, however excellent in his walk, was better qualified to represent the vicious parent, than the royal preserver of a foundling.

"In 1753, he appeared to the world in the character of an author, and published a quarto volume, intitled, 'The Analysis of Beauty, written with a view of fixing the fluctuating ideas of Taste.' In this performance he shews, by a variety of examples, that a curve is the line of beauty, and that round swelling figures are most pleasing to the eye; and the truth of his opinion has been countenanced by subsequent writers on the subject.

"In this work, the leading idea of which was hieroglyphically thrown out in a frontispiece to his works in 1745, he acknowledges himself in-

debted to his friends for assistance, and particularly to one gentleman for his corrections and amendments of at least a third part of the wording. This friend, I am assured, was Dr. Benjamin Hoadley the physician, who carried on the work to about a third part, chap. ix. and then through indisposition declined the friendly office with regret. Mr. Hogarth applied to his neighbour, Mr. Ralph; but it was impossible for two such persons to agree; both alike vain and positive. He proceeded no farther than about a sheet, and they then parted friends, and seem to have continued such.

"The kind office of superintending the publication was taken up by Dr. Morell, who went through the remainder of the book. The preface was in like manner corrected by the Rev. Mr. Townley. The family of Hogarth rejoiced when the last sheet of the Analysis was printed off; as the frequent disputes he had with his coadjutors in the progress of the work did not much harmonize his disposition.

"A German translation of this work was printed at Berlin in 1754; and an Italian one at Leghorn in 1761, 8vo. dedicated 'All' illustrissime Signora Diana Molineux, Dama Inglese.'

"Hogarth had one failing in common with most people, who attain wealth and eminence without the aid of liberal education. He affected to despise every kind of knowledge which he did not possess. Having established his fame with little or no obligation to literature, he either conceived it to be needless, or decried it because it lay out of his reach. His sentiments, in short, resembled those of Jack Cade, who pronounced sentence on the clerk of

Chatham, because he could write and read. Till, in evil hour, this celebrated artist commenced an author, and was obliged to employ the friends already mentioned to correct his *Analysis of Beauty*, he did not seem to have discovered that even spelling was a necessary qualification; and yet he had ventured to ridicule the late Mr. Rich's deficiency as to this particular, in a note which lies before the *Rake*, whose play is refused while he remains in confinement for debt. Previous to the time of which we are now speaking, one of our artist's common topics of declamation, was the uselessness of books to a man of his profession. In Beer-street, among other volumes consigned by him to the pastry-cook, we find 'Turnbull on ancient Painting,' a treatise which Hogarth should have been able to understand, before he ventured to condemn. Garrick himself, however, was not more ductile to flattery. A word in favour of *Sigismunda* might have commanded a proof-print, or forced an original sketch out of our artist's hands. The furnisher of this remark owes one of his scarcest performances to the success of a compliment, which might have stuck even in Sir Godfrey Kneller's throat.

"With Dr. Hoadley, the late worthy Chancellor of Winchester, Mr. Hogarth was always on terms of the strictest friendship, and frequently visited him at Winchester, St. Cross, and Alresford. It is well known, that Dr. Hoadley's fondness for theatrical exhibitions was so great, that no visitors were ever long in his house before they were solicited to accept a part in some interlude or other. He himself, with Garrick and Hogarth, once per-

formed a laughable parody on the scene in *Julius Cæsar*, where the ghost appears to Brutus. Hogarth personated the spectre; but so unretentive was his memory, that, though his speech consisted only of two lines, he was unable to get them by heart. At last they hit on the following expedient in his favour. The verses he was to deliver were written in such large letters, on the outside of an illuminated paper lantern, that he could read them when he entered with it in his hand on the stage. Hogarth painted a scene on this occasion, representing a fustling-booth, with the Duke of Cumberland's head by way of sign. He also prepared the play-bill with characteristic ornaments. The original drawing is still preserved, and we could wish it were engraved, as the slightest sketch from the design of so grotesque a painter would be welcome to the collectors of his works.

"Hogarth was also the most absent of men. At table he would sometimes turn round his chair, as if he had finished eating, and as suddenly would return it, and fall to his meal again. I may add, that he once directed a letter to Dr. Hoadley, thus,—'To the Doctor at Chelsea.' This epistle, however, by good luck, did not miscarry, and was preserved by the late Chancellor of Winchester, as a pleasant memorial of his friend's extraordinary inattention.

"A specimen of Hogarth's propensity to merriment, on the most trivial occasions, is observable in one of his cards requesting the company of a friend to dine with him. Within a circle, to which a knife and fork are the supporters, the written part is contained. In the center of it is drawn a pye; and the invitation of our artist concludes with the follow-

following sport on three of the Greek letters to --- 'Eta Beta Pi.' The rest of the inscription is not very accurately spelt. A quibble by Hogarth is surely as respectable as a conundrum by Swift.

"In one of the very early exhibitions at Spring Gardens, a very pleasing small picture by Hogarth made its first appearance. It was painted for the Earl of Charlemont, in whose collection it remains. It was intitled, 'Picquet, or Virtue in Danger,' and shews us a young lady, who during a tête-à-tête, had just lost all her money to a handsome officer of her own age. He is represented in the act of returning her a handful of bank-bills, with the hope of exchanging them for a softer acquisition, and more delicate plunder. On the chimney-piece are a watch-case and a figure of Time over it, with this motto — NUNC. Hogarth has caught his heroine during this moment of hesitation, this struggle with herself, and has marked her feelings with uncommon success.

"In the 'Miser's Feast,' Mr. Hogarth thought proper to pillory Sir Isaac Shard, a gentleman proverbially avaricious. Hearing this, the son of Sir Isaac, the late Isaac Pacatus Shard, Esq. a young man of spirit, just returned from his travels, called at the painter's to see the picture, and among the rest, asking the Cicerone whether that odd figure was intended for any particular person, on his replying that it was thought to be very like one Sir Isaac Shard, he immediately drew his sword, and flashed the canvas. Hogarth appeared instantly in great wrath; to whom Mr. Shard calmly justified what he had done, saying 'that this was a very unwarrantable licence: that he was the injured

party's son, and that he was ready to defend any suit at law;' which, however, was never instituted.

"The last memorable event in our artist's life,' as Mr. Walpole observes, 'was his quarrel with Mr. Wilkes, in which, if Mr. Hogarth did not commence direct hostilities on the latter, he at least obliquely gave the first offence, by an attack on the friends and party of that gentleman. This conduct was the more surprizing, as he had all his life avoided dipping his pencil in political contests, and had early refused a very lucrative offer that was made to engage him in a set of prints against the head of a court-party. Without entering into the merits of the cause, I shall only state the fact. In September 1762, Mr. Hogarth published his print of 'The Times.' It was answered by Mr. Wilkes in a severe North Briton. On this the painter exhibited the caricatura of the writer. Mr. Churchill, the poet, then engaged in the war, and wrote his epistle to Hogarth, not the brightest of his works, and in which the severest strokes fell on a defect that the painter had neither caused nor could amend—his age; and which, however, was neither remarkable nor decrepid; much less had it impaired his talents, as appeared by his having composed but six months before one of his most capital works, the satire on the Methodists. In revenge for this epistle, Hogarth caricatured Churchill, under the form of a canonical bear, with a club and a pot of porter—*et vitula tu dignus & hic*—never did two angry men of their abilities throw mud with less dexterity.

"At the time these hostilities were carrying on in a manner so virulent and disgraceful to all the parties,

parties, Mr. Hogarth was visibly declining in his health. In 1762, he complained of an inward pain, which, continuing, brought on a general decay that proved incurable. On the 25th of October 1764, he was conveyed from Chiswick to Leicester-fields, in a very weak condition, yet remarkably chearful; and, receiving an agreeable letter from the American Dr. Franklin, drew up a rough draught of an answer to it; but going to bed, he was seized with

a vomiting, upon which he rung his bell with such violence that he broke it, and was found in such a condition that he expired in two hours afterwards.

“ His disorder was a dropsy in his breast (the same that killed Mr. Pope); and his corpse was interred at Chiswick, where an elegant mausoleum is erected to his memory, with the following inscription, written by his friend Mr. Garrick:

“ Here lieth the body  
Of WILLIAM HOGARTH, Esq.  
Who died October the 26th, 1764,  
Aged 67 years.

Farewell, great painter of mankind,  
Who reach'd the noblest point of art;  
Whose pictur'd morals charm the mind,  
And through the eye correct the heart.  
If genius fire thee, reader slay,  
If nature touch thee, drop a tear;  
If neither move thee, turn away,  
For Hogarth's honour'd dust lies here.”

On the other side are these inscriptions:

“ Here lieth the body  
Of Dame Judith Thornhill,  
Relict of Sir James Thornhill, knight,  
Of Thornhill in the county of Dorset.  
She died Nov. 12th, 1757,  
Aged 84 years.”

## ANECDOTE of Dr. FOTHERGILL.

[From Dr. HIRD's affectionate Tribute to the Memory of the late  
Dr. JOHN FOTHERGILL.]

“ THE humane reader will feel the finest springs of his affections moved, by the following anecdote given to me by a clergyman of high rank, who reveres the memory of Dr. Fothergill, and

places his obligations to him, in a very trying season, near to his heart.

“ A friend of his, a man of a worthy character, who has at this time an income of about one hundred

dred pounds a year, church preferment, was, in the earlier part of his life, seated in London upon a curacy of fifty pounds per annum, with a wife and a numerous family. An epidemical disease, which was at that time prevalent, seized upon his wife, and five of his children: in this scene of distress he looked up to the doctor for his assistance, but dared not apply to him, from a consciousness of his being unable to reward him for his attendance. A friend, who knew his situation, kindly offered to accompany him to the doctor's, and give him his fee; they took the advantage of his hour of audience, and after a de-

scription of the several cases, the fee was offered, and rejected; but a note was taken of his place of residence. The doctor called assiduously the next, and every succeeding day, till his attendance was no longer necessary. The curate, anxious to return some grateful mark of the sense he entertained of his services, strained every nerve to accomplish it; but his astonishment was not to be described, when, instead of receiving the money he offered, with apologies for his situation, the doctor put ten guineas into his hand, desiring him to apply to him without diffidence in future difficulties."

#### ACCOUNT of Dr. FOTHERGILL's Institution at ACKWORTH.

[From the same Work.]

"IT is now proper that I should speak of the institution which has lately been established at Ackworth, a small village in the county of York, in a fine healthy situation, a plentiful country, and surrounded by all the conveniencies and comforts of life. Of this institution Dr. Fothergill was the original projector; and although it is confined to the society of the people called Quakers, the great ends which it is intended to promote are worthy of the doctor, redound to the honour of humanity, and of that expanded philanthropy, which can stretch its prospects towards the substantial welfare, not only of the present, but of future generations. In the short description I shall attempt to give of the motives from which it originated, and its present state, I will endeavour to be as explicit as possible.

"As the character of the future man is marked essentially by the impressions he receives during his state of childhood, when the mind is of a more plastic and yielding texture, and takes its modes of thinking and acting from those precepts and examples which are presented most strikingly before the eye; and farther, as the whole treasure of our future happiness most materially depends upon an early subjection of our wills to habits of a virtuous self-denial, humanity most certainly becomes seriously interested in promoting with ardour every rational means by which the mind may be formed for the general good, rather than for the bane and mischief of society.

"It is this species of an attentive and guarded education, which, I have authority to say, was an object,

ject, wherein the doctor was deeply interested for many years. He saw, with concern, those depredations which vice and folly were daily making in society, and was painfully anxious to prevent them as much as possible, by striking at the very root of the evil. The humanity of his mind would have spread its influences over the community at large: but, conscious that the attempt would be fruitless, he confined his hopes within the bounds of his own persuasion, where his influences were powerful, and where the wisest and best of his members, nay, I may say, the general bulk of them, were very ready to unite in his views.

“There are many little establishments amongst that society, in various parts of the kingdom, for the education of youth, and the direction of their minds in the best things; but on investigating the design and extent of each, he found none fully competent to his intentions. It was to the children of the poor, and of those in that state of mediocrity, which either renders them inattentive to the education of their offspring, or disqualifies them for affording them such an one as they wish, that Dr. Fothergill principally directed his views; as these form the great bulk of the community, and consequently must spread the good or evil of their examples farthest. Yet, notwithstanding this great idea had long prevailed in the Doctor’s mind, nothing was effectually done, until, by one of those fortunate, or rather providential events, on which hangs the fate of many great undertakings, the whole of his design became easy and practicable. On his return from Cheshire, through Yorkshire, in the year 1778, he did me the favour of

being my guest a few days, during which time he was visited by many of his friends in those parts. In one of these interviews the conversation turned on an institution at Gildersome, a small establishment for the education of poor children amongst the society; the Doctor was inquiring into its state and management, and how far it might serve as a model for a larger undertaking: a just description being given of it, with the following remark, that not only this, but all others, however laudable the motives from which they took their rise, must fail of success, without a constant superintending care and unremitting attention to the first great object of the institution. This idea was exemplified by the then present state of the Foundling Hospital at Ackworth, which, although originating from the most humane principle, and erected at a vast expence, was, from repeated inattentions to the first design, in danger of dilapidation, and ready for public sale. This relation struck the Doctor forcibly; ‘Why may not this,’ said he, ‘serve the very purpose I am in pursuit of?’ To be short, the building, and an estate of 80 acres of land, were purchased, improved, and furnished by subscription. The Doctor set a generous example by his own contribution, and an endowment by his will in perpetuity.

“There are now above three hundred children of both sexes under the roof, furnished with all the necessary conveniences and comforts of life, properly clothed, and educated in every branch of knowledge suitable for the station in which it is presumed they may be placed. And to the satisfaction of every benevolent heart, it may be truly said, that the institution is at present in a most flourishing

flourishing state, fully answering the designs of its founders; being conducted under the care of a number of chosen guardians of ability, and of an exemplary conduct, with an exactness of order, decency, and propriety, extremely striking, and perfectly pleasing to all who have visited it, though not of the same society.—The children are taught habits of regularity, of decency, of respectful subordination to their superiors; of forbearance, affection, and kindness towards each other; and of religious reverence towards their Maker; and, I may further

add, those habits of silence and recollection, taught and practised in the ancient schools of philosophy, inculcated in the scriptures, and most emphatically called ‘the true door of entrance into the school of wisdom.’”

A life of Dr. Fothergill hath been prefixed, by Dr. Elliot, to his collection of the Doctor’s medical and philosophical works; but as a more full account of him is expected from Dr. Letsome, we shall wait for the appearance of the last gentleman’s publication.

The completion of Dr. JOHNSON’s incomparable Lives of the English Poets, hath eminently added to the biographical materials of the present year. But as this work must already have been seen by, perhaps, the greater number of our readers, we shall not be so large in our extracts from it, as we should otherwise have wished. Were we, however, not to give some specimens of so valuable and interesting a performance, we should not do justice either to the NEW ANNUAL REGISTER, or to the PUBLIC.

## CHARACTER OF MR. ADDISON.

[From Dr. JOHNSON’s Lives of the English Poets.]

“OF his virtue it is a sufficient testimony, that the resentment of party has transmitted no charge of any crime. He was not one of those who are praised only after death: for his merit was so generally acknowledged, that Swift, having observed that his election passed without a contest, adds, that if he had proposed himself for king, he would hardly have been refused.

“His zeal for his party did not extinguish his kindness for the merit of his opponents: when he was secretary in Ireland, he refused to intermit his acquaintance with Swift.

“Of his habits, or external manners, nothing is so often mentioned as that timorous or sullen taciturnity, which his friends called modesty by too mild a name. Steele mentions with great tenderness, ‘that remarkable bashfulness which is a cloak that hides and muffles merit;’ and tells us, that ‘his abilities were covered only by modesty, which doubles the beauties which are seen, and gives credit and esteem to all that are concealed.’ Chesterfield affirms, that ‘Addison was the most timorous and awkward man that he ever saw.’ And Addison, speaking of his own deficiency in conversation, used

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to say of himself, that with respect to intellectual wealth, 'he could draw bills for a thousand pounds, though he had not a guinea in his pocket.'

"That he wanted current coin for ready payment, and by that want was often obstructed and distressed; that he was impressed by an improper and ungraceful timidity, every testimony concurs to prove; but Chesterfield's representation is doubtless hyperbolical. That man cannot be supposed very unexpert in the arts of conversation and practice of life, who, without fortune or alliance, by his usefulness and dexterity, became secretary of state; and who died at forty-seven, after having not only stood long in the highest rank of wit and literature, but filled one of the most important offices of state.

"The time in which he lived had reason to lament his obstinacy of silence; 'for he was,' says Steele, 'above all men in that talent called humour, and enjoyed it in such perfection, that I have often reflected, after a night spent with him apart from all the world, that I had had the pleasure of conversing with an intimate acquaintance of Terence and Catullus, who had all their wit and nature, heightened with humour more exquisite and delightful than any other man ever possessed.' This is the fondness of a friend; let us hear what is told us by a rival. 'Addison's conversation,' says Pope, 'had something in it more charming than I have found in any other man. But this was only when familiar: before strangers, or perhaps a single stranger, he preserved his dignity by a stiff silence.'

"This modesty was by no means inconsistent with a very high opinion of his own merit. He demanded to be the first name in modern

wit; and, with Steele to echo him, used to depreciate Dryden, whom Pope and Congreve defended against them. There is no reason to doubt that he suffered too much pain from the prevalence of Pope's poetical reputation; nor is it without strong reason suspected that by some disingenuous acts he endeavoured to obstruct it: Pope was not the only man whom he insiduously injured, though the only man of whom he could be afraid.

"His own powers were such as might have satisfied him with conscious excellence. Of very extensive learning he has indeed given no proofs. He seems to have had small acquaintance with the sciences, and to have read little except Latin and French; but of the Latin poets his Dialogues on Medals shew that he had pursued their works with great diligence and skill. The abundance of his own mind left him little need of adventitious sentiments; his wit always could suggest what the occasion demanded. He had read with critical eyes the important volume of human life, and knew the heart of man from the depths of stratagem to the surface of affectation.

"What he knew he could easily communicate. 'This,' says Steele, 'was particular in this writer, that, when he had taken his resolution, or made his plan for what he designed to write, he would walk about a room, and dictate it into language with as much freedom and ease as any one could write it down, and attend to the coherence and grammar of what he dictated.'

"Pope, who can be less suspected of favouring his memory, declares that he wrote very fluently, but was slow and scrupulous in correcting; that many of his Spectators were written very fast, and sent immediately to the press; and that it seemed

to be for his advantage not to have time for much revival.

"He would alter" says Pope, "any thing to please his friends, before publication; but would not retouch his pieces afterwards: and I believe not one word in Cato, to which I made an objection, was suffered to stand."

"The last line of Cato is Pope's, having been originally written,

"And, Oh! 'twas this that ended Cato's life.

Pope might have made more objections to the six concluding lines. In the first couplet the words 'from hence' are improper; and the second line is taken from Dryden's Virgil. Of the next couplet, the first verse being included in the second is therefore useless; and in the third discord is made to produce strife.

"Of the course of Addison's familiar day, before his marriage, Pope has given a detail. He had in the house with him Budgell, and perhaps Philips. His chief companions were Steele, Budgell, Philips, Carey, Davenant, and colonel Brett. With one or other of these he always breakfasted. He studied all morning; then dined at a tavern, and went afterwards to Button's.

"Button had been a servant in the countess of Warwick's family, who, under the patronage of Addison, kept a coffee-house on the south-side of Ruffel-street, about two doors from Covent-garden. Here it was that the wits of that time used to assemble. It is said, that when Addison had suffered any vexation from the countess, he withdrew the company from Button's house.

"From the coffee-house he went again to a tavern, where he often sat late, and drank too much wine. In the bottle, discontent seeks for comfort, cowardice for courage, and

bashfulness for confidence. It is not unlikely that Addison was first seduced to excess by the manumission which he obtained from the servile timidity of his sober hours. He that feels oppression from the presence of those to whom he knows himself superior, will desire to set loose his powers of conversation; and who, that ever asked succour from Bacchus, was able to preserve himself from being enslaved by his auxiliary?

"Among those friends it was that Addison displayed the elegance of his colloquial accomplishments, which may easily be supposed such as Pope represents them. The remark of Mandeville, who, when he had passed an evening in his company, declared that he was a parson in a tye wig, can detract little from his character; he was always reserved to strangers, and was not incited to uncommon freedom by a character like that of Mandeville.

"From any minute knowledge of his familiar manners, the intervention of sixty years has now debarred us. Steele once promised Congreve and the public a complete description of his character; but the promises of authors are like the vows of lovers. Steele thought no more on his design, or thought on it with anxiety that at last disgusted him, and left his friend in the hands of Tickell.

"His works will supply some information. It appears from his various pictures of the world, that, with all his bashfulness, he had conversed with many distinct classes of men, had surveyed their ways with very diligent observation, and marked with great acuteness the effects of different modes of life. He was a man in whose presence nothing reprehensible was out of danger; quick

quick in discerning whatever was wrong or ridiculous, and not unwilling to expose it. 'There are,' says Steele, 'in his writings many oblique strokes upon some of the wittiest men of the age.' His delight was more to excite merriment than detestation, and he detects follies rather than crimes.

"If any judgment be made, from his books, of his moral character, nothing will be found but purity and excellence. Knowledge of mankind indeed, less extensive than that of Addison, will shew that to write and to live are very different. Many who praise virtue do no more than praise it. Yet it is reasonable to believe that Addison's professions and practice were at no great variance, since, amidst that storm of faction in which most of his life was passed, though his station made him conspicuous, and his activity made him formidable, the character given him by his friends was never contradicted by his enemies: of those with whom interest or opinion united him, he had not only the esteem but

the kindness; and of others, whom the violence of opposition drove against him, though he might lose the love, he retained the reverence.

"It is justly observed by Tickell, that he employed wit on the side of virtue and religion. He not only made the proper use of wit himself, but taught it to others; and from his time it has been generally subservient to the cause of reason and of truth. He has dissipated the prejudice that had long connected gaiety with vice, and easiness of manners with laxity of principles. He has restored virtue to its dignity, and taught innocence not to be ashamed. This is an elevation of literary character, *above all Greek, above all Roman fame*. No greater felicity can genius attain than that of having purified intellectual pleasure, separated mirth from indecency, and wit from licentiousness; of having taught a succession of writers to bring elegance and gaiety to the aid of goodness; and, if I may use expressions yet more awful, of having *turned many to righteousness*."

## L I F E O F T I C K E L L.

[From the same Work.]

"**T**HOMAS TICKELL, the son of the reverend Richard Tickell, was born in 1686, at Bridekirk, in Cumberland; and in April, 1701, became a member of Queen's College, in Oxford; in 1708 he was made Master of Arts; and two years afterwards was chosen Fellow; for which, as he did not comply with the statutes by taking orders, he obtained a dispensation from the crown. He held his fel-

lowship till 1726, and then vacated it, by marrying, in that year, at Dublin.

"Tickell was not one of those scholars who wear away their lives in closets; he entered early into the world, and was long busy in public affairs; in which he was initiated under the patronage of Addison, whose notice he is said to have gained by his verses in praise of Rosamond.

“ To those verses it would not have been just to deny regard ; for they contain some of the most elegant encomiastic strains ; and, among the innumerable poems of the same kind, it will be hard to find one with which they need to fear a comparison. It may deserve observation, that when Pope wrote long afterwards in praise of Addison, he has copied, at least has resembled, Tickell.

“ Let joy salute fair Rosamonda's shade,  
And wreaths of myrtle crown the lovely maid.  
While now perhaps with Dido's ghost she roves,  
And hears and tells the story of their loves,  
Alike they mourn, alike they bless their fate,  
Since love, which made them wretched, made them great ;  
Nor longer that relentless doom bemoan,  
Which gain'd a Virgil and an Addison.

TICKELL.

“ Then future ages with delight shall see  
How Plato's, Bacon's, Newton's looks agree ;  
Or in fair series laurel'd bards be shown,  
A Virgil there, and here an Addison.

POPE.

“ He produced another piece of the same kind at the appearance of Cato, with equal skill, but not equal happiness.

When the ministers of queen Anne were negotiating with France, Tickell published ‘ The Prospect of Peace,’ a poem, of which the tendency was to reclaim the nation from the pride of conquest to the pleasures of tranquillity. How far Tickell, whom Swift afterwards mentioned as Whiggissimus, had then connected himself with any party, I know not : this poem certainly did not flatter the practices, or promote the opinions, of the men by whom he was afterwards befriended.

“ Mr. Addison, however he hated the men then in power, suffered his friendship to prevail over his public spirit, and gave in the Spectator such praises of Tickell's poem, that when, after having long wished to peruse it, I laid hold on it at last, I thought it unequal to the honours which it had received, and found it a piece to be approved rather than admired. But the hope excited by a work of genius, being general and indefinite, is rarely gratified. It was read at that time with so much favour, that six editions were sold.

“ At the arrival of king George, he sung ‘ The Royal Progress,’ which being inserted in the Spectator is well known, and of which it is just to say that it is neither high nor low.

“ The poetical incident of most importance in Tickell's life, was his publication of the first book of the Iliad, as translated by himself, in apparent opposition to Pope's Homer, of which the first part made its entrance into the world at the same time.

“ Addison declared that the rival versions were both good ; but that Tickell's was the best that ever was made, and with Addison the wits, his adherents and followers, were certain to concur. Pope does not appear to have been much dismayed ; ‘ for,’ says he, ‘ I have the the town, that is, the mob, on my side.’ But he remarks, that ‘ it is common for the smaller party to make up in diligence what they want in numbers ; he appeals to the people as his proper judges ; and if they are not inclined to condemn him, he is in little care about the high flyers at Button's.’

“ Pope did not long think Addison an impartial judge ; for he considered him as the writer of Tickell's version. The reasons for his

his suspicion I will literally transcribe from Mr. Spence's Collection.

"There had been a coldness between Mr. Addison and me for some time : and we had not been in company together, for a good while, any where but at Button's coffee-house, where I used to see him almost every day. On his meeting me there, one day in particular, he took me aside, and said he should be glad to dine with me, at such a tavern, if I staid till those people were gone (Budgell and Philips). We went accordingly ; and after dinner Mr. Addison said, ' That he had wanted for some time to talk with me ; that his friend Tickell had formerly, whilst at Oxford, translated the first book of the Iliad ; that he designed to print it, and had desired him to look it over ; that he must therefore beg that I would not desire him to look over my first book, because, if he did, it would have the air of double-dealing.' I assured him that I did not at all take it ill of Mr. Tickell that he was going to publish his translation ; that he certainly had as much right to translate any author as myself ; and that publishing both was entering on a fair stage. I then added, that I would not desire him to look over my first book of the Iliad, because he had looked over Mr. Tickell's ; but could wish to have the benefit of his observations on my second, which I had then finished, and which Mr. Tickell had not touched upon. Accordingly I sent him the second book the next morning ; and Mr. Addison a few days after returned it, with very high commendations. Soon after it was generally known that Mr. Tickell was publishing the first book of the Iliad, I met Dr. Young in the street ; and, upon our falling into that sub-

ject, the doctor expressed a great deal of surprize at Tickell's having had such a translation so long by him. He said, that it was inconceivable to him, and that there must be some mistake in the matter ; that each used to communicate to the other whatever verses they wrote, even to the least things ; that Tickell could not have been busied in so long a work there, without his knowing something of the matter ; and that he had never heard a single word of it till on this occasion. This surprize of Dr. Young, together with what Steele has said against Tickell in relation to this affair, make it highly probable that there was some underhand dealing in that business ; and indeed Tickell himself, who is a very fair worthy man, has since in a manner, as good as owned it to me. Mr. Pope.—[When it was introduced into a conversation between Mr. Tickell and Mr. Pope by a third person, Tickell did not deny it ; which, considering his honour and zeal for his departed friend, was the same as owning it.]

"Upon these suspicions, with which Dr. Warburton hints that other circumstances concurred, Pope always in his *Art of Sinking* quotes this book as the work of Addison.

"To compare the two translations would be tedious ; the palm is now given universally to Pope ; but I think the first lines of Tickell's were rather to be preferred, and Pope seems to have borrowed something from them in the correction of his own.

"When the Hanover succession was disputed, Tickell gave what assistance his pen would supply. His 'Letter to Avignon' stands high among party-poems ; it expresses contempt without coarseness, and superiority without intolerance.

It had the success which it deserved, being five times printed.

“He was now intimately united to Mr. Addison, who, when he went into Ireland as secretary to the lord Sunderland, took him thither, and employed him in public business; and when (1717) afterwards he rose to be secretary of state, made him under-secretary. Their friendship seems to have continued without abatement; for when Addison died, he left him the charge of publishing his works, with a solemn recommendation to the patronage of Craggs.

“To these works he prefixed an elegy on the author, which could owe none of its beauties to the assistance which might be suspected to have strengthened or embellished his earlier compositions; but neither he nor Addison ever produced nobler lines than are contained in the third and fourth paragraphs, nor is a more sublime or more elegant funeral poem to be found in the

whole compass of English literature.

“He was afterwards (about 1725) made secretary to the Lords Justices of Ireland, a place of great honour; in which he continued till 1740, when he died on the 23d of April at Bath.

“Of the poems yet unmentioned the longest is *Kensington Gardens*, of which the versification is smooth and elegant, but the fiction unskillfully compounded of Grecian Deities and Gothic Fairies. Neither species of those exploded beings could have done much, and when they are brought together, they only make each other contemptible. To Tickell, however, cannot be refused a high place among the minor poets; nor should it be forgotten that he was one of the contributors to the *Spectator*. With respect to his personal character, he is said to have been a man of gay conversation, at least a temperate lover of wine and company, and in his domestic relations without censure.

### Some Particulars concerning Mr. POPE's Domestic Habits and Character.

[From the same Work.]

THE person of Pope is well known not to have been formed by the nicest model. He has, in his account of the Little Club, compared himself to a spider, and is described as protuberant behind and before. He is said to have been beautiful in his infancy; but he was of a constitution originally feeble and weak; and as bodies of a tender frame are easily distorted, his deformity was probably in part the effect of his application. His stature was so low, that, to bring him to a level

with common tables, it was necessary to raise his seat. But his face was not displeasing, and his eyes were animated and vivid.

“By natural deformity, or accidental distortion, his vital functions were so much disordered, that his life was a long disease. His most frequent assailant was the headache, which he used to relieve by inhaling the steam of coffee, which he very frequently required.

“Most of what can be told concerning his petty peculiarities was com-

municated by a female domestick of the Earl of Oxford, who knew him perhaps after the middle of life. He was then so weak as to stand in perpetual need of female attendance; extremely sensible of cold, so that he wore a kind of fur doublet, under a shirt of very coarse warm linen with fine sleeves. When he rose, he was invested in boddice made of stiff canvass, being scarcely able to hold himself erect till they were laced, and he then put on a flannel waistcoat. One side was contracted. His legs were so slender, that he enlarged their bulk with three pair of stockings, which were drawn on and off by the maid; for he was not able to dress or undress himself, and neither went to bed nor rose without help. His weakness made it very difficult for him to be clean.

“His hair had fallen almost all away; and he used to dine sometimes with Lord Oxford, privately, in a velvet cap. His dress of ceremony was black, with a tye-wig, and a little sword.

“The indulgence and accommodation which his sickness required, had taught him all the unpleasing and unsocial qualities of a valetudinary man. He expected that every thing should give way to his ease or humour; as a child, whose parents will not hear her cry, has unresisting dominion in the nursery.

*C'est quel l'enfant toujours est homme.*

*C'est quel l'homme est toujours enfant.*

When he wanted to sleep, he nodded in company, and once slumbered at his own table, while the Prince of Wales was talking of poetry.

“The reputation which his friendship gave, procured him many invitations; but he was a very troublesome inmate. He brought no servant, and had so many wants, that a numerous attendance was scarcely

able to supply them. Wherever he was, he left no room for another, because he exacted the attention and employed the activity of the whole family. His errands were so frequent and frivolous, that the footmen in time avoided and neglected him; and the Earl of Oxford discharged some of the servants for their resolute refusal of his messages. The maids, when they had neglected their business, alledged that they had been employed by Mr. Pope. One of his constant demands was of coffee in the night, and to the woman that waited on him in his chamber he was very burthenfome; but he was careful to recompense her want of sleep; and Lord Oxford's servant declared, that in a house where her business was to answer his call, she would not ask for wages.

“He had another fault, easily incident to those who, suffering much pain, think themselves entitled to whatever pleasures they can snatch. He was too indulgent to his appetite; he loved meat highly seasoned and of strong taste; and, at the intervals of the table, amused himself with biscuits and dry conserves. If he sat down to a variety of dishes, he would oppress his stomach with repletion, and though he seemed angry when a dram was offered him, did not forbear to drink it. His friends, who knew the avenues to his heart, pampered him with presents of luxury, which he did not suffer to stand neglected. The death of great men is not always proportioned to the lustre of their lives. Hannibal, says Juvenal, did not perish by a javelin nor a sword; the slaughters of Cannæ were revenged by a ring. The death of Pope was imputed by some of his friends to a silver faucepan, in which it was his delight to heat potted lampreys.

“That

“ That he loved too well to eat, is certain ; but that his sensuality shortened his life will not be hastily concluded, when it is remembered that a conformation so irregular lasted six and fifty years, notwithstanding such pertinacious diligence of study and meditation.

“ In all his intercourse with mankind, he had great delight in artifice, and endeavoured to attain all his purposes by indirect and unsuspected methods. He hardly drank tea without a stratagem. If, at the house of his friends, he wanted any accommodation, he was not willing to ask for it in plain terms, but would mention it remotely, as something convenient ; though, when it was procured, he soon made it appear for whose sake it had been recommended. Thus he teized Lord Orrery till he obtained a screen. He practised his arts on such small occasions, that Lady Bolingbroke used to say, in a French phrase, that he plaid the politician about cabbages and turnips. His unjustifiable impression of the Patriot King, as it can be imputed to no particular motive, must have proceeded from his general habit of secrecy and cunning : he caught an opportunity of a fly trick, and pleased himself with the thought of outwitting Bolingbroke,

“ In familiar or convivial conversation, it does not appear that he excelled. He may be said to have resembled Dryden, as being not one that was distinguished by vivacity in company. It is remarkable, that, so near his time, so much should be known of what he has written, and so little of what he has said : traditional memory retains no fallies of raillery, nor sentences of observation ; nothing either pointed or solid, either wise or merry. One apophthegm only stands upon record.

When an objection raised against his inscription for Shakspeare was defended by the authority of Patrick, he replied—*horresco referens*—that he would allow the publisher of a Dictionary to know the meaning of a single word, but not of two words put together.

“ He was fretful, and easily displeased, and allowed himself to be capriciously resentful. He would sometimes leave Lord Oxford silently, no one could tell why, and was to be courted back by more letters and messages than the footmen were willing to carry. The table was indeed infested by Lady Mary Wortley, who was the friend of Lady Oxford, and who, knowing his peevishness, could by no intreaties be restrained from contradicting him, till their disputes were sharpened to such asperity, that one or the other quitted the house.

“ He sometimes condescended to be jocular with servants or inferiors ; but by no merriment, either of others or his own, was he ever seen excited to laughter.

“ Of his domestic character, frugality was a part eminently remarkable. Having determined not to be dependent, he determined not to be in want, and therefore wisely and magnanimously rejected all temptations to expence unsuitable to his fortune. This general care must be universally approved ; but it sometimes appeared in petty artifices of parsimony, such as the practice of writing his compositions on the back of letters, as may be seen in the remaining copy of the Iliad, by which perhaps in five years five shillings were saved ; or in a niggardly reception of his friends, and scantiness of entertainment, as, when he had two guests in his house, he would set at supper a single pint upon the table ;

and having himself taken two small glasses would retire, and say, gentlemen, I leave you to your wine. Yet he tells his friends, that he has a heart for all, a house for all, and, whatever they may think, a fortune for all.

“ He sometimes, however, made a splendid dinner, and is said to have wanted no part of the skill or elegance which such performances require. That this magnificence should be often displayed, that obstinate prudence with which he conducted his affairs would not permit; for his revenue, certain and casual, amounted only to about eight hundred pounds a year, of which however he declares himself able to assign one hundred to charity.

“ Of this fortune, which, as it arose from public approbation, was very honourably obtained, his imagination seems to have been too full: it would be hard to find a man, so well entitled to notice by his wit, that ever delighted so much in talking of his money. In his letters, and in his poems, his garden and his grotto, his quincunx and his vines, or some hints of his opulence, are always to be found. The great topic of his ridicule is poverty; the crimes with which he reproaches his antagonists are their debts, their habitation in the Mint, and their want of a dinner. He seems to be of an opinion not very uncommon in the world, that to want money is to want every thing.


“ Next to the pleasure of con-

templating his possessions, seems to be that of enumerating the men of high rank with whom he was acquainted, and whose notice he loudly proclaims not to have been obtained by any practices of meanness or fervility; a boast which was never denied to be true, and to which very few poets have ever aspired. Pope never set his genius to sale; he never flattered those whom he did not love, or praised those whom he did not esteem. Savage however remarked, that he began a little to relax his dignity when he wrote a distich for his highness's dog.

“ His admiration of the great seems to have increased in the advance of life. He passed over peers and statesmen to inscribe his *Iliad* to Congreve, with a magnanimity of which the praise had been complete, had his friend's virtue been equal to his wit. Why he was chosen for so great an honour, it is not now possible to know; there is no trace in literary history of any particular intimacy between them; nor does the name of Congreve appear in the letters. To his latter works, however, he took care to annex names dignified with titles, but was not very happy in his choice; for, except lord Bathurst, none of his noble friends were such as that a good man would wish to have his intimacy with them known to posterity: he can derive little honour from the notice of Cobham, Burlington, or Bolingbroke.”

## INTELLECTUAL CHARACTER of Mr. POPE.

[From the same Work.]

“  His intellectual character, the constituent and fundamental principle was good sense, a prompt and intuitive perception of consonance and propriety. He saw immediately, of his own conception,

tions, what was to be chosen, and what to be rejected; and, in the works of others, what was to be shunned, and what was to be copied.

“ But good sense alone is a sedate and quiescent quality, which manages its possessions well, but does not increase them; it collects few materials for its own operations, and preserves safety, but never gains supremacy. Pope had likewise genius; a mind active, ambitious, and adventurous, always investigating, always aspiring; in its widest searches still longing to go forward, in its highest flights still wishing to be higher; always imagining something greater than it knows, always endeavouring more than it can do.

“ To assist these powers, he is said to have had great strength and exactness of memory. That which he had heard or read was not easily lost; and he had before him not only what his own meditation suggested, but what he had found in other writers that might be accommodated to his present purpose.

“ These benefits of nature he improved by incessant and unwearied diligence; he had recourse to every source of intelligence, and lost no opportunity of information; he consulted the living as well as the dead; he read his compositions to his friends, and was never content with mediocrity when excellence could be attained. He considered poetry as the business of his life, and however he might seem to lament his occupation, he followed it with constancy; to make verses was his first labour, and to mend them was his last.

“ From his attention to poetry he was never diverted. If conversation offered any thing that could

be improved, he committed it to paper; if a thought, or perhaps an expression more happy than was common rose to his mind, he was careful to write it; an independent dillich was preserved for an opportunity of insertion, and some little fragments have been found containing lines, or parts of lines, to be wrought upon at some other time.

“ He was one of those few whose labour is their pleasure: he was never elevated to negligence, nor wearied to impatience: he never paused a fault unamended by indifference, nor quitted it by despair. He laboured his works first to gain reputation, and afterwards to keep it.

“ Of composition there are different methods. Some employ at once memory and invention, and, with little intermediate use of the pen, form and polish large masses by continued meditation, and write their productions only when, in their own opinion, they have completed them. It is related of Virgil, that his custom was to pour out a great number of verses in the morning, and pass the day in retrenching exuberances and correcting inaccuracies. The method of Pope, as may be collected from his translation, was to write his first thoughts in his first words, and gradually to amplify, decorate, rectify, and refine them.

“ With such faculties, and such dispositions, he excelled every other writer in poetical prudence; he wrote in such a manner as might expose him to few hazards. He used almost always the same fabric of verse; and, indeed, by those few essays which he made of any other, he did not enlarge his reputation. Of this uniformity the certain consequence was readiness and dexterity.

ity. By perpetual practice, language had in his mind a systematic arrangement: having always the same use for words, he had words so selected and combined as to be ready at his call. This increase of facility he confessed himself to have perceived in the progress of his translation.

“ But what was yet of more importance, his effusions were always voluntary, and his subjects chosen by himself. His independence secured him from drudging at a task, and labouring upon a barren topic: he never exchanged praise for money, nor opened a shop of condolence or congratulation. His poems, therefore, were scarcely ever temporary. He suffered coronations and royal marriages to pass without a song, and derived no opportunities from recent events, or popularity from the accidental disposition of his readers. He was never reduced to the necessity of soliciting the sun to shine upon a birth-day, of calling the Graces and Virtues to a wedding, or of saying what multitudes have said before him. When he could produce nothing new, he was at liberty to be silent.

“ His publications were for the same reason never hasty. He is said to have sent nothing to the press till it had lain two years under his inspection: it is at least certain that he ventured nothing without nice examination. He suffered the tumult of imagination to subside, and the novelties of invention to grow familiar. He knew that the mind is always enamoured of its own productions, and did not trust his first fondness. He consulted his friends, and listened with great willingness to criticism; and, what was of more importance, he consulted himself,

and let nothing pass against his own judgment.

“ He professed to have learned his poetry from Dryden, whom, whenever an opportunity was presented, he praised through his whole life with unvaried liberality; and perhaps his character may receive some illustration, if he be compared with his master.

“ Integrity of understanding and nicety of discernment were not allotted in a less proportion to Dryden than to Pope. The rectitude of Dryden's mind was sufficiently shewn by the dismissal of his poetical prejudices, and the rejection of unnatural thoughts and rugged numbers. But Dryden never desired to apply all the judgment that he had. He wrote, and professed to write, merely for the people; and when he pleased others, he contented himself. He spent no time in struggles to rouse latent powers; he never attempted to make that better which was already good, nor often to mend what he must have known to be faulty. He wrote, as he tells us, with very little consideration: when occasion or necessity called upon him, he poured out what the present moment happened to supply, and, when once it had passed the press, ejected it from his mind; for when he had no pecuniary interest, he had no farther solicitude.

“ Pope was not content to satisfy; he desired to excel, and therefore always endeavoured to do his best: he did not court the candour, but dared the judgment of his reader, and expecting no indulgence from others, he shewed none to himself. He examined lines and words with minute and punctilious observation, and retouched every part with indefatigable diligence,  
till

till he had left nothing to be forgiven.

"For this reason he kept his pieces very long in his hands, while he considered and reconsidered them. The only poems which can be supposed to have been written with such regard to the times as might hasten their publication, were the two satires of *Thirty-eight*; of which *Dodsley* told me, that they were brought to him by the author, that they might be fairly copied. "Every line," said he, "was then written twice over; I gave him a clean transcript, which he sent some time afterwards to me for the press, with every line written twice over a second time."

"His declaration, that his care for his works ceased at their publication, was not strictly true. His parental attention never abandoned them; what he found amiss in the first edition, he silently corrected in those that followed. He appears to have revised the *Essay*, and freed it from some of its imperfections; and the *Essay on Criticism* received many improvements after its first appearance. It will seldom be found that he altered without adding clearness, elegance, or vigour. Pope had perhaps the judgment of Dryden; but Dryden certainly wanted the diligence of Pope.

"In acquired knowledge, the superiority must be allowed to Dryden, whose education was more scholastic, and who, before he became an author, had been allowed more time for study, with better means of information. His mind has a larger range, and he collects his images and illustrations from a more extensive circumference of science. Dryden knew more of man in his general nature, and Pope in his local manners. The notions of

Dryden were formed by comprehensive speculation, and those of Pope by minute attention. There is more dignity in the knowledge of Dryden, and more certainty in that of Pope.

"Poetry was not the sole praise of either; for both excelled likewise in prose; but Pope did not borrow his prose from his predecessor. The style of Dryden is capricious and varied, that of Pope is cautious and uniform; Dryden obeys the motions of his own mind; Pope constrains his mind to his own rules of composition. Dryden is sometimes vehement and rapid; Pope is always smooth, uniform, and gentle. Dryden's page is a natural field, rising into inequalities, and diversified by the varied exuberance of abundant vegetation; Pope's is a velvet lawn, shaven by the scythe, and levelled by the roller.

"Of genius, that power which constitutes a poet; that quality without which judgment is cold, and knowledge is inert; that energy which collects, combines, amplifies, and animates; the superiority must, with some hesitation, be allowed to Dryden. It is not to be inferred that of this poetical vigour Pope had only a little, because Dryden had more; for every other writer since Milton must give place to Pope; and even of Dryden it must be said, that if he has brighter paragraphs, he has not better poems. Dryden's performances were always hasty, either excited by some external occasion, or extorted by domestic necessity; he composed without consideration, and published without correction. What his mind could supply at call, or gather in one excursion, was all that he sought, and all that he gave. The dilatory caution of Pope enabled

him to condense his sentiments, to multiply his images, and to accumulate all that study might produce, or chance might supply. If the flights of Dryden therefore are higher, Pope continues longer on the wing. If of Dryden's fire the blaze is brighter, of Pope's the heat is more regular and constant. Dryden often surpasses expectation, and Pope never falls below it. Dryden

is read with frequent astonishment, and Pope with perpetual delight.

"This parallel will, I hope, when it is well considered, be found just, and if the reader should suspect me, as I suspect myself, of some partial fondness for the memory of Dryden, let him not too hastily condemn me; for meditation and enquiry may, perhaps, shew him the reasonableness of my determination."

## LIFE of Mr. GILBERT WEST.

[From the same Work.]

"GILBERT WEST is one of the writers of whom I regret my inability to give a sufficient account; the intelligence which my enquiries have obtained is general and scanty.

"He was the son of the reverend Dr. West; perhaps him who published *Pindar* at Oxford, about the beginning of this century. His mother was sister to Sir Richard Temple, afterwards Lord Cobham. His father, purposing to educate him for the church, sent him first to Eaton, and afterwards to Oxford; but he was seduced to a more airy mode of life, by a commission in a troop of horse procured him by his uncle.

"He continued some time in the army; though it is reasonable to suppose that he never sunk into a mere soldier, nor ever lost the love or much neglected the pursuit of learning; and afterwards, finding himself more inclined to civil employment, he laid down his commission, and engaged in business under the lord Townshend, then secretary of state, with whom he attended the king to Hanover.

"His adherence to lord Townshend ended in nothing but a nomination (May 1729) to be clerk-extraordinary of the privy-council, which produced no immediate profit; for it only placed him in a state of expectation and right of succession, and it was very long before a vacancy admitted him to profit.

"Soon afterwards he married, and settled himself in a very pleasant house at Wickham, in Kent, where he devoted himself to learning, and to piety. Of his learning this collection exhibits evidence, which would have been yet fuller if the dissertations which accompany his version of *Pindar* had not been improperly omitted. Of his piety the influence has, I hope, been extended far by his *Observations on the Resurrection*, published in 1747, for which the University of Oxford created him a Doctor of Laws by diploma (March 30, 1748); and perhaps it may not be without effect to tell, that he read prayers every evening to his family. Craslow is now not the only maker of verses to whom may be given the two venerable names of Poet and Saint.

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“He was very often visited by Lyttelton and Pitt, who, when they were weary of faction and debates, used at Wickham to find books and quiet, a decent table, and literary conversation. There is at Wickham a walk made by Pitt; and, what is of far more importance, at Wickham Lyttelton received that conviction which produced his Dissertation on St. Paul.

“Mr. West’s income was not large; and his friends endeavoured, but without success, to obtain an augmentation. It is reported, that the education of the young prince was offered to him, but that he required a more extensive power of superintendence than it was thought proper to allow him.

“In time, however, his revenue was improved; he lived to have one of the lucrative clerkships of the privy-council (1752), and Mr. Pitt at last had it in his power to make him treasurer of Chelsea Hospital.

“He was now sufficiently rich; but wealth came too late to be long enjoyed: nor could it secure him from the calamities of life; he lost (1755) his only son; and the year after (March 26), a stroke of the palsy brought to the grave one of the few poets to whom the grave needed not to be terrible.

“His poems are in this collection neither selected nor arranged as I should have directed, had either the choice or the order fallen under my care or notice. His Institution of the Garter is improperly omitted: instead of the mock tragedy of Lucian, the version from Euripides, if both could not be inserted, should have been taken. Of the Imitations of Spenser, one was published before the version of Pindar, and should therefore have had the first place.

“Of his translations I have only compared the first Olympick Ode with the original, and found my expectation surpassed, both by its elegance and its exactness. He does not confine himself to his author’s train of stanzas; for he saw that the difference of the languages required a different mode of versification. The first strophe is eminently happy; in the second he has a little strayed from Pindar’s meaning, who says, “if thou, my soul, wilt to speak of games, look not in the desert sky for a planet hotter than the sun, nor shall we tell of nobler games than those of Olympia.” He is sometimes too paraphrastical. Pindar bestows upon Hiero an epithet, which, in one word, signifies “delighting in horses;” a word which, in the translation, generates these lines:

Hiero’s royal brows, whose care  
Tends the courser’s noble breed,  
Pleas’d to nurse the pregnant mare,  
Pleas’d to train the youthful fleet.

Pindar says of Pelops, that “he came alone in the dark to the White Sea; and West,

Near the billow-beaten side  
Of the foam-besilver’d main,  
Darkling, and alone, he stood:

which, however, is less exuberant than the former passage.

“A work of this kind must, in a minute examination, discover many imperfections; but West’s version, so far as I have considered it, appears to be the product of great labour and great abilities.

“His Institution of the Garter (1742), which is omitted in this collection, is written with sufficient knowledge of the manners that prevailed in the age to which it is referred, and with great elegance

of diction; but, for want of a process of events, neither knowledge nor elegance preserve the reader from weariness.

"His Imitations of Spenser are very successfully performed, both with respect to the metre, the language, and the fiction; and being engaged at once by the excellence of the sentiments, and the artifice of the copy, the mind has two amusements at once. But such compositions are not to be reckoned among the great achievements of intellect, because their effect is local and temporary; they appeal not to reason or passion, but to memory,

and presuppose an accidental and artificial state of mind. An Imitation of Spenser is nothing to a reader, however acute, by whom Spenser has never been perused. Works of this kind may deserve praise, as proofs of great industry, and great nicety of observation; but the highest praise, the praise of genius, they cannot claim. The noblest beauties of art are those of which the effect is co-extended with rational nature, or at least with the whole circle of polished life: what is less than this can be only pretty, the plaything of fashion, and the amusement of a day."

### LIFE of Mr. DAVID MALLET.

[From the same Work.]

"OF David Mallet having no written memorial, I am able to give no other account than such as is supplied by the unauthorised loquacity of common fame, and a very slight personal knowledge.

"He was by his original one of the Macgregors, a clan that became, about sixty years ago, under the conduct of Robin Roy, so formidable and so infamous for violence and robbery, that the name was annulled by a legal abolition; and when they were all to denominate themselves anew, the father, I suppose, of this author called himself Malloch.

"David Malloch was, by the pendency of his parents, compelled to be Janitor of the High School at Edinburgh; a mean office, of which he did not afterwards delight to hear. But he surmounted the disadvantages of his birth and fortune; for when the duke of Montrose ap-

plied to the College of Edinburgh for a tutor to educate his sons, Malloch was recommended; and I never heard that he dishonoured his credentials.

"When his pupils were sent to see the world, they were intrusted to his care; and having conducted them round the common circle of modish travels, he returned with them to London, where, by the influence of the family in which he resided, he naturally gained admission to many persons of the highest rank, and the highest character, to wits, nobles, and statesmen.

"Of his works, I know not whether I can trace the series. His first production was William and Margaret; of which, though it contains nothing very striking or difficult, he has been envied the reputation; and plagiarism has been boldly charged, but never proved.

"Not

"Not long afterwards he published the *Excursion* (1728); a desultory and capricious view of such scenes of nature as his fancy led him, or his knowledge enabled him, to describe. It is not devoid of poetical spirit. Many of the images are striking, and many of the paragraphs are elegant. The cast of diction seems to be copied from Thomson, whose *Seasons* were then in their full blossom of reputation. He has Thomson's beauties and his faults.

"His poem on *Verbal Criticism* (1733) was written to pay court to Pope, on a subject which he either did not understand, or willingly misrepresented; and is little more than an improvement, or rather expansion, of a fragment which Pope printed in a *Miscellany* long before he engrafted it into a regular poem. There is in this piece more pertness than wit, and more confidence than knowledge. The versification is tolerable, nor can criticism allow it a higher praise.

"His first tragedy was *Eurydice*, acted at Drury-Lane, in 1731; of which I know not the reception nor the merit, but have heard it mentioned as a mean performance. He was not then too high to accept a Prologue and Epilogue from Aaron Hill, neither of which can be much commended.

"Having cleared his tongue from his native pronunciation so as to be no longer distinguished as a Scot, he seemed inclined to disencumber himself from all adherences of his original, and took upon him to change his name from Scotch Malloch to English Mallet, without any imaginable reason of preference which the eye or ear can discover. What other proofs he gave of disrespect to his native country I know

not; but it was remarked of him, that he was the only Scot whom Scotchmen did not commend.

"About this time Pope, whom he visited familiarly, published his *Essay on Man*, but concealed the author; and when Mallet entered one day, Pope asked him slightly what there was new. Mallet told him, that the newest piece was something called an *Essay on Man*, which he had inspected idly; and seeing the utter inability of the author, who had neither skill in writing, nor knowledge of his subject, had tossed it away. Pope, to punish his self-conceit, told him the secret.

"A new edition of the works of Bacon being prepared (1740) for the press, Mallet was employed to prefix a *Life*, which he has written with elegance, perhaps with some affectation; but with so much more knowledge of history than of science, that when he afterwards undertook the *Life of Marlborough*, Warburton remarked, that he might perhaps forget that Marlborough was a general, as he had forgotten that Bacon was a philosopher.

"When the prince of Wales was driven from the palace, and, setting himself at the head of the opposition, kept a separate court, he endeavoured to increase his popularity by the patronage of literature, and made Mallet his under-secretary, with a salary of two hundred pounds a year: Thomson likewise had a pension; and they were associated in the composition of the *Matque of Alfred*, which in its original state was played at Cheltenham, in 1740: it was afterwards almost wholly changed by Mallet, and brought upon the stage at Drury-Lane in 1751, but with no great success.

"Mallet,

"Mallet, in a familiar conversation with Garrick, discoursing of the diligence which he was then exerting upon the *Life of Marlborough*, let him know that in the series of great men, quickly to be exhibited, he should find a niche for the hero of the theatre. Garrick professed to wonder by what artifice he could be introduced; but Mallet let him know, that, by a dexterous anticipation, he should fix him in a conspicuous place. "Mr. Mallet," says Garrick, in his gratitude of exultation, "have you left off to write for the stage?" Mallet then confessed that he had a drama in his hands. Garrick promised to act it; and *Alfred* was produced.

"The long retardation of the *Life of the Duke of Marlborough* shews, with strong conviction, how little confidence can be placed in posthumous renown. When he died, it was soon determined that his story should be delivered to posterity; and the papers supposed to contain the necessary information were delivered to the lord Moleworth, who had been his favourite in Flanders. When Moleworth died, the same papers were transferred with the same design to Sir Richard Steele, who in some of his exigencies put them in pawn. They then remained with the old duchess, who in her will assigned the task to Glover and Mallet, with a reward of a thousand pounds, and a prohibition to insert any verses. Glover rejected, I suppose, with disdain the legacy, and devolved the whole work upon Mallet; who had from the late duke of Marlborough a pension to promote his industry, and who talked of the discoveries which he made: but left not, when he died, any historical labours behind him.

"While he was in the prince's service he published *Multapha*, with a Prologue by Thomson, not mean, but far inferior to that which he had received from Mallet for *Agamemnon*. The Epilogue, said to be written by a friend, was composed in haste by Mallet, in the place of one promised, which was never given. This tragedy was dedicated to the prince his master. It was acted at Drury-Lane, in 1739, and was well received, but was never revived.

"In 1740, he produced, as has been already mentioned, the *Masque of Alfred*, in conjunction with Thomson.

"For some time afterwards he lay at rest. After a long interval, his next work was *Amyntor and Theodora* (1747), a long story in blank verse; in which it cannot be denied that there is copiousness and elegance of language, vigour of sentiment, and imagery well adapted to take possession of the fancy. But it is blank verse. The first fate was not great, and it is now lost in forgetfulness.

"Mallet, by address or accident, perhaps by his dependence on the prince, found his way to Bolingbroke; a man whose pride and petulance made his kindness difficult to gain, or keep, and whom Mallet was content to court by an act, which, I hope, was unwillingly performed. When it was found that Pope had clandestinely printed an unauthorised number of the pamphlet called the '*Patriot King*,' Bolingbroke, in a fit of useless fury, resolved to blast his memory, and employed Mallet (1747) as the executioner of his vengeance. Mallet had not virtue, or had not spirit, to refuse the office; and was rewarded,

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ed, not long after, with the legacy of lord Bolingbroke's works.

"Many of the political pieces had been written during the opposition to Walpole, and given to Franklin, as he supposed, in perpetuity. These, among the rest, were claimed by the will. The question was referred to arbitrators; but when they decided against Mallet, he refused to yield to the award; and by the help of Millar the bookseller published all that he could find, but with success very much below his expectation.

"In 1753, his masque of 'Britannia' was acted at Drury Lane, and his tragedy of 'Elvira' in 1763; in which year he was appointed keeper of the book of Entries for ships in the port of London.

"In the beginning of the last war, when the nation was exasperated by ill success, he was employed to turn the public vengeance upon Byng, and wrote a letter of accusation under the character of a 'Plain Man.' The paper was with great industry circulated and dispersed; and he for his seasonable intervention had a considerable pension bestowed upon him, which he retained to his death.

"Towards the end of his life he went with his wife to France; but after a while, finding his health declining, he returned alone to England, and died in April 1765.

"He was twice married, and by

his first wife had several children. One daughter, who married an Italian of rank named Cilefia, wrote a tragedy called 'Almida,' which was acted at Drury-Lane. His second wife was the daughter of a nobleman's steward, who had a considerable fortune, which she took care to retain in her own hands.

"His stature was diminutive, but he was regularly formed; his appearance, till he grew corpulent, was agreeable, and he suffered it to want no recommendation that dress could give it. His conversation was elegant and easy. The rest of his character may, without injury to his memory, sink into silence.

"As a writer, he cannot be placed in any high class. There is no species of composition in which he was eminent. His dramas had their day, a short day, and are forgotten; his blank verse seems to my ear the echo of Thomson. His life of Bacon is known as it is appended to Bacon's volumes, but is no longer mentioned. His works are such as a writer, bustling in the world, shewing himself in public, and emerging occasionally from time to time into notice, might keep alive by his personal influence; but which, conveying little information, and giving no great pleasure, must soon give way, as the succession of things produces new topics of conversation, and other modes of amusement."

## SINGULAR CHARACTER of an Inhabitant of GLENORCHAY.

[From a Letter in the GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE for October, 1781.]

"I DO not recollect at present any thing particular to amuse you, unless the following account of a man in the upland part of my

parish, be thought singular and uncommon. I can assure you that there is not a stroke in the picture embellished beyond the truth, nor a single

single trait given but what is really in the original. I have seen him occasionally two or three times, never indeed in the church but once, and that at the interment of his mother.

“ His name is Angus Roy Fletcher; he lives in the highest farm of Glenorchay, and has done so all his life-time. He has always made his livelihood mostly by fishing and hunting. The dog is his sole, though faithful attendant; the gun and the dirk are his constant companions. He sometimes indeed exchanges the gun for the fishing spear, but was never observed without the one or the other. At a distance from social life, he has his residence in the wildest and most remote parts of the lofty mountains which separate the country of Glenorchay from that of Rannoch. In the midst of these wilds he builds his hut, and there he spends the most part of spring, summer, and autumn, and even part of winter. He has a few goats, which he tends at times on these lofty cliffs. These, with the dog, the gun, the spear, and the dirk, a belted plaid hose, and brogs, constitute the whole property of this savage. They are all he seems to desire. While his goats feed among the rocks and wide extended heaths, he ranges the hill and the forest in pursuit of the game. He returns to his little flock in the evening. He leads them to his solitary hut. He milks them with his own hands; and after making a comfortable meal of what game he may have caught for the day, and of the milk of his goats, he lays himself down to rest in the midst of them. By day they are his chief care, by night his only companions, the dog excepted. He desires not to associate with any of his own species, either man or

woman; and yet if the step of the wandering stranger happens to approach his little hut, Angus Roy is humane and hospitable to a high degree. Whatever he is possessed of, even to the last morsel, he cheerfully bestows on his guest; at a time too when he knows not where to purchase the next meal for himself. Strange, that a man who apparently has no affection for society, should be so much disposed to exercise one of its noblest virtues! His contempt for society, however, is incontestable, for if he happens at any time to build his hut near the shealing of a farm, he abandons the hut. The moment the people come to the shealing he removes to a greater distance, and builds another habitation for himself. He seems to have in solitude a certain enjoyment, of which no other highlandman has any conception or feeling.

Such is the manner in which this extraordinary man spends the spring, the summer, and the autumn, and even part of winter. But when the chill blast of December returns; when the excessive coldness of the climate forces him to depart from the mountain, to quit the solitary cell, he condescends to hold some intercourse with mankind. He descends to the village, but he enters with reluctance into a society where no man thinks as he does himself; where no man lives or acts after his manner. In this situation, and in such society, he discovers evident symptoms of uneasiness and disgust. To alleviate the pain as much as possible, to remove the languor of an intercourse in which he finds no enjoyment, he has devised the most proper expedient: he goes forth every morning, before the dawn, to the hill and the wood, in search of game. He returns not till late at night,

night, and then goes to his rest, generally without seeing any body.

“ If ever he felt the passion for sex, it must have been in a degree extremely low, for he hardly ever discovered the symptom of such a passion; and yet he dresses after the manner of the most finished coxcomb.

The belted plaid and the dirk are fitted on him with a wild and affected elegance; his bonnet, which is very small, after the same manner. His hair, which is naturally curled and very thick, is always tied with a filken or variegated cord at the root, and being loose towards the crop, it curls, and forms a great bunch, in size and figure resembling a large bunch of heath. This he esteems as one of his brightest ornaments. His look is lofty; his gait is stately and slow. Who can conceive that this coxcomb is his own butcher, baker, and cook? and when he kills a bird, a hare, or a deer, he prepares it himself for eating; makes his bed, washes his shirt, milks his goats.

“ Under all these circumstances, so seemingly depressing, he is haughty and high-minded in the extreme.

Were he starving for want, there is not a person living from whom he would ask a mouthful of meat. In conformity to the custom of men, he takes off his bonnet to what is called a gentleman, but he does it with reluctance, and in a manner which indicates contempt rather than respect for the person whom he addresses.

“ Upon the whole, he merits the appellation of a most singular character. In circumstances the most depressing to pride, he has hardly his equal among the proud and haughty. Among coxcombs he would make a distinguished figure, and yet, as I said, he discovers nothing of the passion for sex. He may be said to live in the original state of fishing and hunting; but he discovers not the ideas, nor the love of society, peculiar to that state. He is above fifty years of age, can neither read nor write, nor speak English. As I never saw him but once at church, and could at no time find him at any of my diets of examination, when in his neighbourhood, I apprehend that his notions of religion must be faint and obscure.”

# MANNERS OF NATIONS.

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## The PASTORAL MANNERS of the SCYTHIANS, or TARTARS.

[From the Second Volume of Mr. GIBBON'S History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.]

“THE different characters that mark the civilized nations of the globe, may be ascribed to the use and the abuse of reason ; which so variously shapes, and so artificially composes, the manners and opinions of an European, or a Chinese. But the operation of instinct is more sure and simple than that of reason : it is much easier to ascertain the appetites of a quadruped, than the speculations of a philosopher ; and the savage tribes of mankind, as they approach nearer to the condition of animals, preserve a stronger resemblance to themselves and to each other. The uniform stability of their manners, is the natural consequence of the imperfection of their faculties. Reduced to a similar situation, their wants, their desires, their enjoyments, still continue the same : and the influence of food or climate, which, in a more improved state of society, is suspended, or subdued, by so many moral causes, most powerfully contributes to form, and to maintain, the national character of Barbarians. In every age, the immense plains of Scythia, or Tartary, have been inhabited by vagrant tribes of hunters and shepherds, whose indolence refuses to cultivate the earth, and whose restless spirit disdain the confinement

of a sedentary life. In every age the Scythians, and Tartars, have been renowned for their invincible courage, and rapid conquests. The thrones of Asia have been repeatedly overturned by the shepherds of the North ; and their arms have spread terror and devastation over the most fertile and warlike countries of Europe. On this occasion, as well as on many others, the sober historian is forcibly awakened from a pleasing vision ; and is compelled, with some reluctance, to confess, that the pastoral manners, which have been adorned with the fairest attributes of peace and innocence, are much better adapted to the fierce and cruel habits of a military life. To illustrate this observation, I shall now proceed to consider a nation of shepherds and of warriors, in the three important articles of, I. Their diet ; II. Their habitation ; and, III. Their exercises. The narratives of antiquity are justified by the experience of modern times ; and the banks of the Borysthenes, of the Volga, or of the Selinga, will indifferently present the same uniform spectacle of similar and native manners.

“ I. The corn, or even the rice, which constitutes the ordinary and wholesome food of a civilized people,

ple, can be obtained only by the patient toil of the husbandman. Some of the happy savages, who dwell between the tropics, are plentifully nourished by the liberality of nature; but in the climates of the North, a nation of shepherds is reduced to their flocks and herds. The skilful practitioners of the medical art will determine (if they are able to determine) how far the temper of the human mind may be affected by the use of animal or of vegetable food; and whether the common association of carnivorous and cruel, deserves to be considered in any other light than that of an innocent, perhaps a salutary, prejudice of humanity. Yet, if it be true, that the sentiment of compassion is imperceptibly weakened by the sight and practice of domestic cruelty, we may observe, that the horrid objects which are disguised by the arts of European refinement, are exhibited in their native and most disgusting simplicity, in the tent of a Tartarian shepherd. The ox, or the sheep, are slaughtered by the same hand from which they were accustomed to receive their daily food, and the bleeding limbs are served, with very little preparation, on the table of their unfeeling murderer. In the military profession, and especially in the conduct of a numerous army, the exclusive use of animal food appears to be productive of the most solid advantages. Corn is a bulky and perishable commodity; and the large magazines, which are indispensably necessary for the subsistence of our troops, must be slowly transported, by the labour of men or horses. But the flocks and herds, which accompany the march of the Tartars, afford a sure and increasing supply of flesh and milk: in the far greater part of

the uncultivated waste, the vegetation of the grass is quick and luxuriant; and there are few places so extremely barren, that the hardy cattle of the North cannot find some tolerable pasture. The supply is multiplied and prolonged, by the undistinguishing appetite, and patient abstinence, of the Tartars. They indifferently feed on the flesh of those animals that have been killed for the table, or have died of disease. Horse-flesh, which in every age and country has been proscribed by the civilised nations of Europe and Asia, they devour with peculiar greediness; and this singular taste facilitates the success of their military operations. The active cavalry of Scythia is always followed, in their most distant and rapid incursions, by an adequate number of spare horses, who may be occasionally used, either to redouble the speed, or to satisfy the hunger of the barbarians. Many are the resources of courage and poverty. When the forage round a camp of Tartars is almost consumed, they slaughter the greatest part of their cattle, and preserve their flesh, either smoked, or dried in the sun. On the sudden emergency of a hasty march, they provide themselves with a sufficient quantity of little balls of cheese, or rather of hard curd, which they occasionally dissolve in water; and this unsubstantial diet will support, for many days, the life, and even the spirits, of the patient warrior. But this extraordinary abstinence, which the stoic would approve, and the hermit might envy, is commonly succeeded by the most voracious indulgence of appetite. The wines of a happier climate are the most grateful present, or the most valuable commodity, that can be offered to the Tartars; and the only example of their in-

dustry seems to consist in the art of extracting from mare's milk a fermented liquor, which possesses a very strong power of intoxication. Like the animals of prey, the savages, both of the old and new world, experience the alternate vicissitudes of famine and plenty; and their stomach is inured to sustain, without much inconvenience, the opposite extremes of hunger and of intemperance.

“II. In the ages of rustic and martial simplicity, a people of soldiers and husbandmen are dispersed over the face of an extensive and cultivated country; and some time must elapse before the warlike youth of Greece or Italy could be assembled under the same standard, either to defend their own confines, or to invade the territories of the adjacent tribes. The progress of manufactures and commerce insensibly collects a large multitude within the walls of a city: but these citizens are no longer soldiers; and the arts which adorn and improve the state of civil society, corrupt the habits of the military life. The pastoral manners of the Scythians seem to unite the different advantages of simplicity and refinement. The individuals of the same tribe are constantly assembled, but they are assembled in a camp; and the native spirit of these dauntless shepherds is animated by mutual support and emulation. The houses of the Tartars are no more than small tents, of an oval form, which afford a cold and dirty habitation, for the promiscuous youth of both sexes. The palaces of the rich consist of wooden huts, of such a size, that they may be conveniently fixed on large waggons, and drawn by a team perhaps of twenty or thirty oxen. The flocks and herds, after grazing all day in the adjacent pas-

tures, retire, on the approach of night, within the protection of the camp. The necessity of preventing the most mischievous confusion, in such a perpetual concourse of men and animals, must gradually introduce, in the distribution, the order, and the guard, of the encampment, the rudiments of the military art. As soon as the forage of a certain district is consumed, the tribe, or rather army, of shepherds, makes a regular march to some fresh pastures, and thus acquires, in the ordinary occupation of the pastoral life, the practical knowledge of one of the most important and difficult operations of war. The choice of stations is regulated by the difference of the seasons: in the summer, the Tartars advance towards the North, and pitch their tents on the banks of a river, or, at least, in the neighbourhood of a running stream. But in the winter they return to the South, and shelter their camp, behind some convenient eminence, against the winds, which are chilled in the passage over the bleak and icy regions of Siberia. These manners are admirably adapted to diffuse, among the wandering tribes, the spirit of emigration and conquest. The connection between the people and their territory is of so frail a texture, that it may be broken by the slightest accident. The camp, and not the soil, is the native country of the genuine Tartar. Within the precincts of that camp, his family, his companions, his property, are always included; and, in the most distant marches, he is still surrounded by the objects which are dear, or valuable, or familiar in his eyes. The thirst of rapine, the fear, or the resentment of injury, the impatience of servitude, have, in every age, been sufficient causes to urge  
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the tribes of Scythia boldly to advance into some unknown countries, where they might hope to find a more plentiful subsistence, or a less formidable enemy. The revolutions of the North have frequently determined the fate of the South; and in the conflict of hostile nations, the victor and the vanquished have alternately drove, and been driven, from the confines of China to those of Germany. These great emigrations, which have been sometimes executed with almost incredible diligence, were rendered more easy by the peculiar nature of the climate. It is well known, that the cold of Tartary is much more severe than in the midst of the temperate zone might easily be expected: this uncommon rigour is attributed to the height of the plains, which rise, especially towards the east, more than half a mile above the level of the sea; and to the quantity of salt-petre, with which the soil is deeply impregnated. In the winter-season, the broad and rapid rivers, that discharge their waters into the Euxine, the Caspian, or the Icy sea, are strongly frozen; the fields are covered with a bed of snow; and the fugitive, or victorious tribes may securely traverse, with their families, their waggons, and their cattle, the smooth and hard surface of an immense plain.

“ III. The pastoral life, compared with the labours of agriculture and manufactures, is undoubtedly a life of idleness; and as the most honourable shepherds of the Tartar race devote on their captives the domestic management of the cattle, their own leisure is seldom disturbed by any servile and assiduous cares. But this leisure, instead of being devoted to the soft enjoyments of love and harmony, is usefully spent in the

violent and sanguinary exercise of the chase. The plains of Tartary are filled with a strong and serviceable breed of horses, which are easily trained for the purposes of war and hunting. The Scythians of every age have been celebrated as bold and skilful riders: and constant practice had seated them so firmly on horseback, that they were supposed by strangers to perform the ordinary duties of civil life, to eat, to drink, and even to sleep, without dismounting from their steeds. They excel in the dextrous management of the lance; the long Tartar bow is drawn with a nervous arm; and the weighty arrow is directed to its object with unerring aim, and irresistible force. These arrows are often pointed against the harmless animals of the desert, which increase and multiply in the absence of their most formidable enemy; the hare, the goat, the roebuck, the fallow-deer, the stag, the elk, and the antelope. The vigour and patience both of the men and horses are continually exercised by the fatigues of the chase; and the plentiful supply of game contributes to the subsistence, and even luxury, of a Tartar camp. But the exploits of the hunters of Scythia are not confined to the destruction of timid or innoxious beasts; they boldly encounter the angry wild boar, when he turns against his pursuers, excite the sluggish courage of the bear, and provoke the fury of the tyger, as he slumbers in the thicket. Where there is danger, there may be glory; and the mode of hunting, which opens the fairest field to the exertions of valour, may justly be considered as the image, and as the school, of war. The general hunting matches, the pride and delight of the Tartar princes, compose an

instructive exercise for their numerous calvary. A circle is drawn, of many miles in circumference, to encompass the game of an extensive district; and the troops that form the circle regularly advance towards a common centre; where the captive animals, surrounded on every side, are abandoned to the darts of the hunters. In this march, which frequently continues many days, the cavalry are obliged to climb the hills, to swim the rivers, and to wind through the vallies, without interrupting the prescribed order of their gradual progress. They acquire the habit of directing their eye, and their steps, to a remote object; of preserving their intervals; of suspending, or accelerating, their pace, according to the motions of the troops on their right and left; and of watching and repeating the signals of their leaders. Their leaders study, in this practical school, the most important lesson of the military art; the prompt and accurate judgment of ground, of distance, and of time. To employ against a human enemy the same patience and valour, the same skill and discipline, is the only alteration which is required in real war; and the amusements of the chase serve as a prelude to the conquest of an empire.

“The political society of the ancient Germans has the appearance of a voluntary alliance of the independent warriors. The tribes of Scythia, distinguished by the modern appellation of *hords*, assume the form of a numerous and increasing family; which, in the course of successive generations, has been propagated from the same original stock. The meanest, and most ignorant of the Tartars, preserve, with conscious pride, the inestimable treasure of their genealogy; and whatever distinctions of

rank may have been introduced, by the unequal distribution of pastoral wealth, they mutually respect themselves, and each other, as the descendants of the first founder of the tribe. The custom, which still prevails, of adopting the bravest, and most faithful of the captives, may countenance the very probable suspicion, that this extensive consanguinity is, in a great measure, legal and fictitious. But the useful prejudice which has obtained the sanction of time and opinion, produces the effects of truth; the haughty Barbarians yield a cheerful and voluntary obedience to the head of their blood; and their chief, or *murfa*, as the representative of their great father, exercises the authority of a judge, in peace, and of a leader, in war. In the original state of the pastoral world, each of the *murfas* (if we may continue to use a modern appellation) acted as the independent chief of a large and separate family; and the limits of their peculiar territories were gradually fixed, by superior force, or mutual consent. But the constant operation of various and permanent causes contributed to unite the vagrant hords into national communities, under the command of a supreme head. The weak were desirous of support, and the strong were ambitious of dominion; the power, which is the result of union, oppressed and collected the divided forces of the adjacent tribes; and, as the vanquished were freely admitted to share the advantages of victory, the most valiant chiefs hastened to range themselves, and their followers, under the formidable standard of a confederate nation. The most successful of the Tartar princes assumed the military command, to which he was entitled by the superiority, either of merit or of power.

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He was raised to the throne by the acclamations of his equals ; and the title of *Khan* expresses in the language of the North of Asia, the full extent of the regal dignity. The right of hereditary succession was long confined to the blood of the founder of the monarchy ; and at this moment all the Khans, who reign from Crimea to the wall of China, are the lineal descendants of the renowned Zingis. But, as it is the indispensable duty of a Tartar sovereign to lead his warlike subjects into the field, the claims of an infant are often disregarded ; and some royal kinsman, distinguished by his age and valour, is entrusted with the sword and sceptre of his predecessor. Two distinct and regular taxes are levied on the tribes, to support the dignity of their national monarch, and of their peculiar chief ; and each of these contributions amounts to the tythe, both of their property, and of their spoil. A Tartar sovereign enjoys the tenth part of the wealth of his people ; and as his own domestic riches of flocks and herds increase in a much larger proportion, he is able plentifully to maintain the rustic splendor of his court, to reward the most deserving, or the most favoured of his followers, and to obtain, from the gentle influence of corruption, the obedience which might be sometimes refused to the stern mandates of authority. The manners of his subjects, accustomed like himself to blood and rapine, might

excuse, in their eyes, such partial acts of tyranny, as would excite the horror of a civilized people ; but the power of a despot has never been acknowledged in the deserts of Scythia. The immediate jurisdiction of the Khan is confined within the limits of his own tribe ; and the exercise of his royal prerogative has been moderated by the ancient institution of a national council. The *Coroultai*, or Diet of the Tartars, was regularly held in the spring and autumn, in the midst of a plain ; where the princes of the reigning family, and the chiefs of the respective tribes may conveniently assemble on horseback, with their martial and numerous trains ; and the ambitious monarch who reviewed the strength, must consult the inclination of an armed people. The rudiments of a feudal government may be discovered in the constitution of the Scythian or Tartar nations ; but the perpetual conflict of those hostile nations has sometimes terminated in the establishment of a powerful and despotic empire. The victor, enriched by the tribute, and fortified by the arms, of dependent kings, has spread his conquests over Europe or Asia : the successful shepherds of the North have submitted to the confinement of arts, of laws, and of cities ; and the introduction of luxury, after destroying the freedom of the people, has undermined the foundations of the throne.

# MANNERS of the BRITONS, after the ROMANS had quitted this Island.

[From the Third Volume of Mr. GIBBON's History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.]

THE independent Britons appear to have relapsed into the state of original barbarism, from whence they had been imperfectly reclaimed. Separated by their enemies from the rest of mankind, they soon became an object of scandal and abhorrence to the catholic world. Christianity was still professed in the mountains of Wales; but the rude schismatics, in the form of the clerical tonsure, and in the day of the celebration of Easter, obstinately resisted the imperious mandates of the Roman pontiffs. The use of the Latin language was insensibly abolished, and the Britons were deprived of the arts and learning which Italy communicated to her Saxon profelytes. In Wales and Armorica, the Celtic tongue, the native idiom of the West, was preserved and propagated; and the Bards, who had been the companions of the Druids, were still protected, in the sixteenth century, by the laws of Elizabeth. Their chief, a respectable officer of the courts of Pengwern, or Aberfraw, or Caermathaen, accompanied the king's servants to war: the monarchy of the Britons, which he sung in the front of battle, excited their courage, and justified their depredations; and the songster claimed for his legitimate prize the fairest heifer of the spoil. His subordinate ministers, the masters and disciples of vocal and instrumental music, visited, in their respective circuits, the oval, the noble, and the plebeian

houses; and the public poverty, almost exhausted by the clergy, was oppressed by the importunate demands of the bards. Their rank and merit were ascertained by solemn trials, and the strong belief of supernatural inspiration exalted the fancy of the poet, and of his audience. The last retreats of Celtic freedom, the extreme territories of Gaul and Britain, were less adapted to agriculture than to pasturage: the wealth of the Britons consisted in their flocks and herds; milk and flesh were their ordinary food; and bread was sometimes esteemed, or rejected as a foreign luxury. Liberty had peopled the mountains of Wales and the morasses of Armorica: but the populousness has been maliciously ascribed to the loose practice of polygamy, and the houses of these licentious barbarians have been supposed to contain ten wives, and perhaps fifty children. Their disposition was rash and choleric: they were bold in action and in speech; and as they were ignorant of the arts of peace, they alternately indulged their passions in foreign and domestic war. The cavalry of Armorica, the spearmen of Gwent, and the archers of Merioneth, were equally formidable; but their poverty could seldom procure either shields or helmets; and the inconvenient weight would have retarded the speed and agility of their desultory operations. One of the greatest of the English monarchs was requested to satisfy the

the curiosity of a Greek emperor concerning the state of Britain; and Henry II. could assert, from his personal experience, that Wales

was inhabited by a race of naked warriors, who encountered, without fear, the defensive armour of their enemies."

## ACCOUNT of the HIDALGOS, in SPAIN, and their Privileges.

[From the LETTERS from an English Traveller in Spain.]

**Y**OU ask me what sort of figure the country gentlemen make in Spain, and who are the persons styled Hidalgos. To the first I shall answer, that as the Cortes, or parliaments, have been abolished ever since the accession of the house of Bourbon, all the consequence of the country gentlemen has ceased. The Hidalgos claim a descent from those valiant foldiers who retired into Castile, and the mountains of Asturias, and other remote parts of Spain, on the invasion of the Moors, where having fortified themselves, they successively descended into the plains, in proportion to the success of their arms: from the notoriety of their persons, or the lands they became possessed of, they acquired the appellation of *Hidalgos notorios*, *Hidalgos de solar conocido*, or *de casa solariega*: of these according to Hernando Mexia, there are three sorts, the 1st being lords of places, villages, towns, or castles, from whence they took their surnames, as the Guzmans, Mendezas, Lanas, Guivaras, and others; the 2d, who recovered any fortress from the Moors, as the Ponces of Leon, and others; and the third sort, from the places where they resided, or held jurisdiction, as Rodrigo de Narvaez was called of Antequera, from being Alcayde there. But this definition is not considered as exact or conclusive by

Otalora, another civilian, who says that the true meaning of *Hidalgos de solar conocido* is explained by the laws of Castile, to be a well known mansion or possession. the nature of which is particularly explained in the laws of the *Partidas*, lib. 5, tit. 35. which describe three sorts of tenures called *Devifa*, *Solariega*, and *Bebetria*. By the first, lands are devised by the ancestor; *solar* is a tenure upon another person's manor, and obliges the owner to receive the lord of the fee when necessity obliges him to travel; and *Bebetria* is in the nature of an *allodium*. In proportion as these Aborigines gained ground on the Moors, and increased in their numbers, many private persons distinguished themselves by their valour, and obtained testimonies of their services, called, *cartas de merced*, which served them as a foundation of their birth and good descent, without which documents their posterity could not make it appear; and if from a lapse of time, or other unavoidable accidents, such proof should happen to be lost, or destroyed, the law affords them a remedy under these circumstances, by a declaration, importing, that such persons as are supposed to have had such certificates, may be relieved by making it appear, that their ancestors, time immemorial, have always been held and reputed as Hidalgos,

and enjoyed the privileges of such, from a strong presumption in their favour; the possession of land having equal force to any other document; which is fully set forth in the *Pragmatica* of Cordova. To these executory letters are granted, *cartas executorias*, expressive of their privileges; and for the better regulation of these matters, proper officers are appointed in the chancery courts, called *alcaldes de los hidalgos*, who ought to be *hidalgos* themselves, and hold jurisdiction in these cases, and no others: but even here innovations have taken place; for as these grants flow from the sovereign, who is the fountain of honour, some are declared *Hidalgos de sangre*, by right of descent, and others *de privilegio*, or by office, in which the will of the sovereign has made amends for any deficiency of blood.

“There is a set of people near Segovia at a place called Zamarramala, who are exempt from tribute on account of the care they take in sending proper persons every night to the castle of Segovia to keep centinel—one cries out *Vela vela, bao*, and the other blows a horn, from whence they have been titled *hidalgos by the horn*. In Catalonia those gentlemen who are styled *Hombre de Paraja*, are considered the same as *hidalgos* in Castile, and were so called from the word *parajar*, to equip, this name being given as a distinction by Borelo the 4th, count of Barcelona, at the siege of that city, in 965, who summoning all his vassals, to come to his assistance against the Moors, nine hundred horsemen well mounted and equipped joined him, and with their aid he took the city, and this appellation has been given in honourable remembrance of this royal action.

“You will of course be desirous to

know what are the privileges that these noble *Hidalgos* enjoy? The principal of them are as follow:

“1. The first and greatest privilege which they hold by law is to enjoy all posts of dignity and honour in the church and state, with liberty, when churchmen, of having a plurality of benefices. They are qualified for receiving all orders of knighthood, and are to be preferred in all embassies, governments, and public commissions.

“2. When they are examined as witnesses in civil and criminal cases, their depositions are to be taken in their own houses, without being obliged to quit them to go to those of others.

“3. In all churches, processions, and other public acts or assemblies, they are to have the next place of honour and precedency after the officers of justice, conforming themselves to particular customs.

“4. They are not obliged to accept of any challenge for combat, supposing such were allowed of, but from those who are their equals.

“5. Though it is forbidden to guardians to purchase the estates of minors, this does not extend to *Hidalgos*, in whom the law does not suppose any fraud, and they may purchase them publicly.

“6. They are permitted to be seated in courts of justice in presence of the judges, from the respect and honour due to them. They have also seats in the courts of chancery, in consideration of their birth, which gives them a right to be near the persons of princes.

“7. Their persons are free from arrest for debt, nor can any attachment be laid on their dwelling houses, furniture, apparel, arms, horses, or mules in immediate use; nor can they make a cession of their estates,

estates, nor be distressed in suits of law, farther than their circumstances will admit of, but are to be allowed a reasonable and decent maintenance for their support.

"8. In cases of imprisonment for criminal matters, they are to be treated differently from others. They are generally confined to their own houses with a safe guard, or under arrest upon their honour, or allowed the city or town they lived in, and in particular cases, are sent into castles.

"9. When punishments are inflicted for criminal cases, they are to be less severe to them than to others, as they are not to suffer ignominious punishments, such as public shame, whipping, galleys, nor are they to be hanged, but beheaded, excepting in cases of treason or heresy. In cases that do not imply a corporal punishment but a pecuniary one, they are treated with more rigour, and pay a larger fine than others.

"10. They are not to be put to the rack or torture, excepting for such heinous crimes as are particularly specified by the laws.

"11. When there are title deeds or other writings or papers in which two or more persons have an equal right or property, and require a particular charge, they are to be given up by preference to the custody of an Hidalgo, if any of the parties are such.

"12. The daughter of an Hidalgo enjoys every privilege of her birth, though married to a commoner, and a woman who is not an Hidalgo, enjoys all these privileges when she is a widow, following the fortune of her husband.—But if the widow is an Hidalgo, and the late husband was a commoner, she falls into the state of her husband after his death, though she had the privileges of her birth during his life.

"13. They are free from all duties, called *Pechos*, *Pedidos*, *Monedas*, *Marteniegas* *Contribuciones*, as well royal as civil, and all other levies of whatever kind they may be, with a reserve for such as are for the public benefit, in which they are equally concerned, such as the repairing the highways, bridges, fountains, walls, destruction of locusts, and other vermin.

"14. They are free from personal service, and from going to the wars, excepting when the king attends in person; even then they are not to be forced, but invited, and acquainted that the royal standard is displayed.

"15. No persons whatever can be quartered upon, or lodged in, their houses, except when the king, queen, prince or infantess are on the road, as in such cases even the houses of the clergy are not exempt.

"16. They cannot be compelled to accept of the office of receiver of the king's rents, or any other employment which is considered as mean, and derogatory to their dignity and rank.

"17. By a particular custom confirmed by royal authority in that part of Castile beyond the Ebro, bastards succeed to their parents, and enjoy their honours contrary to the royal and common law.

"18. If a lady, who marries a commoner, should be a queen, duchess, marchioness, or countess, for they have no barons in Castile, she not only does not lose her rank, but conveys her titles to her husband, who holds them in right of his wife.

"These are the general privileges which the *Hidalgos* enjoy; there are some others of less consequence, as well as particular grants to certain persons and families.

lies. An ancient and ridiculous custom is said to be observed by noble ladies who are widows of plebeians, in order to recover their birthright, for which purpose they carry a pack-saddle on their shoulders to their

husband's grave, then throwing it down and striking it three times, say, "villein, take thy villeiny, for I will abide by my nobility:" and then they recover their privileges again."

### ACCOUNT of a CONVENTION of the Inhabitants of WALES, held at the Pass *Bwlch Oer-ddraws*, in the Reign of Henry IV.

[From Mr. PENNANT'S JOURNEY to SNOWDON.]

"THIS pass is noted for being one of the three places, in which were assembled, six years after the wars of Glyndwr, all the great men of certain districts, in order to enforce the observation of justice, by their own weight, without any other legal sanction. This, perhaps, was occasioned by the merciless laws enacted against the Welsh by Henry IV. At each of these places, they entered into a compact to cause justice to be done for all wrongs inflicted before and after the wars, but not during that turbulent period. Every one was to have his goods, or land, which had been forced from him, restored without law-suit; and any goods detained after this, were to be deemed as stolen: or if his lord sold them, he was fined ten pounds, and the goods, or their value, to the owner. If the refractory person was hanged, or died a natural death, the demand lay good against the wife, heirs, or executors: but if they or she denied the demand, the plaintiff must procure his compurgators, viz. six persons with him, to swear to the right of his claim; but (like the English, in cases of jury) the defendant had a right to challenge one of the six; and another was to be provided in his stead.

"After this, follow various regulations for restoring the govern-

ment of the country in general; and several laws relative to waifs and estrays, vagrants, bail, recovery of debts, manslaughter, thefts, duty of officers, &c. The code concludes with valuation of several goods and chattels, for which satisfaction was to be made. For example, a horse and mare, on the oath of the owner and two neighbours, were valued at ten shillings; a foal at twenty pence; an ox at a mark; a cow at ten shillings; the hire of an ox, and the milk of a cow, were also valued; an ewe was esteemed at sixteen pence, her wool at four pence, her milk at two pence, and her lamb at eight pence.

"As a proof of the high value of arms, and that we had few manufactures of that kind, a two-handed sword was valued at ten shillings, a one-handed at six shillings and eight pence, and a steel buckler at two shillings and eight pence: but, what is very singular, a bow, which themselves could make, was valued at sixteen pence, and an arrow at six pence.

"To all these laws, no penalty was annexed for the breach; excepting the forfeiture of the benefit of the compact, which, in those unsettled times, was probably sufficient, as it left the party unsupported and friendless."

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## ANCIENT HOSPITALITY of the WELCH.

[From the same Work.]

"I MUST not lead the reader into a belief, that every habitation of these early times was equal in magnificence to that of Ednowain ap Bradwen. Those of inferior gentry were formed of wattles, like Indian wigwams, or Highland hoveis; without gardens or orchard, and formed for removal from place to place, for the sake of new pasture, or a greater plenty of game. The furniture was correspondent; there were neither tables, nor cloths, nor napkins; but this is less wonderful, since we find, that even so late as the time of Edward II. straw was used in the royal apartment. Notwithstanding this, the utmost hospitality was preserved: every house was open, even to the poorest person. When a stranger entered, his arms were taken from him, and layed by; and, after the scriptural custom, water was brought to wash his feet. The fare was simple; the meal did not consist of an elegant variety, but of numbers of things put together in a large dish: the bread was thin oat-cakes, such as are common in our mountainous parts at this time. The family waited on the guests, and never

touched any thing till they had done, when it took up with what was left. Music, and the free conversation of the young women, formed the amusements of the time; for jealousy was unknown among us. Bands of young men, who knew no profession but that of arms, often entered the houses, and were welcome guests; for they were considered as the voluntary defenders of the liberties of their country. They mixed with the female part of the family, joined their voices to the melody of the harp, and consumed the day with the most animated festivity. At length, sunk into repose, not under rich testers, or on downy beds, but along the sides of the room, on a thin covering of dried reeds, placed round the great fire, which was placed in the centre, they lay down promiscuously, covered only by a coarse home made cloth, called Brychan, or plaid, the same with the more ancient Bracha; and kept, one another warm, by lying close together; or should one side lose its genial heat, they turn about, and give the chilly side to the fire."

## REMAINS of MINSTRELSIE among the WELCH

[From the same Work.]

"SOME vein of the ancient minstrelsie is still to be met with in these mountainous counties. Numbers of persons, of both sexes, assemble, and sit around the harp,

singing alternately pennylls, or stanzas of ancient or modern poetry. The young people usually begin the night with dancing, and when they are tired, sit down, and assume this species

species of relaxation. Oftentimes, like the modern *improvvisatore* of Italy, they will sing extempore verses. A person conversant in this art, will produce a penyll apposite to the last which was sung: the subjects produce a great deal of mirth; for they are sometimes jocular, at others satirical, and many amorous. They will continue singing without intermission, and never repeat the same stanza; for that would occasion the loss of the honour of being held first of the song. Like nightingales, they support the contest

throughout the night: *Certant inter se, palamque animosa contentio—victa morte fuit sepe vitam, spiritu prius deficiente quam cantu*, may also be added. The audience usually call for the tune: sometimes only a few can sing to it; and in many cases the whole company: but when a party of capital singers assemble, they rarely call for a tune; for it is indifferent to them what tune the harper plays. Parishes often contend against parishes; and every hill is vocal with the chorus."

### ANCIENT HUNTING among the WELCH.

[From the same Work.]

"THE Welch had several animals who were the objects of the chace; such as, y Carw, or the stag; Kaid Wenyn, a swarm of bees; and y Gleisiad, or the salmon; yr Arth, the bear; y Drieg-hedydd, climbing animals, I suppose wild cats, martins, and squirrels; and Ceiliog Coed, or cock of the wood. And the last division was, y Llwynog, the fox: Yfgyfarnog, the hare; and y Ywrch, the roe. Some of the above come very improperly under our idea of hunting, yet were comprehended in the code of laws relative to the diversion, formed, as is supposed, by Gryffyd ap Cynan.

"I suspect also, that the otter was an object of diversion; there being a Cylch Dyfrigwm, or an annual payment, by the Welch, for the prince's water dogs.

"The three first were Helfa Gysfledon, or the common hunt. The stag, because he was the noblest

animal of chace, and because every body, who came by at his death, before he was skinned, might claim a share in him. The next animals were Helfa Gyfarthfa, or the animals which could be brought to bay, such as the bear, &c. which were hunted with hounds till they ascended a tree. The bird mentioned here, is the cock of the wood, whose nature it is to sit perched on a bough, where they will gaze till they are shot, as they were, in old times, by the bow, or cross-bow.

"The third division was Helfa Ddolef, or the shouting-chace, because attended by the clamor of the sportsmen; and comprehended the fox, the hare, and the roe. The method of hunting was either with hounds, or grehounds, which they let slip at the animals, holding the dogs in leashes. No one was to slip his grehound when the hounds were in chace, unless he had a hound in the pack, on penalty of having the

the grehound ham strung: neither was it allowed to kill any animal of chace on its form, or at rest, on pain of forfeiting his bow and arrow to the lord of the manor. When several grehounds, the property of different persons, were flipt at any animal, the person whose dog was nearest the beast, when last in sight, claimed the skin. A bitch was excepted, unless it was proved she was pregnant by a dog which had before won a skin.

“ Every person who carries a horn, must give a scientific account of the nine objects of chace, or else he will be looked on as a pretender, and forfeit his horn. The same penalty attends the Cynllafan, or leash; he is never again to wear it round his middle, on pain of forfeiture; but then he is suffered to wear it round his arm.

“ The ancient Welch held the flesh of the stag, hare, wild boar, and the bear, to be the greatest delicacies among the beasts of chace.

“ The prince had his Pencynwydd, or chief huntsman. He was the tenth officer of the court. He had for his own supper one dish of meat; and after it, three horns of mead, one from the king, another from the queen, the third from the steward of the household. He was never to swear, but by his horn and his leash. He had the third of the fines and heriots of all the other huntsmen; and likewise the same share of the amobr, on the mar-

riage of any of their daughters. At a certain time of the year, he was to hunt for the king only: at other seasons, he was permitted to hunt for himself. His horn was that of an ox, of a pound value. He had in winter an ox's hide, to make leashes; in summer, a cow's, to cut into spatterdashies.

“ The king had liberty of hunting wheresoever he pleased; but if a beast was hunted and killed on any gentleman's estate, and not followed and claimed by the huntsman that night, the owner of the land might convert it to his own use, but was to take good care of the dogs, and preserve the skin.

“ The penalty of killing a tame stag of the king's, was a pound; and a certain fine, if it was a wild one: if it was killed between a certain day in November, and the feast of St. John, the value was sixty pence; but the fine for killing it, a hundred and eighty pence. A stag was also reckoned equivalent to an ox; a hind to a well-grown cow; a roe to a goat; a wild sow to a tame sow; a badger had no value, because in some years it was measles; wolves and foxes, and other noxious animals, had no value, because every body was allowed to kill them; and there was none set upon a hare, for a very singular reason, because it was believed every other month to change its sex.”

Generosity of the ENGLISH BARONS, in the 13th and 14th CENTURIES.

[From the Fourth Volume of Dr. HENRY's History of Great Britain.]

“ A Noble spirit of liberality and munificence prevailed in this period, especially among the great martial barons ; of which it may be proper to give one example : the lord James Audeley, one of the first knights of the Garter, obtained permission from the prince of Wales, to begin the battle of Poitiers ; and, attended by his four faithful esquires, performed prodigies of valour. As soon as the action was over, and the victory complete, the Prince inquired for the lord Audeley ; and being informed, that he lay dangerously wounded at a little distance, commanded, if it could be done with safety, to bring him to his tent. When lord Audeley, carried in a litter, entered, the Prince embraced him in the most affectionate manner ; declared, that he had been the best doer in arms in the business of that day ; and made him a grant of 500 marks yearly, (equivalent to about 8,000 l. at present), as a reward of his valour. Lord Audeley accepted this noble grant with the warmest expressions of gratitude ; but as soon as he was carried to his own tent, he bestowed it on his four brave and faithful esquires, without reserving any share of it to himself. The prince applauded this generous action, and rewarded it with another grant of 600 marks a-year. The generosity of those times was not always so wisely directed, but often degenerated into vain absurd extravagance. Alexander III. king of Scotland, being present at the coronation of Edward I. rode to Westminster, attended by one hundred knights, mounted on fine horses, which they let loose, with all their furniture, as soon as they alighted, to be seized by the populace as their property. In this he was imitated by the earls of Lancaster, Cornwall, Gloucester, Pembroke, and Warrenne, who each paid Edward the same expensive unprofitable compliment. The extravagant ruinous liberalities of Henry III. and Edward II. are so well known, that they need not be mentioned.”

Hospitality of the PRINCES and great BARONS, in the same Period.

[From the same Work.]

“ A N almost unlimited hospitality reigned in the palaces of princes, and the castles of great barons, in the times we are now delineating. The courts of some of the kings of England, in this

this period, are said to have been splendid and numerous, to a degree that is hardly credible, and of which no examples have been seen for several centuries. That of Richard II. is thus described by an historian of the greatest integrity: "His royalty was such, that wheresoever he lay, his person was guarded by two hundred Cheshiremen; he had about him thirteen bishops, besides barons, knights, esquires, and other more than needed; infomuch, that to the household came every day to meat 10,000 people, as appeared by the messes told out of the kitchen to 300 servitors, &c." We may form some idea of the magnificence and hospitality of the opulent and powerful barons of those times, from an account of the household expences of Thomas earl of Lancaster, for A. D. 1313. From that account it appears, that this great earl expended in house-keeping that year no less than 7309 l. containing as much silver as 21,927 l. equal in efficacy to 109,635 l. of our money at present. The surprising cheapness of some of the articles in that account gives us reason to think, that it would even require a much greater sum than 109,635 l. to pur-

chase an equal quantity of provisions at this time. The pipe of French wine cost only 17 s. which, according to the above computation, was equivalent to 4 l. 5 s. of our money; a very inconsiderable part of its price at present. We may judge also of the grandeur and hospitality with which this earl lived, and of the immense quantities of provisions of all kinds that were consumed in his family, in one year, from the quantity of wine, which was no less than 371 pipes. Other earls and barons, in general, spent almost all their revenues, and the produce of their large domains, in hospitality at their castles in the country, which were ever open to strangers of condition, as well as to their own vassals, friends, and followers. This profuse expensive hospitality, it would seem, began to decline a little towards the conclusion of this period; and some barons, instead of dining always in the great hall with their numerous dependents, according to ancient custom, dined sometimes in private parlours, with their own families, and a few familiar friends. But this innovation was very unpopular, and subjected those who adopted it to much reproach."

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ROMANTIC GALLANTRY and CHIVALRY, in the Centuries before mentioned.

[From the same Work.]

"A Splendid ostentatious kind of gallantry, expressive of the most profound respect and highest admiration of the beauty and virtue of the ladies, was studied and practised by the martial ba-

rons, knights, and esquires, of this period. This gallantry appeared in its greatest lustre at royal tournaments, and other grand and solemn festivals, at which the ladies shone in their brightest ornaments, and

and received peculiar honours. When Edward III. A. D. 1344, celebrated the magnificent feast of the Round Table, at Windsor, to which all the nobility of his own dominions, and of the neighbouring countries, had been invited, queen Philippa, and 300 ladies, illustrious for their birth and beauty, uniformly dressed in the richest habits, adorned that solemnity, and were treated with the most pompous romantic testimonies of respect and admiration. Many of the most magnificent tournaments of those times were the effects of this kind of gallantry, and were designed for the honour and entertainment of the ladies, who appeared at these solemnities in prodigious numbers, and from different countries. Sometimes a few brave and gallant knights published a proclamation in their own, and in several other countries, asserting the superior beauty and virtue of the ladies whom they loved; and challenging all who dared to dispute that superiority, to meet them at a certain time and place to determine the important controversy by combat. These challenges were constantly accepted, and produced tournaments, to which princes, knights, and ladies of different nations crowded. This romantic gallantry displayed itself in times of war, as well as peace, and amorous and youthful knights fought as much for the honour of their mistresses, as of their country. A party of English and a party of French cavalry, met near Cherbourg, A. D. 1379, and immediately prepared for battle. When they were on the point of engaging, Sir Lancelot de Lorres, a French knight, cried aloud, that he had a more beautiful mistress

than any of the English. This was denied by Sir John Copeland, who ran the Frenchman through the body with his spear, and laid him dead at his feet. When Edward III. raised a great army to assert his claim to the crown of France, a considerable number of young English gentlemen, put each of them a patch upon one of his eyes, making a solemn vow to his mistress, that he would not take it off till he had performed some notable exploit in France, to her honour; and these gentlemen (says Froissart) were much admired.

The revival of chivalry by Edward I. and Edward III. contributed not a little to promote valour, munificence, and this splendid kind of gallantry, among persons of condition, who aspired to the honours of knighthood, which were then objects of ambition to the greatest princes. An ingenious writer, who had studied this subject with the greatest care, affirms positively, that "all the heroic virtues which then existed in the several states of Christendom, were the fruits of chivalry." This assertion may be too strong; but it cannot be denied, that the spirit and the laws of chivalry were friendly to the cause of virtue. By these laws, none but persons of unspotted characters could obtain the honours of knighthood, which were conferred with much solemnity, on the most public occasions, and in the presence of the most august assemblies. After the candidate had given sufficient proofs of his prowess, and other virtues, to merit that distinction, and had prepared himself for receiving it, by fasting, confessing, hearing masses, and other acts of devotion, he took an oath, consisting of twenty-six articles, in which, among

amongst other things, he swore, that he would be a good, brave, loyal, just, generous, and gentle knight, a champion of the church and clergy, a protector of the ladies, and a redresser of the wrongs of widows and orphans. Those knights who acquitted themselves of these obligations in an honourable manner, were favoured by the fair, and courted by the great; but those who were guilty of base dishonourable actions, were degraded with every possible mark of infamy. All this could hardly fail to have some influence on the conduct of those who were invested with that dignity; though, from the rudeness of the times, and the general dissolution of manners which then prevailed, that influence was probably much less than might have been expected.

“ Chivalry declined in England during the inglorious reigns of king John and Henry III. but revived under Edward I. That prince was one of the most accomplished knights of the age in which he flourished, and both delighted and excelled in feats of chivalry. It is a sufficient proof of this, that when he was on his return from the Holy Land, after his father's death, and knew that his presence was ardently desired in England, he accepted an invitation to a tournament at Chalons in Burgundy. At that famous tournament, which terminated in a real battle, he displayed his valour and dexterity to great advantage, and gained a complete victory. Edward III. was no less fond of chi-

valry, and encouraged it both by his example and munificence. In this he was influenced by policy, as well as inclination. Having formed the design of asserting his claim to the crown of France, he laboured to inspire his own subjects with a bold enterprising spirit, and to entice as many valiant foreigners as possible into his service. With this view he celebrated several pompous tournaments, to which he invited all strangers who delighted in feats of arms, entertained them with the most flowing hospitality, and loaded such of them as excelled in these martial sports with honours and rewards, in order to attach them to his person, and engage them to fight in his cause. With the same view, and about the same time, he founded the most honourable order of the Garter; of which his own heroic son the Black Prince was the first knight, and all the first companions were persons famous for their victories at tournaments, and in real wars. Philip de Valois, king of France, was so much alarmed at these proceedings of his powerful rival, that he set up a round table at Paris, in opposition to that at Windsor, and endeavoured to render his tournaments more splendid than those of Edward, in order to attract a greater number of foreign knights, that he might retain them in his service. In a word, chivalry, which is now an object of ridicule, was, in those times, a matter of the greatest moment, and had no little influence on the manners of mankind, and the fate of nations.”

## Some ACCOUNT of the MANNERS of the INHABITANTS of CONNECTICUT.

[From the GENERAL HISTORY of CONNECTICUT.]

“GRAVITY and a serious deportment, together with shyness and bashfulness, generally attend the first communications with the inhabitants of Connecticut; but, after a short acquaintance, they become very familiar and inquisitive about news.—Who are you, whence come you, where going, what is your business, and what your religion? They do not consider these and similar questions as impertinent, and consequently expect a civil answer. When the stranger has satisfied their curiosity, they will treat him with all the hospitality in their power, and great caution must be observed to get quit of them and their houses without giving them offence. If the stranger has cross and difficult roads to travel, they will go with him till all danger is past, without fee or reward. The stranger has nothing to do but civilly to say, ‘Sir, I thank you, and will call upon you when I return.’ He must not say, ‘God bless you, I shall be glad to see you at my house,’ unless he is a minister; because they hold, that the words ‘God bless you’ should not be spoken by common people; and ‘I shall be glad to see you at my house’ they look upon as an insincere compliment paid them for what they do out of duty to the stranger. Their hospitality is highly exemplary; they are sincere in it, and reap great pleasure by reflecting that perhaps they have entertained angels. The Rev. Mr. George Whitefield, in one of his sermons, gave them

the following character: ‘I have found,’ said he, ‘the people of Connecticut the wisest of any upon the continent—they are the best friends and the worst enemies—they are hair-brained bigots on all sides—and they may be compared to the horse and mule without bit and bridle. In other colonies I have paid for my food and lodging; but could never spend one penny in fruitful Connecticut, whose banks flow with milk and honey, and whose sons and daughters never fail to feed and refresh the weary traveller *without money and without price.*’

On Saturday evenings the people look sour and sad: on the Sabbath, they appear to have lost their dearest friends, are almost speechless, and walk softly; they even observe it with more exactness than ever did the Jews. A quaker preacher told them, with much truth, that they worshipped the Sabbath, and not the God of the Sabbath.

“The people are extremely fond of strangers passing through the colony, but very averse to foreigners settling among them; which few have done without ruin to their characters and fortunes by detraction and law suits, unless recommended as men of grace by some known and reverend republican protestant in Europe.

“Amidst all the darkness of superstition that surrounds the state, the humanity it shews to poor strangers seized with sickness in the colony, or to such persons as are shipwrecked upon its coasts, shines with distinguished lustre. These unfortunate sufferers

sufferers are immediately provided with necessaries of every kind, by order of the selectmen, whose expences are reimbursed out of the colony treasury.

"Estates in Connecticut pass from generation to generation by gavel-kind; so that there are few persons, excepting of the labouring class, who have not freeholds of their own to cultivate. A general mediocrity of station being thus constitutionally promoted, it is no wonder that the rich man is despised and the poor man's blessing is his poverty. In no part of the world are *les petits* and *les grands* so much upon a par as here, where none of the people are destitute of the conveniences of life, and the spirit of independence. From their infancy, their education as citizens point out no distinction between licentiousness and liberty; and their religion is so muffled with superstition, self-love, and provincial enmity, as not yet to have taught them that humility and respect for others, which from others they demand. Notwithstanding these effects of the levelling plan, there are many exceptions to be found, in the province, of gentlemen of large estates, and generous principles.

"The people commonly travel on horseback; and the ladies are capable of teaching their neighbours the art of horsemanship. There are few coaches in the colony; but many chaises and whisks. In the winter the sleigh is used; a vehicle drawn by two horses, and carrying six persons in its box, which hangs

on four posts standing on two steel sliders, or large scates.

"Dancing, fishing, hunting, skating, and riding in sleighs on the ice, are all the amusements allowed in the colony.

"The men in general, throughout the province, are tall, stout, and robust. The greatest care is taken of the limbs and bodies of infants, which are kept strait by means of a board; a practice learnt of the Indian women, who abhor all crooked people: so that deformity is here a rarity. Another custom derived from the Indians is, to welcome a new-born infant into the world with urine and honey, the effects of which are wonderful; and hence it is that at groanings there are always a little boy and a rattle-snake's skin, the latter of which prevents numbness and the cramp. The women are fair, handsome, genteel. They have, indeed, adopted various customs of the Indian women; but cannot learn, like them, how to support the pains of child-bearing without a groan.

"The women of Connecticut are strictly virtuous, and to be compared to the prude rather than the European polite lady. They are not permitted to read plays; cannot converse about whist, quadrille, or operas; but will freely talk upon the subjects of history, geography, and the mathematics. They are great casuists and polemical divines; and I have known not a few of them so well skilled in Greek and Latin, as often to put to the blush learned gentlemen."

# Some ACCOUNT of the INHABITANTS and PRODUCTIONS of the SANDWICH ISLES.

[From the Journal of Captain Cook's last Voyage to the PACIFIC OCEAN ]

THESE islands, which lie in the latitude of 27 deg. 44 min. N. and in long. 190 E. are not, in beauty and fertility, inferior to the Friendly Islands in the southern hemisphere, nor are the inhabitants less ingenious or civilized. Excepting the first quarrel that happened, we had not the least difference with any of them during our stay. What they had to dispose of they parted with upon the easiest terms; nor did they seem so thievishly inclined as those on the other side the line.

“ The men in these islands are of the middle size, of a dark complexion, not much tattooed, but of a lively open countenance. They were no otherwise clothed than decency required, and what they had on appeared to be of their own manufacture, of which there were various fabricks, and of a variety of colours. Some were made with borders exactly resembling coverlids, and others appeared like printed cottons: and, besides cloth, they had many other articles which shewed that they had artificers among them, not wanting in ingenuity. One peculiarity we observed among the men, and that was in the cut of their hair, which they trimmed up to a ridge along their heads, in form like what, in horses manes, is called hogging. Others again wore it long, plaiting it in tails, which hung below the waist: and these we took for marks of distinction among them. Add to this, a

kind of short cloak worn by their chiefs, in shape like those worn by the ladies in England, and composed of most beautiful feathers, ranged in rows, one over another, and narrowing from the lower border till they terminate in a kind of net-work round the neck. The women in general have shock hair, which they were at great pains to ornament. They had large holes in their ears, that, filled as they were, with most beautifully coloured shells made up in clusters, served for jewels, and had no bad effect. Their head-dress consisted of wreathes of flowers, decorated with feathers, chiefly red; and having, in general, lively piercing black eyes, white teeth, small features, and round faces, were not a little inviting, had not capt. Cook's severe prohibition put a check to the predominant passion of our men.

“ Their dress, upon the whole, was more decent than that of the men, and few were without necklaces and bracelets, of which they seemed very fond, and for which our strings of beads were well suited.

“ Their manufactures the people freely sold for nails, hatchets, scissars, knives, or iron instruments of any kind; glass bowls was a valuable article, so were beads, buttons, looking-glasses, china-cups, and in short any of our European commodities.

“ Excepting the sugar-cane, which appeared indigenous to these islands, and which were rare in those on the

the

the other side the line, their produce was much the same; only the cocoa-nuts were by no means so large, nor in so great plenty here as at the Friendly Isles."

"Wood was not to be purchased in plenty, nor did we stand much in need of that article.

"Hogs, dogs, ducks, and poultry were here in greater abundance than on the other side the line, but their plantations were not so beautifully ranged, nor so well cultivated. The houses here are warmer as the air is colder. They are built tent-fashion, and are covered from top to bottom.

"There seems indeed a remarkable conformity between these islands and those of the opposite hemisphere, not only in their situation, but in their number, and in the manners, customs, arts, and manufactures of the inhabitants, though it can scarcely be imagined, that they could ever have any communication, as the

globe is now constituted, being at more than 2000 miles distance one from the other, with very little dry land between. From observing this general conformity among the tropical islanders, some have been led to believe, that the whole middle region of the earth was once one entire continent, and that what is now the Great South Pacific ocean, was, in the beginning, the paradise of the world: but whoever would wish to hear more on this subject, will do well to read Burnet's Theory of the Earth, where, if he does not find arguments solid enough to convince his reason, he will meet with reasoning sufficiently plausible to amuse his fancy."

We have contented ourselves with only one short extract from this anonymous work, because we wait for the more complete and authoritative relation of Capt. Cook's Voyage, which is to be published by Capt. King.

# CLASSICAL AND POLITE CRITICISM.

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## CHARACTER OF EURIPIDES, and REMARKS in Favour of the GREEK TRAGEDIES.

[From the Preface to the first Volume of Mr. POTTER'S TRANSLATION  
of the TRAGEDIES of EURIPIDES.]

“OF the origin of the Greek Drama, and its perfection under the three great masters, Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, enough has been said in the preface to the translation of Æschylus, where their comparative merit is stated and accounted for. Euripides was to Æschylus what Rafaele was to Michael Angelo: in Æschylus all is inspiration; his genius is bold and fiery; his ideas are vast and sublime; his persons are a supreme order of beings. Euripides owed more to study, but it was chiefly the study of nature; his genius is bright and glowing; his images are vivid and deeply impressed; his characters designed with propriety, and supported with dignity: but he is chiefly distinguished from all other writers by the purity and copiousness of his moral sentiments, and his irresistible power in moving the tender passions: for the first he was indebted to his education under Prodicus and Anaxagoras, and his friendship with Socrates; the latter he drew from his own heart: what he felt warmly, he painted pathetically; like our own Spenser

He steep'd in tears the piteous lines he wrote,  
'The tend' rest-bard that e'er empaffion'd song.

“If we may with reason and truth form this judgment of the drama of Euripides, we must be surpris'd and sorry to find a very respectable critic expressing himself in these words, “Greek tragedies are more active than sentimental; they contain many sensible reflections on morals, manners, and upon life in general; but no sentiments excepting what are plain and obvious. The subjects are of the simplest kind, such as give rise to the passions of hope, fear, love, hatred, envy, and revenge, in their most ordinary exertions: no intricate nor delicate situation to occasion any singular emotion; no gradual swelling and subsiding of passion; and seldom any conflict between different passions. I would not however be understood as meaning to depreciate Greek tragedies. They are indeed wonderful productions of genius, considering that the Greeks at that period were but beginning to emerge from roughness and barbarity into a taste for literature. The compositions of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, must have been highly relished among a people who had no idea of any thing more perfect. We judge by comparison, and every work is held to be perfect that has no rival.

rival. It ought at the same time to be kept in view, that it was not the dialogue which chiefly enchanted the Athenians, nor variety in the passions represented, nor perfection in the actors, but machinery and pompous decoration, joined with exquisite music. That these particulars were carried to the greatest height, we may with certainty conclude from the extravagant sums bestowed upon them : the exhibiting a single tragedy was more expensive to the Athenians than their fleet or their army in any single campaign." Sketches of the History of Man, vol. i. p. 141.

" Let it not be deemed pedantry, or an affectation of admiring the writers of ancient Greece, but impartial justice, to observe, that if the Greek tragedies were more active than sentimental, those great poets perfectly knew their province; for tragedy, as Aristotle defines it, is the imitation of an action. The simplicity of the subject constitutes one of their principal excellencies : and from that simple subject to give rise to the passions, is a proof of their power : whether these passions were called forth only in their most ordinary exertions, whether no delicate situation occasioned any singular emotion, whether there is no gradual swelling and subsiding of passion, no conflict between different passions, the English reader will be able to determine from reading any one of these tragedies, particularly the empassioned characters of Phædra and Medea, and probably will be enchanted with the dialogue and the variety in the passions represented. The age which produced, besides these tragic poets, Pindar, Simonides, Prodicus, Anaxagoras, the accomplished Pericles, Socrates, and many other great men, could

not be but beginning to emerge from roughness and barbarity into a taste for literature; Athens was rather, at that time, advanced to its highest perfection in all the polite arts : it is not a proof of the barbarism of that people, that they had no idea of any thing more perfect than the compositions of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides ; if it is, the barbarism yet remains. That the music, which accompanied these tragedies, was so exquisite as some imagine, " who have formed a romantic idea of ancient music upon the exaggerated accounts of its effects, which they have read in old authors," will not be readily allowed; " with all the simplicity of their music, the poets themselves being able to set their own pieces, and to sing them so well to the satisfaction of the public, is to a perfect judge a certain proof that their music had not only fewer difficulties, but fewer excellencies than the modern." Their machinery and decoration were indeed magnificent ; but it must not be supposed that the exhibiting a single tragedy was more expensive to the Athenians than their fleet or their army in any single campaign. The authority of Demosthenes will probably be thought decisive : he says, that the Athenians expended more money upon the Panathenæan and Dionysian feasts, than upon any one of their naval expeditions ; in Philipp. I. The Panathenæa continued several days, and consisted of various entertainments, races of both men and horses, gymnastic exercises, musical contests, pyrrhick dances, a naumachium, pompous processions, and at the end a costly sacrifice, at which the whole assembly was feasted : dramatic exhibitions made but one part of these expensive shows, and

in these each poet who contended for the crown, and many contended, was obliged to present three tragedies and a satiric piece: it might therefore be curious to calculate the expence of exhibiting a single tragedy, and probably it would come out much less than that of bringing a new play upon our stage.—Had

these observations fallen from the pen of an obscure writer, they would have been suffered to sink in oblivion; but the well-acquired reputation of the author of the Sketches of the History of Man makes it proper to take this notice of them."

On the Luminous Splendour of the PAGAN DIVINITIES, and on the Idea of the fatal Consequences, arising to Mortals, from the Presence of these celestial Visitants.

[From Mr. JODRELL'S ILLUSTRATIONS OF EURIPIDES.]

"VERSE 1557.  
Ἀιθέλιον πρόσωπον ἐκφαίνει θεῶν;

What God above the hallow'd dome  
unveils

1664. His radiant face, that shines another sun?

"We may collect from the expression in this and the following lines, the sublime idea, which the Greeks entertained of the awful presence of their pagan divinities, and of the fatal consequences arising to the spectator from the appearance of them: here Ion alludes to that luminous splendour, dazzling with its irradiation, and to the danger of beholding this heavenly visitant. Thus Achilles, when Minerva appears to him in order to appease his resentment against Agamemnon, is astonished at her celestial aspect, and the terrible appearance of her eyes.

Διὸν δὲ οἱ ὅσσοι φαάνθεν (Il. i. v. 230.)

It is by this peculiar symbol of divine light, and by the brilliant lustre of her glittering eyes, that Hecuba discovers Venus, where the

mentions her *οὐρανία μαρμαίροντα*: and thus Minerva in her descent is compared by Homer to a glancing star, whose trail of light emits many sparkles, while all the spectators are confounded at the awful sight of the goddess,

Θάμβος δ' ἔχεν εἰσορώνας. (Il. v. 79.)

The Romans borrowed this idea of divine effulgence from the Greeks: thus Virgil says of Venus,

Rosæ cervice refulsit. (Æn. i. v. 406.)

And in another passage he represents the same goddess,

Cum mihi se non ante oculis tam clara  
videndam

Obtulit, & purâ per noctem in luce refulsit

Alma parens, confessa deam. (V. 591.)

He also paints Pallas in the fatal night of Troy, when revealed to Æneas, as

Nimbo effulgens. (Æn. 2. v. 616.)

His Juno is discovered in her disguise of Berce by the glowing symbol

bol of her eyes among other marks of divinity,

Divini signa decoris  
Ardentesque notate oculos. (Æn. 5. 648.)

“ We will now consider the fatal consequences arising from the presence of these divinities; and these were to be dreaded, unless upon particular occasions, as Ion here qualifies the expression. This observation will enable us to answer a question, started by the English commentator on the following lines of the *Odyssey*,

The prince o'eraw'd  
Scarce lifts his eyes, and bows as to a god.  
(B 16. v. 195.)

Here Ulysses, adorned by Minerva with divine graces, discovers himself in the lodge of Eumæus to his son Telemachus,

Θάμβησε δὲ μὴν Φίλος υἱὸς  
Ταρβήσας δ' ἐτέρως· Βαλ' ὄμματά μὴ θεὸς  
εἶη. (Il. 16. v. 179.)

The original expression literally implies, “ that the son is astonished at him, and casts his eyes through fear on the other side, lest he should be a God.” But the commentator remarks, “ This fear of Telemachus, according to Dacier, proceeds from the opinion of the ancients: when the gods came down visibly, they thought themselves so unworthy of such a manifestation, that whenever it happened, they believed they should die, or meet with some great calamity: thus the Israelites address Moses, “ Speak thou to us, and we will hear; but let not the Lord speak to us, lest we die.” Thus also Gideon: “ Alas! O Lord, my God, because I have seen an angel of the Lord face to face, and the Lord said to him, fear not, thou shalt not die.” Hence it is very evident that this notion prevailed among the Israelites: but how does it appear that the Greeks held the same opi-

nion?” I rely, that this passage in Euripides, where Ion exclaims, “ let us fly, O mother, that we may not behold the deity,” demonstrates, that the Græcian idea of the danger of a divine presence is supported by evidence; nor is it irreconcilable with the following observations of the English commentator, who continues to assert, “ the contrary is manifest almost to a demonstration: the gods are introduced almost in every book both of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; and yet there is not the least foundation for such an assertion: nay, Telemachus himself in the second book, returns thanks to Minerva for appearing to him, and prays for a second vision. It is not to be imagined that Telemachus would have preferred this prayer, if the presence of the deity denoted death, or some great calamity; and all the heroes throughout the *Iliad* esteem such intercourse as their glory, and converse with the gods without any apprehensions” In answer to this objection we may reply, that these heathen deities, when they honoured mortals with their visits, generally divested themselves, as far as they were able, of their divine radiance, and of their formidable attributes: but I conceive, there always was a religious awe, accompanied with a reverential fear, naturally attached to the sublime idea of the vision of a superior being: thus Homer asserts, that the gods, when they appear manifest, are dreadful,

Χαλεποὶ δὲ θεοὶ φαίνεσθαι ἐναργεῖς.  
(Il. 20. v. 234.)

And Callimachus, in his hymn on the bath of Pallas, expressly says, that “ whoever beholds an immortal god, contrary to the inclination of that deity, pays a severe penalty for the fatal view:”

Ὅς κέ τις ἀθανάτων, ὅκα μὴ θεὸς αὐτὸς  
 ἔλγεται  
 Ἀθήσῃ, μισθῷ τῷτον ἰδεῖν μεγάλῳ.  
 (V. 102.)

That this was the Oriental notion appears from a variety of other passages, besides those already cited by Dacier: "the Lord said unto Moses, Thou canst not see my face, for there shall no man see me and live." "We shall surely die, says Manoaah unto his wife, because we have seen God: a man of God came unto me, and his countenance was like the angel of God, very terrible." Thus Daniel fell upon his face, when he saw the vision: and Saul also fell to the earth, when suddenly there shined round about him a light from heaven." According to this

noble conception of divine effulgence, when the Raphael of Milton descends to Paradise, Adam exclaims to Eve,

What glorious shape  
 Comes this way moving; seems another  
 morn  
 Ris'n on midnoon. (B. 5. v. 311.)

This bears a great resemblance to the ἀνθῆλιον πρόσωπον, or the countenance luminous as the sun, in Euripides: but our English poet has softened the horror of Michael's appearance to Adam after his fall, for he paints the majesty of this heavenly visitant,

Yet not terrible,  
 But solemn and sublime.  
 (Par. Lost, b. xi. l. 236.)

## Plan of the GEORGICS of VIRGIL.

[From the late Mr. HARRIS'S PHILOLOGICAL INQUIRIES.]

"EVERY legitimate work should be one, as much as a vegetable, or an animal; and, to be one like them, it should be a whole, consisting of parts, and be in nothing redundant, in nothing deficient. The difference is, the whole of an animal, or a vegetable, consists of parts, which exist at once: the whole of an oration, or a poem, as it must be either heard or perused, consists of parts not taken at once, but in a due and orderly succession.

"The description of such a whole is perfectly simple, but not, for that simplicity, the less to be approved.

"A whole, we are informed, should have a beginning, middle, and end. If we doubt this, let us suppose a composition to want them:

—would not the very vulgar say, it had neither head nor tail?

"Nor are the constitutive parts, though equally simple in their description, for that reason less founded in truth. A beginning is that, which nothing necessarily precedes, but which something naturally follows. An end is that, which nothing naturally follows, but which something necessarily precedes. A middle is that, which something precedes, to distinguish it from a beginning; and which something follows to distinguish it from an end.

"I might illustrate this from a proposition in Euclid. The stating of the thing to be proved, makes the beginning; the proving of it, makes the middle; and the asserting of it to have been proved, makes the conclusion,

conclusion, or end: and thus is every such proposition a complete and perfect whole.

"The same holds in writings of a character to all different. Let us take for an example the most highly finished performance among the Romans, and that in their most polished period, I mean the *Georgics* of Virgil.

Quid faciat lætas segetes, quo fidere  
terram

Vertere, Mæcenas, (II) ulmifque ad-  
jungere vites

Conveniat; (III) quæ cura boum, qui  
cultus habendo

Sit pecori; (IV) apibus quanta experi-  
entia parcis.

Hinc canere incipiam,' &c.

Virg. *Georg.* I.

In these lines, and so on (if we consult the original) for forty-two lines inclusive, we have the beginning; which beginning includes two things, the plan and the invocation.

"In the four first verses we have the plan, which plan gradually opens and becomes the whole work, as an acorn, when developed, becomes a perfect oak. After this comes the invocation, which extends to the last of the forty-two verses above mentioned. The two together give us the true character of a beginning, which, as above described, nothing can precede, and which 'tis necessary that something should follow.

"The remaining part of the first book, together with the three books following, to verse the 458th of book the fourth, make the middle, which also has its true character, that of succeeding the beginning, where we expect something farther; and that of preceding the end, where we expect nothing more.

The eight last verses of the poem make the end, which like the begin-

ning is short, and which preserves its real character by satisfying the reader, that all is complete, and that nothing is to follow. The performance is even dated. It finishes like an epistle, giving us the place and time of writing; but then giving them in such a manner, as they ought to come from Virgil.

"But to open our thoughts into a farther detail.

"As the poem from its very name respects various matters relative to land (*Georgica*), and which are either immediately or mediately connected with it: among the variety of these matters the poem begins from the lowest, and thence advances gradually from higher to higher, till having reached the highest, it there properly stops.

"The first book begins from the simple culture of the earth, and from its humblest progeny, corn, legumes, flowers, &c.

"'Tis a nobler species of vegetables which employs the second book, where we are taught the culture of trees, and among others, of that important pair, the olive and the vine. Yet it must be remembered, that all this is nothing more than the culture of mere vegetable and inanimate nature.

"'Tis in the third book that the poet rises to nature sensitive and animated, when he gives us precepts about cattle, horses, sheep, &c.

"At length, in the fourth book, when matters draw to a conclusion, then 'tis he treats his subject in a moral and political way. He no longer pursues the culture of the mere brute nature; he then describes, as he tells us,

—Mores, et studia, et populos, et præ-  
lia, &c.

for such is the character of his bees,  
those

those truly social and political animals. 'Tis here he first mentions arts, and memory, and laws, and families. 'Tis here (their great sagacity considered) he supposes a portion imparted of a sublimer principle. 'Tis here that every thing vegetable or merely brutal seems forgotten, while all appears at least human, and sometimes even divine.

*His quidam signis, atque hæc exempla  
fecuti,  
Esse apibus partem divinæ mentis, et  
hæc  
Ætherios dixere : deum namque ire per  
omnes  
Terrasque tractusque maris,' &c.*

Geor. IV. 219.

"When the subject will not permit him to proceed farther, he suddenly conveys his reader, by the fable of Aristæus, among nymphs, heroes, demi-gods, and gods, and thus leaves him in company, supposed more than mortal.

"This is not only a sublime conclusion of the fourth book, but naturally leads to the conclusion of the whole work; for he does no more after this than shortly recapitulate, and elegantly blend his recapitulation with a compliment to Augustus.

"But even this is not all.

"The dry, didactic character of the Georgics made it necessary, they should be enlivened by episodes and digressions. It has been the art of the poet, that these episodes and digressions should be homogeneous: that is, should so connect with the subject, as to become (as it were) parts of it. On these principles every book has for its end, what I call an epilogue; for its beginning, an invocation; and for its middle, the several precepts relative to its subject, I mean husbandry. Having a beginning, a middle, and an end, every part itself be-

comes a smaller whole, though with respect to the general plan it is nothing more than a part. Thus the human arm, with a view to its elbow, its hand, its fingers, &c. is as clearly a whole, as it is simply but a part with a view to the entire body.

"The smaller wholes of this divine poem may merit some attention; by these I mean each particular book.

"Each book has an invocation. The first invokes the sun, the moon, the various rural deities, and lastly Augustus; the second invokes Bacchus; the third Pales and Apollo; the fourth, his patron Mæcenas. I do not dwell on these invocations, much less on the parts which follow, for this in fact would be writing a comment upon the poem. But the epilogues, besides their own intrinsic beauty, are too much to our purpose, to be past in silence.

"In the arrangement of them the poet seems to have pursued such an order, as that alternate affections should be alternately excited; and this he has done, well knowing the importance of that generally acknowledged truth, the force derived to contraries by their juxtaposition or succession. The first book ends with those portraits and prodigies, both upon earth and in the heavens, which preceded the death of the dictator Cæsar. To these direful scenes the epilogue of the second book opposes the tranquility and felicity of the rural life, which (as he informs us) faction and civil discord do not usually impair—

*Non res Romanæ, perituraque regna—*

In the ending of the third book we read of a pestilence, and of nature in devastation; in the fourth, of nature restored, and, by help of the gods, replenished.

"As this concluding epilogue (I mean

mean the fable of Aristæus) occupies the most important place, so is it decorated accordingly with language, events, places, and personages.

"No language was ever more polished and harmonious. The descent of Aristæus to his mother, and of Orpheus to the shades, are events; the watery palace of the Nereids, the cavern of Proteus, and the scene of the infernal regions, are places; Aristæus, old Proteus, Orpheus, Eurydice, Cyllene and her nymphs, are personages; all great, all striking, all sublime.

"Let us view these Epilogues in the poet's order,

- I. Civil horrors.
- II. Rural tranquility.
- III. Nature laid waste.
- IV. Nature restored.

Here, as we have said already, different passions are, by the subjects being alternate, alternately excited; and yet withal excited so judiciously, that when the Poem concludes, and all is at an end, the reader leaves off with tranquility and joy."

## DEFENCE OF CRITICAL RULES.

[From the same Work.]

"**H**AVING mentioned rules, and indeed our whole theory having been little more than rules developed, we cannot but remark upon a common opinion, which seems to have arisen either from prejudice, or mistake.

"Do not rules, say they, cramp Genius? do they not abridge it of certain privileges?"

"'Tis answered, if the obeying of rules were to induce a tyranny like this; to defend them would be absurd, and against the liberty of genius. But the truth is, rules, supposing them good, like good government, take away no privileges. They do no more than save genius from error, by shewing it, that a right to err is no privilege at all.

"'Tis surely no privilege to violate in grammar the rules of syntax; in poetry, those of metre; in music, those of harmony; in logic, those of syllogism; in painting, those of perspective; in dramatic poetry, those of probable imitation.

"If we enlarge on one of these instances, we shall illustrate the rest.

"The probable imitation just now mentioned, like that of every other kind, is when the imitation resembles the thing imitated in as many circumstances as possible; so that the more of those circumstances are combined, the more probable the resemblance.

"'Tis thus, in imitation by painting, the resemblance is more complete, when to the out-line we add light and shade; and more complete still, when to light and shade we add the colours.

"The real place of every drama is a stage, that is, a space of a few fathoms deep, and a few fathoms broad. Its real time is the time it takes in acting, a limited duration, seldom exceeding a few hours.

"Now imagination, by the help of scenes, can enlarge this stage into a dwelling, a palace, a city, &c. and it is a decent regard to this, which constitutes probable place.

"Again,

" Again, the usual intervals between the acts, and even the attention paid by the mind to an interesting story, can enlarge without violence a few hours into a day or two; and 'tis in a decent regard to this, we may perceive the rise of probable time.

" Now 'tis evident that the above probabilities, if they belong to the fable, cannot but affect us, because they are both of them requisites, which heighten the resemblance, and because resemblance is so universally essential to imitation.

" If this doctrine want confirming, we may prove it by the contrary, I mean by a supposition of such time and such place, as are both of them improbable.

" For example, as to time, we may suppose a play, where lady Desmond, in the first act, shall dance at the court of Richard the Third, and be alive, in the last act, during the reign of James the First.

" As to place, we may suppose a tragedy, where Montezuma shall appear at Mexico in the first act; shall be carried to Madrid in the third; and be brought back again, in the fifth, to die at Mexico.

" 'Tis true indeed, did such plays exist, and were their other dramatic requisites good; these improbabilities might be endured, and the plays be still admired. Fine manners and sentiment, we have already said, may support a wretched fable, as a beautiful face may make us forget a bad figure. But no authority for that reason can justify absurdities, or make them not to be so, by being fortunately associated.

Nor is it enough to say, that by this apparent austerity many a good play would have been spoilt. The an-

swer is obvious—chuse another, and a fitter subject. Subjects are infinite. Consult the inexhaustible treasures of history; or if these fail, the more inexhaustible fund of invention. Nay more—if you are distressed, bring history and invention together, and let the richness of the last embellish the poverty of the former. Poets, tho' bound by the laws of common sense, are not bound to the rigours of historical fact.

" It must be confessed, 'tis a flattering doctrine, to tell a young beginner, that he has nothing more to do, than to trust his own genius, and to contemn all rules, as the tyranny of pedants. The painful toils of accuracy by this expedient are eluded, for geniuses (like Milton's harps) are supposed to be ever tuned.

" But the misfortune is, that genius is something rare, nor can he, who possesses it, even then, by neglecting rules, produce what is accurate. Those, on the contrary, who, though they want genius, think rules worthy their attention, if they cannot become good authors, may still make tolerable critics; may be able to shew the difference between the creeping and the simple; the pert and the pleasing; the turgid and the sublime; in short, to sharpen, like the whet-stone, that genius in others, which nature in her frugality has not given to themselves.

" Indeed I have never known, during a life of many years and some small attention paid to letters, and literary men, that genius in any art had been ever cramped by rules. On the contrary, I have seen great geniuses miserably err by transgressing them, and, like vigorous travellers, who

who lose their way, only wander the wider on account of their own strength.

“ And yet ’tis somewhat singular in literary compositions, and perhaps more so in poetry than elsewhere, that many things have been done in the best and purest taste, long before rules were established, and systematized in form. This we are certain was true with respect to Homer, Sophocles, Euripides, and other Greeks. In modern times it appears as true of our admired Shakspeare; for who can believe that Shakspeare studied rules, or was ever versed in critical systems?

“ A specious objection then occurs. “ If these great writers were so excellent before rules were established, or at least were known to them, what had they to direct their genius, when rules (to them at least) did not exist?”

“ To this question ’tis hoped the answer will not be deemed too hardy, should we assert, that there never was a time, when rules did not exist; that they always made a part of that immutable truth, the natural object of every penetrating genius; and that, if at that early Greek period, systems of rules were not established, those great and sublime authors were a rule to themselves. They may be said indeed to have excelled, not by art, but by nature; yet by a nature, which gave birth to the perfection of art.

“ The case is nearly the same with respect to our Shakspeare. There is hardly any thing we applaud, among his innumerable beauties, which will not be found strictly conformable to the rules of sound and ancient criticism.

“ That this is true with respect to his characters and his sentiment, is evident hence, that, in explain-

ing these rules, we have so often recurred to him for illustrations.

“ Besides quotations already alleged, we subjoin the following as to character.

“ When Falstaff and his suite are so ignominiously routed, and the scuffle is by Falstaff so humorously exaggerated; what can be more natural than such a narrative to such a character, distinguished for his humour, and withal for his want of veracity and courage?

“ The sagacity of common poets might not perhaps have suggested so good a narrative, but it certainly would have suggested something of the kind: and ’tis in this we view the essence of dramatic character, which is, when we conjecture what any one will do or say, from what he has done or said already.

“ If we pass from characters (that is to say manners) to sentiment, we have already given instances, and yet we shall still give another.

“ When Rosincrosse and Guildenstern wait upon Hamlet, he offers them a recorder or pipe, and desires them to play—they reply, they cannot—he repeats his request—they answer, they have never learnt—he assures them nothing was so easy—they still decline.—’Tis then he tells them with disdain, there is much music in this little organ, and yet you cannot make it speak—do you think I am easier to be played on, than a pipe? Hamlet, act III.

“ This I call an elegant sample of sentiment, taken under its comprehensive sense. But we stop not here—we consider it as a complete instance of Socratic reasoning, tho’ ’tis probable the author knew nothing, how Socrates used to argue.

“ To

“ To explain—Xenophon makes Socrates reason as follows with an ambitious youth, by name Euthydemus.

“ ’Tis strange (says he) that those who desire to play upon the harp, or upon the flute, or to ride the managed horse, should not think themselves worth notice, without having practised under the best masters—while there are those, who aspire to the governing of a state, and can think themselves completely qualified, tho’ it be without preparation or labour. Xenoph. Mem. IV. c. 2. f. 6.

“ Aristotle’s illustration is similar, in his reasoning against men chosen by lot for magistrates. ’Tis (says he) as if wrestlers were to be appointed by lot, and not those that are able to wrestle: or, as if from among sailors we were to chuse a pilot by lot, and that the man so elected were to navigate, and not the man who knew the business. Rhetor. L. II. c. 20. p. 94. Edit. Sylb.

“ Nothing can be more ingenious than this mode of reasoning. The premises are obvious and undeniable; the conclusion cogent and yet unexpected. It is a species of that argumentation, called in dialectic *Ἐπαγωγή* or induction.

“ Aristotle in his Rhetoric (as above quoted) calls such reasonings *τὰ Σωκρατικά*, the Socratics; in the beginning of his Poetics, he calls them the *Σωκρατικὰ λόγια*, the Socratic discourses; and Horace in his Art of Poetry, calls them the *Socraticæ chartæ*.

“ If truth be always the same, no wonder geniuses should co-incide, and that too in philosophy as well as in criticism.

“ We venture to add, returning to rules, that if there be any things

in Shakspeare, objectionable (and who is hardy enough to deny it?) the very objections, as well as the beauties, are to be tried by the same rules; as the same plummet alike shews, both what is out of the perpendicular, and in it; the same ruler alike proves, both what is crooked, and what is straight.

“ We cannot admit, that geniuses, tho’ prior to systems, were prior also to rules; because rules from the beginning existed in their own minds, and were a part of that immutable truth, which is eternal and every where. Aristotle we know did not form Homer, Sophocles, and Euripides; ’twas Homer, Sophocles, and Euripides, that formed Aristotle.

“ And this surely should teach us to pay attention to rules, in as much as they and genius are so reciprocally connected, that ’tis genius, which discovers rules; and then rules, which govern genius.

“ ’Tis by this amicable concurrence, and by this alone, that every work of art justly merits admiration, and is rendered as highly perfect, as by human power it can be made.

“ But we have now (if such language may be allowed) travelled over a vast and mighty plain; or (as Virgil better expresses it)—

—Immensum spatium confecimus æquor.

“ ’Tis not however improbable that some intrepid spirit may demand again, what avail these subtleties?—Without so much trouble, I can be full enough pleased.—I know what I like.—We answer, and so does the carrion crow, that feeds upon a carcase. The difficulty lies not in knowing what we like; but in knowing how to like, and what is worth liking. Till these ends are obtained, we may admire Dursley before

before Milton; a smacking boor of Hemskirk, before an apostle of Raphael.

"Now as to the knowing, how to like, and then what is worth liking, the first of these, being the object of critical disquisition, has been attempted to be shewn through the course of these inquiries.

"As to the second, what is worth our liking, this is best known by studying the best authors, beginning from the Greeks; then passing to the Latins; nor on any account excluding those, who have excelled among the moderns.

"And here, if, while we peruse some author of high rank, we perceive we do not instantly relish him, let us not be disheartened—let us even feign a relish, till we find a relish come. A morsel perhaps pleases us—Let us cherish it—Another morsel strikes us—let us cherish this also.—Let us thus proceed, and steadily persevere, till we find we can relish, not morsels, but wholes; and feel that, what began in fiction, terminates in reality. The film being in this manner removed, we shall discover beauties, which we never ima-

gined; and condemn for puerilities, what we once foolishly admired.

"One thing however in this process is indispensably required: we are on no account to expect that fine things should descend to us; our taste, if possible, must be made to ascend to them.

"This is the labour, this the work; there is pleasure in the success, and praise even in the attempt.

"This speculation applies not to literature only: it applies to music, to painting, and, as they are all congenial, to all the liberal arts. We should in each of them endeavour to investigate what is best, and there (if I may so express myself) there to fix our abode.

"By only seeking and perusing what is truly excellent, and by contemplating always this and this alone, the mind insensibly becomes accustomed to it, and finds that in this alone it can acquiesce with content. It happens indeed here, as in a subject far more important, I mean in a moral and a virtuous conduct. If we chuse the best life, use will make it pleasant.

## GENERAL VIEW and CHARACTER of the POETRY of QUEEN ELIZABETH's AGE.

[From the Third Volume of Mr. WARTON's HISTORY of ENGLISH POETRY.]

"**A**MONG the great features which strike us in the poetry of this period, are the predominancy of fable, of fiction and fancy, and a predilection for interesting adventures and pathetic events. I will endeavour to assign and explain the cause of this characteristic dis-

tinction, which may chiefly be referred to the following principles, sometimes blended, and sometimes operating singly: the revival and vernacular versions of the classics, the importation and translation of Italian novels, the visionary reveries or refinements of false philosophy, a

degree of superstition sufficient for the purposes of poetry, the adoption of the machineries of romance, and the frequency and improvements of allegoric exhibition in the popular spectacles.

“ When the corruptions and impostures of popery were abolished, the fashion of cultivating the Greek and Roman learning became universal: and the literary character was no longer appropriated to scholars by profession, but assumed by the nobility and gentry. The ecclesiastics had found it their interest to keep the languages of antiquity to themselves, and men were eager to know what had been so long injuriously concealed. Truth propagates truth, and the mantle of mystery was removed not only from religion but from literature. The laity, who had now been taught to assert their natural privileges, became impatient of the old monopoly of knowledge, and demanded admittance to the usurpations of the clergy. The general curiosity for new discoveries, heightened either by just or imaginary ideas of the treasures contained in the Greek or Roman writers, excited all persons of leisure and fortune to study the classics. The pedantry of the present age was the politeness of the last. An accurate comprehension of the phraseology and peculiarities of the ancient poets, historians, and orators, which yet seldom went farther than a kind of technical erudition, was an indispensable and almost the principal object in the circle of a gentleman's education. Every young lady of fashion was carefully instructed in classical letters: and the daughter of a duchess was taught, not only to distil strong waters, but to construe Greek. Among the learned females of high distinction, queen Elizabeth herself was the most con-

spicuous. Roger Ascham, her preceptor, speaks with rapture of her astonishing progress in the Greek nouns; and declares, with no small degree of triumph, that during a long residence at Windsor-castle, she was accustomed to read more Greek in a day, than “ some prebendary of that church “ did Latin, in one week.” And although perhaps a princess looking out words in a Lexicon, and writing down hard phrases from Plutarch's Lives, may be thought at present a more incompatible and extraordinary character, than a canon of Windsor understanding no Greek and but little Latin, yet Elizabeth's passion for these acquisitions was then natural, and resulted from the genius and habits of her age.

“ The books of antiquity being thus familiarized to the great, every thing was tinged with ancient history and mythology. The heathen gods, although discountenanced by the Calvinists, on a suspicion of their tending to cherish and revive a spirit of idolatry, came into general vogue. When the queen paraded through a country-town, almost every pageant was a pantheon. When she paid a visit at the house of any of her nobility, at entering the hall she was saluted by the Penates, and conducted to her privy-chamber by Mercury. Even the pastry-cooks were expert mythologists. At dinner, select transformations from Ovid's Metamorphoses were exhibited in confectionary: and the splendid icing of an immense historic plumb-cake, was embossed with a delicious bas-relief of the destruction of Troy. In the afternoon, when she condescended to walk in the garden, the lake was covered with Tritons and Nereids: the pages of the family were converted into Wood-Nymphs, who peeped from every bower: and the foot-

men gamboled over the lawns in the figure of Satyrs. I speak it without designing to insinuate any unfavourable suspicions, but it seems difficult to say, why Elizabeth's virginity should have been made the theme of perpetual and excessive panegyric: nor does it immediately appear, that there is less merit or glory in a married than a maiden queen. Yet, the next morning, after sleeping in a room hung with the tapestry of the voyage of Eneas, when her majesty hunted in the Park, she was met by Diana, who pronouncing our royal prude to be the brightest paragon of unspotted chastity, invited her to groves free from the intrusions of Aëdon. The truth is, she was so profusely flattered for this virtue, because it was esteemed the characteristic ornament of the heroines, as fantastic honour was the chief pride of the champions of the old barbarous romances. It was in conformity to the sentiments of chivalry, which still continued in vogue, that she was celebrated for chastity: the compliment, however, was paid in a classical allusion.

"This inundation of classical pedantry soon infected our poetry. Our writers, already trained in the school of fancy, were suddenly dazzled with these novel imaginations, and the divinities and heroes of pagan antiquity decorated every composition. The perpetual allusions to ancient fable were often introduced without the least regard to propriety. Shakspeare's Mrs. Page, who is not intended in any degree to be a learned or an affected lady, laughing at the cumbersome courtship of her corpulent lover Falstaffe, says, "I had rather be a giants and lie under mount Pelion." This familiarity with the pagan story was not, however, so much owing to the prevail-

ing study of the original authors, as to the numerous English versions of them, which were constantly made. The translations of the classics, which now employed every pen, gave a currency and a celebrity to these fancies, and had the effect of diffusing them among the people. No sooner were they delivered from the pale of the scholastic languages, than they acquired a general notoriety. Ovid's *Metamorphoses* just translated by Golding, to instance no farther, disclosed a new world of fiction, even to the illiterate. As we had now all the ancient fables in English, learned allusions, whether in a poem or a pageant, were no longer obscure and unintelligible to common readers and common spectators. And here we are led to observe, that at this restoration of the classics, we were first struck only with their fabulous inventions. We did not attend to their regularity of design and justness of sentiment. A rude age, beginning to read these writers, imitated their extravagancies, not their natural beauties. And these, like other novelties, were pursued to a blameable excess.

"Another capital source of the poetry peculiar to this period, consisted in the numerous translations of Italian tales into English. These narratives, not dealing altogether in romantic inventions, but in real life and manners, and in artful arrangements of fictitious yet probable events, afforded a new gratification to a people which yet retained their ancient relish for tale-telling, and became the fashionable amusement of all who professed to read for pleasure. They gave rise to innumerable plays and poems, which would not otherwise have existed; and turned the thoughts of our writers to new inventions of the same kind. Before these books

became common, affecting situations, the combination of incident, and the pathos of catastrophe, were almost unknown. Distress, especially that arising from the conflicts of the tender passion, had not yet been shewn in its most interesting forms. It was hence our poets, particularly the dramatic, borrowed ideas of a legitimate plot, and the complication of facts necessary to constitute a story either of the comic or tragic species. In proportion as knowledge increased, genius had wanted subjects and materials. These pieces usurped the place of legends and chronicles. And although the old historical songs of the minstrels contained much bold adventure, heroic enterprize, and strong touches of rude delineation, yet they failed in that multiplication and disposition of circumstances, and in that description of characters and events approaching nearer to truth and reality, which were demanded by a more discerning and curious age. Even the rugged features of the original Gothic romance were softened by this sort of reading: and the Italian pastoral, yet with some mixture of the kind of incidents described in Heliodorus's *Ethiopic History*, now newly translated, was engrafted on the feudal manners in Sydney's *Arcadia*.

"But the reformation had not yet destroyed every delusion, nor disenchanted all the strong holds of superstition. A few dim characters were yet legible in the mouldering creed of tradition. Every goblin of ignorance did not vanish at the first glimmerings of the morning of science. Reason featured a few demons still to linger, which she chose to retain in her service under the guidance of poetry. Men believed, or were willing to believe, that spirits were yet hovering around, who brought

with them "airs from heaven, or "blasts from hell," that the ghost was duly released from his prison of torment at the sound of the curfew, and that fairies imprinted mysterious circles on the turf by moonlight. Much of this credulity was even consecrated by the name of science and profound speculation. Prospero had not yet "broken and buried his staff," nor "drowned his book deeper than "did ever plummet sound." It was now that the alchymist, and the judicial astrologer, conducted his occult operations by the potent intercourse of some preternatural being, who came obsequious to his call, and was bound to accomplish his severest services, under certain conditions, and for a limited duration of time. It was actually one of the pretended feats of these fantastic philosophers, to evoke the queen of the fairies in the solitude of a gloomy grove, who, preceded by a sudden rustling of the leaves, appeared in robes of transcendent lustre. The Shakspeare of a more instructed and polished age, would not have given us a magician darkening the sun at noon, the sab-bath of the witches, and the cauldron of incantation.

"Undoubtedly most of these notions were credited and entertained in a much higher degree, in the preceding periods. But the arts of composition had not then made a sufficient progress, nor would the poets of those periods have managed them with so much address and judgment. We were now arrived at that point, when the national credulity, chastened by reason, had produced a sort of civilized superstition, and left a set of traditions, fanciful enough for poetic decoration, and yet not too violent and chimerical for common sense. Hobbes, although no friend to this doctrine, observes happily:

"To

"In a good poem both judgment and fancy are required; but the fancy must be more eminent, because they please for the extravagancy, but ought not to displease by indiscretion."

"In the mean time the Gothic romance, although somewhat shook by the classical fictions, and by the tales of Boccaccio and Bandello, still maintained its ground: and the darling machineries of giants, dragons, and enchanted castles, borrowed from the magic storehouse of Boiardo, Ariosto, and Tasso, began to be employed by the epic muse. These ornaments have been censured by the bigotry of precise and servile critics, as abounding in whimsical absurdities, and as unwarrantable deviations from the practice of Homer and Virgil. The author of *An Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer* is willing to allow a fertility of genius, and a felicity of expression, to Tasso and to Ariosto; but at the same time complains, that, "quitting life, they betook themselves to aerial beings and Utopian characters, and filled their works with charms and visions, the modern supplements of the marvellous and sublime. The best poets copy nature, and give it such as they find it. When once they lose sight of this, they write false, be their talents ever so great." But what shall we say of those Utopians, the Cyclopes and the Lestrigons in the *Odyssey*? The hippogrif of Ariosto may be opposed to the harpies of Virgil. If leaves are turned into ships in the *Orlando*, nymphs are transformed into ships in the *Eneid*. Cacus is a more unnatural savage than Caliban. Nor am I convinced, that the imagery of Ismeno's necromantic forest in the *Gierusalemme Liberata*, guarded by walls and battlements of

fire, is less marvellous and sublime, than the leap of Juno's horses in the *Iliad*, celebrated by Longinus for its singular magnificence and dignity. On the principles of this critic, Voltaire's *Henriad* may be placed at the head of the modern epic. But I forbear to anticipate my opinion of a system, which will more properly be considered, when I come to speak of Spenser. I must, however, observe here, that the Gothic and pagan fictions were now frequently blended and incorporated. The *Lady of the Lake* floated in the suite of Neptune before queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth; Ariel assumes the semblance of a sea-nymph, and Hecate, by an easy association, conducts the rites of the weird sisters in *Macbeth*.

Allegory had been derived from the religious dramas into our civil spectacles. The masques and pageantries of the age of Elizabeth were not only furnished by the heathen divinities, but often by the virtues and vices impersonated, significantly decorated, accurately distinguished by their proper types, and represented by living actors. The ancient symbolical shews of this sort began now to lose their old barbarism and a mixture of religion, and to assume a degree of poetical elegance and precision. Nor was it only in the conformation of particular figures that much fancy was shewn, but in the contexture of some of the fables or devices presented by groupes of ideal personages. These exhibitions quickened creative invention, and reflected back on poetry what poetry had given. From their familiarity and public nature, they formed a national taste for allegory; and the allegorical poets were now writing to the people. Even romance was turned into this channel. In the *Fairy Queen*, allegory is wrought

upon chivalry, and the feats and figments of Arthur's round table are moralized. The virtues of magnificence and chastity are here personified: but they are imaged with the forms, and under the agency, of romantic knights and damsels. What was an after-thought in Tasso, appears to have been Spenser's premeditated and primary design. In the mean time, we must not confound these moral combatants of the Fairy Queen with some of its other embodied abstractions, which are purely and professedly allegorical.

"It may here be added, that only a few critical treatises, and but one Art of Poetry, were now written. Sentiments and images were not absolutely determined by the canons of composition: nor was genius awed by the consciousness of a future and final arraignment at the tribunal of taste. A certain dignity of inattention to niceties is now visible in our writers. Without too closely consulting a criterion of correctness, every man indulged his own capriciousness of invention. The poet's appeal was chiefly to his own voluntary feelings, his own immediate and peculiar mode of conception. And this freedom of thought was often expressed in an undisguised frankness of diction. A circumstance, by the way, that greatly contributed to give the flowing modulation which now marked the measures of our poets, and which soon degenerated into the opposite extreme of dissonance and asperity. Selection and discrimination were often overlooked. Shakspeare wandered in pursuit of universal nature. The glancings, of his eye are from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven. We behold him breaking the barriers of imaginary method. In the same scene, he descends from his

meridian of the noblest tragic sublimity, to puns and quibbles, to the meanest merriments of a plebeian farce. In the midst of his dignity, he resembles his own Richard the Second, the skipping king, who sometimes discarding the state of a monarch,

Mingled his royalty with carping fools.

He seems not to have seen any impropriety, in the most abrupt transitions, from dukes to buffoons, from senators to sailors, from counsellors to constables, and from kings to clowns. Like Virgil's majestic oak,

Quantum vertice ad auras  
Ætherias, tantum radice in Tartara  
tendit.

"No satires, properly so called, were written till towards the latter end of the queen's reign, and then but a few. Pictures drawn at large of the vices of the times, did not suit readers who loved to wander in the regions of artificial manners. The muse, like the people, was too solemn and reserved, too ceremonious and pedantic, to stoop to common life. Satire is the poetry of a nation highly polished.

"The importance of the female character was not yet acknowledged, nor were women admitted into the general commerce of society. The effect of that intercourse had not imparted a comic air to poetry, nor softened the severer tone of our versification with the levities of gallantry, and the familiarities of compliment, sometimes perhaps operating on serious subjects, and imperceptibly spreading themselves in the general habits of style and thought. I do not mean to insinuate, that our poetry has suffered from the great change of manners, which this assumption of the gentler sex, or rather

ther the improved state of female education, has produced, by giving elegance and variety to life, by enlarging the sphere of conversation, and by multiplying the topics and enriching the stores of wit and humour. But I am marking the peculiarities of composition: and my meaning was to suggest, that the absence of so important a circumstance from the modes and constitution of ancient life, must have influenced the contemporary poetry. Of the state of manners among our ancestors respecting this point, many traces remain. Their style of courtship may be collected from the love-dialogues of Hamlet, young Percy, Henry the Fifth, and Master Fenton. Their tragic heroines, their Desdemonas and Ophelias, although of so much consequence in the piece, are degraded to the background. In comedy their ladies are nothing more than merry wives, plain and cheerful matrons, who stand upon the charnels of their honesty. In the smaller poems, if a lover praises his mistress, she is complimented in strains neither polite nor pathetic, without elegance and without affection: she is described, not in the address of intelligible yet artful panegyric, not in the real co-

lours, and with the genuine accomplishments, of nature, but as an eccentric ideal being of another system, and as inspiring sentiments equally unmeaning, hyperbolical, and unnatural.

"All or most of these circumstances, contributed to give a descriptive, a picturesque, and a figurative cast to the poetical language. This effect appears even in the prose compositions of the reign of Elizabeth. In the subsequent age, prose became the language of poetry.

"In the mean time, general knowledge was increasing with a wide diffusion and a hasty rapidity. Books began to be multiplied, and a variety of the most useful and rational topics had been discussed in our own language. But science had not made too great advances. On the whole, we were now arrived at that period, propitious to the operations of original and true poetry, when the coyness of fancy was not always proof against the approaches of reason, when genius was rather directed than governed by judgment, and when taste and learning had so far only disciplined imagination, as to suffer its excesses to pass without censure or controul, for the sake of the beauties to which they were allied."

## On the TRAGIC BALLAD.

[From the DISSERTATIONS prefixed to the SCOTTISH TRAGIC BALLADS.]

"THAT species of poetry which we denominate ballad, is peculiar to a barbarous period. In an advanced state of arts, the comic ballad assumes the form of the song or sonnet, and the tragic or heroic ballad that of the higher ode.

"The cause of our pleasure in

seeing a mournful event represented, or hearing it described, has been attempted to be explained by many critics. It seems to arise from the mingled passions of admiration of the art of the author, curiosity to attend the termination, delight arising from a reflection on our own

security, and the sympathetic spirit.

“ In giving this pleasure, perhaps the tragic ballad yields to no effort of human genius. When we peruse a polished tragedy or ode, we admire the art of the author, and are led to praise the invention; but when we read an unartful description of a melancholy event, our passions are more intensely moved. The laboured productions of the informed composer resemble a Greek or Roman temple; when we enter it, we admire the art of the builder. The rude effusions of the Gothic muse are like the monuments of their architecture: we are filled with a religious reverence, and, forgetting our praise of the contriver, adore the present deity.

“ I believe no tragic ballad of renowned antiquity has reached our times, if we deny the beautiful and pathetic *Carmen de Atty* in Catullus, a title to this class; which, as a modern critic of note has observed, seems a translation from some Greek dithyrambic, far more ancient than the times of that poet. A translation of Sappho's ode might show that he took a delight in the ancient Greek compositions, from which indeed he seems to have derived in a great measure his peculiarly delicate vein.

“ But it was with the nations in a state of barbarity, that this effusion of the heart flourished as in its proper soil: their societies, rude and irregular, were full of vicissitudes, and every hour subject to the most dreadful accidents. The minstrels, who only knew, and were inspired by the present manners; caught the tale of mortality, and recorded it for the instruction and entertainment of others. It pleased the moving passions, and, at the same time afforded caution to their

auditors to guard against similar misadventures.

“ It is amusing to observe how expressive the poetry of every country is of its real manners. That of the northern nations is ferocious to the highest degree. Nor need we wonder that those, whose laws obliged them to decide the most trifling debate with the sword, delighted in a vein of poetry, which only painted deeds of blood, and objects horrible to the imagination. The ballad poetry of the Spaniards is tinged with the romantic gallantry of that nation. The hero is all complaisance; and takes off his helmet in the heat of combat, when he thinks on his mistress. That of the English is generous and brave. In their most noble ballad, Percy laments over the death of his mortal foe. That of the Scots is perhaps, like the face of their country, more various than the rest. We find in it the bravery of the English, the gallantry of the Spanish, and I am afraid in some instances the ferocity of the northern.

“ A late writer has remarked, that, “ the Scottish tunes, whether melancholy or gay; whether amorous, martial, or pastoral, are in a style highly original, and most feelingly expressive of all the passions from the sweetest to the most terrible.”

“ In the true poetic terrible, I believe, some passages in Hardyknute yield to no attempt of a strong and dark fancy. The ballad styled *Edward may*, I fear, be rather produced as an evidence that this displeases, when it rises to a degree of the horrible, which that singular piece certainly partakes of.

“ The pathetic is the other principal walk of the tragic muse; and in this the Scottish ballads yield to no compositions.

compositions whatever. What can be imagined more moving than the catastrophes of Ossian's Caithula, the most pathetic of all poems? or of Hardyknute, Child Maurice, and indeed most of the pieces now collected? Were ever the feelings of a fond mother expressed in language equal in simplicity and pathos to that of Lady Bothwell?—This leads me to remark, that the dialect in which the Scottish ballads are written gives them a great advantage in point of touching the passions. Their language is rough and unpolished, and seems to flow immediately from the heart. We meet with no conceits or far-fetched thoughts in them. They possess the pathetic power in the highest degree, because they do not affect it; and are striking because they do not meditate to strike.

“Most of the compositions now offered to the public, have already received approbation. The mutilated fragment of Hardyknute formerly in print, was admired and celebrated by the best critics. As it is now, I am inclined to think, given in its original perfection, it is certainly the most noble production in this style that ever appeared in the world. The manners and characters are strongly marked, and well preserved; the incidents deeply interesting; and the catastrophe new and affecting. I am indebted for most of the stanzas, now reco-

vered, to the memory of a lady in Lanerkshire.

“A modern lyric poet of the first class has pronounced Child Maurice a divine ballad. “Aristotle's best rules,” says he, “are observed in it, in a manner that shews the author had never read Aristotle.” Indeed, if any one will peruse Aristotle's Art of Poetry with Dacier's elucidations, and afterwards compare their most approved rules with this simple ballad, he will find that they are better illustrated by this rude effort of the Gothic muse, than by the most exquisite tragedy of ancient or modern times; the *Œdipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles, the *Athalie* of Racine, the *Merope* of Maffei, and even the very excellent drama, which seems immediately founded on it, not excepted; there being many delicate strokes in this original, which the plot adopted by that author forbade his making proper use of. This does honour at once to the unknown composer of this ballad, and to the first of critics. In the former the reader will admire a genius, that, probably untracked by erudition, could produce a story corresponding to the intricate though natural rules of the Greek author. To the latter will be readily confirmed the applause of an ancient, that he was the secretary of nature, and his pen was ever dipped in good sense.”

## ACCOUNT of the TATLER and SPECTATOR.

[From Dr. JOHNSON'S LIVES of the POETS.]

“**H**E [Mr. Addison] was in Ireland when Steele, without any communication of his design, be-

gan the publication of the Tatler; but he was not long concealed: by inserting a remark on Virgil, which Addison

son had given him, he discovered himself. It is indeed not easy for any man to write upon literature, or common life, so as not to make himself known to those with whom he familiarly converses, and who are acquainted with his track of study, his favourite topicks, his peculiar notions, and his habitual phrases.

“ If Steele desired to write in secret, he was not lucky; a single month detected him. His first *Tatler* was published April 22 (1709), and Addison’s contribution appeared May 26. Tickell observes, that the *Tatler* began and was concluded without his concurrence. This is doubtless literally true; but the work did not suffer much by his unconscionableness of its commencement, or his absence at its cessation; for he continued his assistance to December 23, and the paper stopped on January 2. He did not distinguish his pieces by any signature; and I know not whether his name was not kept secret, till the papers were collected into volumes.

“ To the *Tatler*, in about two months, succeeded the *Spectator*; a series of essays of the same kind, but written with less levity, upon a more regular plan, and published daily. Such an undertaking shewed the writers not to distrust their own copiousness of materials or facility of composition, and their performance justified their confidence. They found, however, in their progress, many auxiliaries. To attempt a single paper was no terrifying labour: many pieces were offered, and many were received.

“ Addison had enough of the zeal of party, but Steele had at that time almost nothing else. The *Spectator*, in one of the first papers, shewed the political tenets of its authors; but a resolution was soon taken of court- ing general approbation by general

topicks, and subjects on which faction had produced no diversity of sentiments; such as literature, morality, and familiar life. To this practice they adhered with very few deviations. The ardour of Steele once broke out in praise of Marlborough; and when Dr. Fleetwood prefixed to some sermons a preface, overflowing with whiggish opinions, that it might be read by the Queen, it was reprinted in the *Spectator*.

“ To teach the minuter decencies and inferior duties, to regulate the practice of daily conversation, to correct those depravities which are rather ridiculous than criminal, and remove those grievances, which, if they produce no lasting calamities, impress hourly vexation, was first attempted in Italy by Casa in his book of Manners, and Castiglione in his *Courtier*, two books yet celebrated in Italy for purity and elegance, and which, if they are now less read, are neglected only because they have effected that reformation which their authors intended, and their precepts now are no longer wanted. Their usefulness to the age in which they were written, is sufficiently attested by the translations which almost all the nations of Europe were in haste to obtain.

“ This species of instruction was continued, and perhaps advanced, by the French: among whom La Bruyere’s *Manners of the Age*, though, as Boileau remarked, it is written without connection, certainly deserves great praise, for liveliness of description and justness of observation.

“ Before the *Tatler* and *Spectator*, if the writers for the Theatre are excepted, England had no masters of common life. No writers had yet undertaken to reform either the savageness of neglect, or the impertinence

pertinence of civility; to teach when to speak, or to be silent; how to refuse, or how to comply. We wanted not books to teach us our more important duties, and to settle opinions in philosophy or politics; but an *arbiter elegantiarum*, a judge of propriety, was yet wanting, who should survey the track of daily conversation, and free it from thorns and prickles, which tease the passer, though they do not wound him.

“ For this purpose nothing is so proper as the frequent publication of short papers, which we read not as study but amusement. If the subject be slight, the treatise likewise is short. The busy may find time, and the idle may find patience.

“ This mode of conveying cheap and easy knowledge began among us in the civil war, when it was much the interest of either party to raise and fix the prejudices of the people. At that time appeared *Mercurius Aulicus*, *Mercurius Rusticus*, and *Mercurius Civicus*. It is said that when any title grew popular, it was stolen by the antagonist, who by this stratagem conveyed his notions to those who would not have received him had he not worn the appearance of a friend. The tumult of those unhappy days left scarcely any man leisure to treasure up occasional compositions; and so much were they neglected, that a complete collection is no where to be found.

“ These *Mercuries* were succeeded by *L'Estrange's Observator*, and that by *Lesley's Rehearsal*, and perhaps by others; but hitherto nothing had been conveyed to the people in this commodious manner, but controversy relating to the church or state; of which they taught many to talk, whom they could not teach to judge.

“ It has been suggested that the

Royal Society was instituted soon after the Restoration, to divert the attention of the people from public discontent. The *Tatler* and *Spectator* had the same tendency: they were published at a time when two parties, loud, restless, and violent, each with plausible declarations, and each perhaps without any distinct termination of its views, were agitating the nation: to minds heated with political contest, they supplied cooler and more inoffensive reflections; and it is said by Addison, in a subsequent work, that they had a perceptible influence upon the conversation of that time, and taught the frolick and the gay to unite merriment with decency; an effect which they can never wholly lose, while they continue to be among the first books by which both sexes are initiated in the elegancies of knowledge.

“ The *Tatler* and *Spectator* reduced, like *Casa*, the unsettled practice of daily intercourse to propriety and politeness; and, like *La Bruyere*, exhibited the characters and manners of the age. The personages introduced in these papers were not merely ideal; they were then known, and conspicuous in various stations. Of the *Tatler* this is told by Steele in his last paper, and of the *Spectator* by Budgell in the preface to *Theophrastus*; a book which Addison has recommended, and which he was suspected to have revised, if he did not write it. Of those portraits, which may be supposed to be sometimes embellished, and sometimes aggravated, the originals are partly known, and partly forgotten.

“ But to say that they united the plans of two or three eminent writers, is to give them but a small part of their due praise: they superadded literature and criticism,  
and

and sometimes towered far above their predecessors, and taught, with great justness of argument and dignity of language, the most important duties and sublime truths.

“ All these topicks were happily varied with elegant fictions and refined allegories, and illuminated with different changes of style and felicities of invention.

“ It is recorded by Dudgeell, that of the characters feigned or exhibited in the Spectator, the favourite of Addison was Sir Roger de Coverley, of whom he had formed a very delicate and discriminated idea, which he would not suffer to be violated; and therefore when Steele had shewn him innocently picking up a girl in the Temple, and taking her to a tavern, he drew upon himself so much of his friend's indignation, that he was forced to appease him by a promise of forbearing Sir Roger for the time to come.

“ The reason which induced Cervantes to bring his hero to the grave, *para mi sola nacio Don Quixote, y yo para el*, made Addison declare, with an undue vehemence of expression, that he would kill Sir Roger; being of opinion that they were born for one another, and that any other hand would do him wrong.

“ It may be doubted whether Addison ever filled up his original delineation. He describes his knight as having his imagination somewhat warped; but of this perversion he has made very little use. The irregularities in Sir Roger's conduct, seem not so much the effects of a mind deviating from the beaten track of life, by the perpetual pressure of some overwhelming idea, as of habitual rascality, and that negligence which solitary grandeur naturally generates.

“ The variable weather of the

mind, the flying vapours of incipient madness, which from time to time cloud reason, without eclipsing it, it requires so much nicety to exhibit, that Addison seems to have been deterred from prosecuting his own design.

“ To Sir Roger, who, as a country gentleman, appears to be a tory, or, as it is gently expressed, an adherent to the landed interest, is opposed Sir Andrew Freeport, a new man, a wealthy merchant, zealous for the moneyed interest, and a whig. Of this contrariety of opinions, it is probable more consequences were at first intended than could be produced, when the resolution was taken to exclude party from the paper. Sir Andrew does but little, and that little seems not to have pleased Addison, who, when he dismissed him from the club, changed his opinions. Steele had made him in the true spirit of unfeeling commerce, declare that he *would not build an hospital for idle people*; but at last he buys land, settles in the country, and builds not a manufactory, but an hospital for twelve old husbandmen, for men with whom a merchant has little acquaintance, and whom he commonly considers with little kindness.

“ Of essays thus elegant, thus instructive, and thus commodiously distributed, it is natural to suppose the approbation general and the sale numerous. I once heard it observed, that the sale may be calculated by the product of the tax, related in the last number to produce more than twenty pounds a week, and therefore stated at one and twenty pounds, or three pounds ten shillings a day: this, at a half-penny a paper, will give sixteen hundred and eighty for the daily number.

“ This sale is not great; yet this,

this, if Swift be credited, was likely to grow less ; for he declares that the Spectator, whom he ridicules for

his endless mention of the fair sex, had before his recess wearied his readers."

## CHARACTER of THOMSON'S SEASONS.

[From the same Work.]

"AS a writer, he is entitled to one praise of the highest kind ; his mode of thinking, and of expressing his thoughts, is original. His blank verse is no more the blank verse of Milton, or of any other poet, than the rhymes of Prior are the rhymes of Cowley. His numbers, his pauses, his diction, are of his own growth, without transcription, without imitation. He thinks in a peculiar train, and he thinks always as a man of genius ; he looks round on Nature and on Life, with the eye which Nature bestows only on a poet ; the eye that distinguishes, in every thing presented to its view, whatever there is on which imagination can delight to be detained, and with a mind that at once comprehends the vast, and attends to the minute. The reader of the Seasons wonders that he never saw before what Thomson shews him, and that he never yet has felt what Thomson impresses.

"His is one of the works in which blank verse seems properly used ; Thomson's wide expansion of general views, and his enumeration of circumstantial varieties, would have been obstructed and embarrassed by the frequent interfections of the sense, which are the necessary effects of rhyme.

"His descriptions of extended scenes and general effects bring before us the whole magnificence of Nature, whether pleasing or dreadful. The gaiety of Spring, the

splendour of Summer, the tranquillity of Autumn, and the horror of Winter, take in their turns possession of the mind. The poet leads us through the appearances of things as they are successively varied by the vicissitudes of the year, and imparts to us so much of his own enthusiasm, that our thoughts expand with his imagery, and kindle with his sentiments. Nor is the naturalist without his part in the entertainment ; for he is assisted to recollect and to combine, to arrange his discoveries, and to amplify the sphere of his contemplation.

"The great defect of the Seasons is want of method ; but for this I know not that there was any remedy. Of many appearances subsisting all at once, no rule can be given why one should be mentioned before another : yet the memory wants the help of order, and the curiosity is not excited by suspense or expectation.

"His diction is in the highest degree florid and luxuriant, such as may be said to be to his images and thoughts *both their lustre and their shade* ; such as invests them with splendour, through which perhaps they are not always easily discerned. It is too exuberant, and sometimes may be charged with filling the ear more than the mind.

"These Poems, with which I was acquainted at their first appearance, I have since found altered and enlarged by subsequent revivals, as the  
author

author supposed his judgement to grow more exact, and as books or conversation extended his knowledge and opened his prospects. They are, I think, improved in general;

yet I know not whether they have not lost part of what Temple calls their *race*; a word which, applied to wines, in its primitive sense, means the flavour of the soil."

### CHARACTER of Dr. YOUNG's POETRY.

[From the same Work.]

"OF Young's Poems it is difficult to give any general character; for he has no uniformity of manner: one of his pieces has no great resemblance to another. He began to write early, and continued long; and at different times had different modes of poetical excellence in view. His numbers are sometimes smooth, and sometimes rugged: his style is sometimes concatenated, and sometimes abrupt; sometimes diffusive, and sometimes concise. His plan seems to have started in his mind at the present moment, and his thoughts appear the effects of chance, sometimes adverse, and sometimes lucky, with very little operation of judgement.

"He was not one of the writers whom experience improves, and who observing their own faults become gradually correct. His Poem on the Last Day, his first great performance, has an equability and propriety, which he afterwards either never endeavoured or never attained. Many paragraphs are noble, and few are mean, yet the whole is languid; the plan is too much extended, and a succession of images divides and weakens the general conception; but the great reason why the reader is disappointed is, that the thought of the LAST DAY makes every man more than poetical, by spreading over his mind a general obscurity of

sacred horror, that oppresses distinction, and disdains expression.

"His story of Jane Grey was never popular. It is written with elegance enough, but Jane is too heroic to be pitied.

"The Universal Passion is indeed a very great performance. It is said to be a series of epigrams; but if it be, it is what the author intended: his endeavour was at the production of striking distichs and pointed sentences; and his distichs have the weight of solid sentiment, and his points the sharpness of resistless truth. His characters are often selected with discernment, and drawn with nicety; his illustrations are often happy, and his reflections often just. His species of satire is between those of Horace and of Juvenal; he has the gaiety of Horace without his laxity of numbers, and the morality of Juvenal with greater variation of images. He plays, indeed, only on the surface of life; he never penetrates the recesses of the mind, and therefore the whole power of his poetry is exhausted by a single perusal; his conceits please only when they surprise.

"To translate he never condescended, unless his Paraphrase on Job may be considered as a version; in which he has not, I think, been unsuccessful: he indeed favoured himself, by chusing those parts which

which most easily admit the ornaments of English poetry.

"He had least success in his lyric attempts, in which he seems to have been under some malignant influence: he is always labouring to be great, and at last is only turgid.

"In his *Night Thoughts* he has exhibited a very wide display of original poetry, variegated with deep reflections and striking allusions, a wilderness of thought, in which the fertility of fancy scatters flowers of every hue and of every odour. This is one of the few poems in which blank verse could not be changed for rhyme but with disadvantage. The wild diffusion of the sentiments, and the digressive sallies of imagination, would have been compressed and restrained by regard to rhyme. The excellence of this work is not exactness, but copiousness; particular lines are not to be regarded; the power is in the whole, and in the whole there is a magnificence like that ascribed to a Chinese plantation, the magnificence of vast extent and endless diversity.

"His last poem was the *Resignation*; in which he made, as he was accustomed, an experiment of a new mode of writing, and succeeded better than in his *Ocean* or his *Merchant*. It was very falsely represented as a proof of decaying faculties. There is Young in every stanza, such as he often was in his highest vigour.

"His *Tragedies* not making part of this Collection, I had forgotten, till Mr. Steevens recalled them to my thoughts by remarking, that he seemed to have one favourite catastrophe, as his three Plays all concluded with lavish suicide; a method by which, as Dryden remarked, a poet easily rids his scene of persons

whom he wants not to keep alive. In *Busiris* there are the greatest ebullitions of imagination; but the pride of *Busiris* is such as no other man can have, and the whole is too remote from known life to raise either grief, terror, or indignation. The *Revenge* approaches much nearer to human practices and manners, and therefore keeps possession of the stage: the first design seems suggested by *Othello*; but the reflections, the incidents, and the diction, are original. The moral observations are so introduced, and so expressed, as to have all the novelty that can be required. Of *The Brothers* I may be allowed to say nothing, since nothing was ever said of it by the public.

"It must be allowed of Young's poetry, that it abounds in thought, but without much accuracy or selection. When he lays hold of an illustration, he pursues it beyond expectation, sometimes happily, as in his parallel of *Quicksilver* with *Pleasure*, which I have heard repeated with approbation by a lady, of whose praise he would have been justly proud, and which is very ingenious, very subtle, and almost exact: but sometimes he is less lucky, as when, in his *Night Thoughts*, having it dropped into his mind, that the orbs, floating in space, might be called the cluster of creation, he thinks on a cluster of grapes, and says, that they all hang on the great vine, drinking the nectarous juice of immortal life.

"His conceits are sometimes yet less valuable: in the *Last Day*, he hopes to illustrate the re-assembly of the atoms that compose the human body at the trump of doom, by the collection of bees into a swarm at the tinkling of a pan.

"The

"The Prophet says of Tyre, that  
her Merchants are Princes; Young  
says of Tyre in his Merchant,

Her merchants Princes, and each deck  
a Throne.

Let burlesque try to go beyond him.

"He has the trick of joining the  
turgid and familiar: to buy the  
alliance of Britain, "Climes were  
paid down." Antithesis is his fa-  
vourite, "They for kindness hate;"  
and "because she's right, she's ever  
in the wrong."

"His versification is his own;  
neither his blank nor his rhyming  
lines have any resemblance to those  
of former writers: he picks up no  
hemistichs; he copies no favourite  
expressions; he seems to have laid

up no stores of thought or diction,  
but to owe all to the fortuitous sug-  
gestions of the present moment.  
Yet I have reason to believe that,  
when once he had formed a new de-  
sign, he then laboured it with very  
patient industry, and that he com-  
posed with great labour, and fre-  
quent revisions.

"His verses are formed by no  
certain model; for he is no more  
like himself in his different pro-  
ductions than he is like others. He  
seems never to have studied prosody,  
nor to have had any direction but  
from his own ear. But, with all  
his defects, he was a man of genius  
and a poet."

## PHILOSOPHICAL PAPERS.

Account of the METHODS of BOTANY before Linnæus wrote.

[From Dr. PULTENEY's General View of the Writings of LINNÆUS.]

“IT may not be improper to premise some observations on methods of botany in general, before our author wrote. It is needless to urge the necessity of method in the study of nature, as it is the very soul of science; and, amidst such a multitude of objects which the vegetable kingdom affords, all attempts towards the acquisition of knowledge without it, must end in uncertainty and confusion. We have sufficient proofs of this in the writers upon plants before the invention of systems, and see and deplore the want of them, in the loss of many valuable articles, not only in the *Materia Medica*, but in the *Materia Pictoria*, and *Tinctoria* of the ancients. Articles, the virtues and properties of which appear to have been well ascertained, are now lost to us, for want of a more scientific arrangement of the subjects, and accuracy in the descriptions of them.

“Botanic writers chose very different methods of arranging plants, not only before, but since, the invention of systematic botany. The alphabetic has been much followed, especially in local catalogues. Some have disposed the plants according to the time of flowering; as Pauli, in his *Quadripartitum Botanicum*, published in 1639: Bessler, in the *Hortus Eystettenfis*, 1640; and 1781.

Dillenius, in the *Catalogus Giffensis*, 1719. Others have arranged them according to the different places of their growth; as the authors of the *Historia Lugdunensis*, in 1587: and some according to their virtues in medicine. Others again, observing that numbers of vegetables agreed with each other in their general habit and appearance, or had a certain harmony and proportion in the form and disposition of their roots, leaves, flowers, or fruit; in their particular mode of growing, flowering, or foliation, saw that they naturally fell as it were into classes, agreeable to such distinctions. Hence their division of trees, into *pomifera*, *prunifera*, *baccifera*, *nucifera*, *glandifera*, &c.; of herbs, into *bulbosæ*, *siliquosæ*, *umbellifera*, *verticillatæ*, *papilionaceæ*, &c. These were so many classes or orders, which nature had so characterized that they could not escape their notice; and, could all the subjects of the vegetable kingdom be properly reduced to such combinations, and the whole chain properly connected, we should then see what is meant by the natural method, that *ultimum et desideratum* of botany, of which our author says, however, “*Nec sperare fas est, quod nostra Ætas systema quoddam naturale videre queat, et vix seri nepotes.*” Nevertheless the best

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writers

writers of the last century, such were John and Caspar Bauhine, endeavoured to preserve the above mentioned arrangement, although it was in a rude manner. In this they were followed by our own countrymen Gerard and Parkinson; but as they established no precise definitions to their classes, so in their subdivisions, or chapters, they paid little or no regard to the minuter parts of distinction, taken from the fructification: hence, nothing like general notes can be discovered in their methods: so that the only resource, in finding many of their plants, was, to read over their long and tedious descriptions, which, after all, were frequently insufficient to distinguish the plant sought for.

“That great naturalist Conrad Gesner, who died in 1565, in his 50th year, appears to have been the first who thought, with any precision, of a method of classing plants from the flower, or fruit; but he only slightly touches thereon in his epistles: he lived not to bring any thing to perfection in this way. It was reserved for Cæsalpinus, physician to pope Clement VIII. to be the first author who arranged plants in a true systematic manner, in his *Libri de Plantis*, published in 1583, in which he establishes the characters principally from the fruit. It is wonderful, that after this time, though so many eminent botanists flourished, among whom were the two Bauhines, no one ever thought of pursuing the plan he laid down, until Morison and Ray, who both published, nearly together, their separate systems, founded also upon distinctions principally drawn from the fruit. Since their time, others have laboured to bring their systems to perfection; as Knaut in Germany; Paul Herman, and Boer-

haave, in Holland: and Dillenius, late professor at Oxford, had still farther perfected Mr. Ray's method, as is evident from the arrangement he has given to the British plants, in the third edition of that author's *Synopsis*.

“Several elegant systems have also been formed from the flower, as the basis of the classical character; in considering which, both the regularity and irregularity, as well as the number of the petals, have been made the principal distinction. Rivini, at Leipzig, in 1690, was the first who took the flower as the foundation of his method, as did Ruppinius in 1718. But no one carried this method to such perfection as Tournefort, in 1694, who forms his classical character from the figure of the flower, and establishes his orders or subdivisions on the different situation of the fruit, whether above or below the empalement or receptacle.

“Besides these methods, in which the authors have considered one part only, either flower or fruit, as the base of their systems, several others have been constructed of late years, in which vegetables have been arranged, as far as possible, according to what have been called the natural classes; the foundations of which take in a numerous set of characters, arising from a combination and agreement in the habit of the plants, as well as their harmony in the essential parts of fructification. Among these, that of Van Royen, late professor at Leyden, is among the most elegant attempts towards this ultimate in botany. This is exhibited in the *Predromus Floræ Leydenfis*, 1740. He is followed by Gmelin, in the *Flora Sibirica*, 1747, &c. These authors, as also L. Gerard, in his *Flora Gallo Provincialis*, Paris

1761, preserve the natural generical characters of Linnæus almost entire through their systems; and the latter writer has, with some variations, taken the orders of a natural method, constructed by B. Jusieu, for his classes. Haller also planned, and brought to great perfection, a method of this kind, as is exhibited in his *Enumeratio Stirpium Helvetiæ*, 1742, and in the *Hortus Gottingensis*, 1753, which he has since still more elaborated, in a work of infinite labour and merit, the *Historia Stirpium Helvetiæ*, 3 tom. fol. 1768.

"Linnæus himself very early attempted a natural method: but it is evident he thought there were too many links wanting in the chain, to render it the readiest guide to botanical science; since he soon deserted it, although he continued to improve it to the last: however he only reduced the *genera* into orders, but did not venture so far as to form the classical part of a system on that plan. The present learned and indefatigable professor Dr. Hope, at Edinburgh, whose zeal and success in cultivating and diffusing the principles of the Linnæan system are well known, has constructed perhaps

the most elaborate attempt of this kind that the botanists have ever seen. We join with many others in wishing that he may be enabled to give it all that perfection which may encourage him to present it to the public.

"Methods have also been formed from the different species and arrangement of the calyx, or cup of the flower in plants. Professor Magnol, of Montpellier, published in 1720, on this plan; and Linnæus himself in 1737, but he did not pursue it.

"Every method of arrangement hath its advantage in some respect or other; and it is surely rather to be regretted, howsoever the flower may claim the preference, that a method founded in the distinctions of the fruit, should not also have as it were a secondary place in common use; for, as all artificial methods are only supposed to be so many *succedanea* to the natural one, a due attention to each might tend to illustrate the natural classes, to connect them, reduce the anomalies, and so far pave the way to the accomplishment of that scheme, which, however, will yet by many be considered as quite impracticable in botany."

## LINNÆUS'S ARRANGEMENT of the PLANTS.

[From the same Work.]

"LINNÆUS was the first who constituted the stamina and pistils as the basis of an artificial method of arranging plants; and he tells us, in his *Classes Plantarum*, he was led to this by considering the great importance of these parts in vegetation. They alone are the essentials necessary to fructification;

all other parts, except the anthera and stigma, being wanting in some flowers; and the present philosophy of botany regards the former as the male, and the latter as the female organs of generation in plants. As such indeed they must be considered analogically, and in a philosophical view; yet, perhaps, the Linnæan

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system,

system, admirable as it is, would not have been less acceptable had the classical terms been expressive only of number and situation, without regard to the offices of the parts in framing the terms. Ludwig, of Leipzig, who has endeavoured to combine the systems of Rivinus and Linnaeus, by taking his classes from the method of the former, and his orders from that of the latter, has avoided this mode of expression, in substituting the terms *monantheræ*, *monophyle*, &c. &c.

"The author begins the new and enlarged edition of the *Systema Vegetabilium* of 1767, by premising a compendious view of the philosophy of vegetation, and then proceeds to what he calls *Delineatio Plantæ*, something analogous to what he had entitled, in the editions prior to the 10th, *Methodus Demonstrandæ Vegetabilia*. Here he introduces all the terms he makes use of, in describing plants, and, by a methodical and apt disposition of them, really explains them at the same time. After this, he gives the *Clavis* or *Characteres Classium*, and then comes to the system itself.

"The prerogative of any artificial system in botany, is supposed to consist in its keeping together, as much as possible, the genera, in what are called the natural classes or orders, and thus to far approaching to the system of nature. All artificial systems being founded on some, or other, or all the parts of fructification, without regard to habit, will be found in many instances to break the order of the natural classes, and disjoin genera, which nature seems to have classed. The more simple and uniform the classical characters of any system are, the more they are likely to interfere in this respect: nevertheless, it is pleasing to observe, how well many of the natu-

ral classes are kept together in the Linnæan system; the characters of which enjoy the advantage of being very simple, and easy to retain in the memory, and of being founded on the parts of plants as little subject to variation as any whatever: yet, like all other methods, it has its defects; of which no one was more sensible than the author himself. There are many instances of particular species that break through the generical and classical characters of the system itself: but for these defects there is no other remedy, at present, than that which our author has applied, in the volume under consideration, and which ought ever, in arrangements of this kind, to be rigidly observed. Wherever these anomalies take place, they are mentioned among the fictitious characters, under the class and order to which the number of stamina or pistils entitle them to a place.

"The sexual system briefly is as follows:—All known plants are divided into 24 classes; the characters of which are established upon the number, or different situation, or arrangement of the stamina or male organs: and the orders, or subdivisions, of these classes, as far as possible, on a similar number, situation, or arrangement, of the pistils, or female organs.

"The first twenty classes contain what the author calls hermaphrodite flowers, or such as have the stamina and pistils both within the same cup or petals, or standing on the same receptacle, where those are wanting. Of these twenty, the first ten classes proceed in an uninterrupted series, from *Monandria* to *Decandria*; the plants of each having as many stamina as the title expresses.

"The 11th class is *Dodecandria*, as there are no plants yet discovered which have only eleven stamina.

"The

" The 12th, *Icosandria* ; such plants as have about 20 stamina, or more ; but always arising from the calyx or corolla, and not from the receptacle.

" The 13th, *Polyandria* ; such as have from twenty to even a thousand stamina ; but always arising from the receptacle.

" The 14th class, *Didynamia* ; such as have four stamina, two long and two short. The essential character of this class does not consist in the number of stamina ; otherwise the plants might be referred to the *tetrandria* class ; but, in having two of the stamina shorter than the other, one pistil only, and an irregularly-shaped corolla.

" The 15th, *Tetradynamia* ; plants with six stamina, four long and two short.

" The 16th, *Monadelphica* ; such as have the stamina not distinct at the base, but united into one body.

" The 17th, *Diadelphica* ; such as have the stamina united at the base into two bodies.

" The 18th, *Polyadelphia* ; such as have the stamina united at the base into several bodies.

" The 19th, *Syngenesia* ; such as have the *antheræ*, but not the filaments, coalescing together, so as to form a tube or cylinder, through which the pistil is commonly transmitted.

" The 20th, *Gynandria* ; such as have the stamina springing from the pistil itself.

" The 21st, *Monoccia* ; such as have separate male and female flowers on the same plant.

" The 22d, *Dioecia* ; such as have separate male and female flowers on separate plants.

" The 23d, *Polygamia* ; such as have constantly, besides hermaphro-

dite flowers, others, either male or female, on the same plant.

" The 24th, *Cryptogamia* ; containing those plants the mode and organs of whose fructification are not yet sufficiently ascertained ; heretofore called imperfect plants.

" The secondary part of the system, the orders, or subdivisions of the foregoing classes, are established on the number of the pistils or female parts, through a considerable part of the system ; but in other parts, from various characters. Thus,

" The arrangement from number is pursued no farther than through the first thirteen classes : that is, so long as the classical character, uninterruptedly, depends on the number of stamina, so long the orders likewise depend on the number of pistils ; but, when situation or different arrangement take place, the orders are most commonly founded on other distinctions, which we shall briefly specify.

" The 14th class, or *Didynamia*, is divided into *Gymnospermia* and *Angiospermia* : the former having four naked seeds : the latter having the seeds inclosed in a seed-vessel.

" The 15th, *Tetradynamia*, has two orders, according to the size and shape of the pod or shale ; *Siliculosa*, short ; and *Siliquosa*, long.

" The orders in the three next classes, *Monadelphia*, *Diadelphia*, and *Polyadelphia*, are formed from the number of the stamina.

" Those of the *Syngenesia* class are six : in five of which the plants are *Polygamia*, and in the remaining one *Monogamia* ; and the differences in the orders of the former, arise from the different structure or sex of the floscules, constituting the whole flower.

"In the 20th class, Gynandria, the arrangement of the orders arises from the number of the stamina, as in the 16th, 17th, and 18th classes.

"In the 21st and 22d classes, the Monoecia and Dioecia, the classical characters of the foregoing part of the system are adopted as characters of the orders, as far down as to the Monoecia class itself. Thus the first order of those classes contains

Monandrous plants, and the last Gynandrous.

"The 23d, the Polygamia class, is divided into three orders, as the plants are Monoecious, Dioecious, or Trioecious.

"The 24th and last class, Cryptogamia, is divided into four orders, containing the Filices, Musci, Algæ, and Fungi."

### Some ACCOUNT of the general Methods of arranging the FOSSIL KINGDOM.

[From the same Work.]

"WE are now to accompany our author into the Fossil kingdom; in which, though he very early gave a specimen of his method of classing, he did not fully exemplify, as in vegetables, until the year 1768, when the third tome of the 12th edition of the *Systema Regni Lapideum*. This volume makes 222 pages, and is concluded with a short appendix of some unnoticed, or not well described animals and vegetables; together with a general index of the author's own generic names throughout every part of the system, distinguishing by a different type the subjects of the three kingdoms, the whole amounting to 1820 genera.

"In arranging Fossils, there have been various methods invented; each of which have had their patrons, and, for different purposes, each have their advantage. Some have founded the basis of their system on the figure, colour, structure, and other external and visible characters; yet, scarcely ever trusting solely to these, they called in the

aid of chemistry, so far at least, as the mineral acids would assist them. Others, as the professed chemists and metallurgists, have established their arrangement chiefly on chemical principles, as more immediately leading to the origin of fossil bodies in general; on which it must be acknowledged, the best basis for a system must be built, when we are happy enough to get sufficient light for this purpose: and at present, mineralogists throughout the world seem more intent on this view than ever: and probably the due consideration and extension of the volcanic system, will open new sources of information in this way.

"This volume begins with Linnaeus's own theory of the origin of fossil bodies in general, and their several combinations into those forms in which we meet with them in the body of the earth. The methodical and abbreviated manner in which our author has here given his philosophy of fossil bodies, renders it incapable of an abstract. He then proceeds to give a synoptical or classical view of the several systems of arranging

arranging these bodies, as they stand exhibited in the best authors on the subject, beginning with Bromelius, who published in 1730, and enumerate, Wallerius in 1747, Wolterstorf in 1748, Cartheuser in 1755, Justi 1757, Anonymus (Cronstedt) in 1758, and concludes with Vogel in 1762. To each of these he has subjoined short remarks relating to their methods, and theory of fossil bodies, and concludes this introductory part with an explanation of the terms of art used in his own work.

“ In these termini artis, our author, with his usual precision, has defined a set of terms equally new and curious, which are principally adapted to, and used in, the ultimate and most difficult part of the system, the specific characters. They are happily framed to express all differences in the figures of fossil bodies; in their crust, or outward appearance; their superficies; their competent particles, or fibres, in their texture, whether plated, fissile, &c.; in their hardness, or in their colour: the alterations they undergo by solution, whether by acids, or by fire.

“ It has been doubted by some of the most respectable mineralogists, whether we ought to descend below what are called generical distinctions in the fossil kingdom, so infinitely do the subjects thereof vary, and so imperceptible in general is that gradation by which they run into each other, in the various combined

forms, in which they are found in the earth. In the mean time, some distinctions of this kind seem quite necessary in systems established principally on external characters. Those which have for their basis the elementary or constituent principles of bodies, as analyzed, may stand with propriety in the form of synoptical tables, as exemplified in Cronstedt's mineralogy. Linnaeus and Wallerius were among the first who attempted the arduous task of fixing the specific characters: whether future mineralogists will adhere to, and improve this part of the scheme, time only must shew.

“ In all systems of the fossil kingdom, writers have been more particularly embarrassed by the earths and stones, especially when those have been more or less reduced to the state of ores, by the admixture of metallic principles: salts, inflammables, and metals, generally falling more easily, and almost naturally, into their several classes, or orders. The chemical systematics and metallurgists, begin usually with the earths, considering them as the basis of stones: Linnæus begins with the latter, professing to take a middle way between the mere metallurgist, and those who characterize from external appearance only. He divides the whole regnum lapidæum into three classes, under the names of Petræ, mineræ, and fossilia, each being subdivided into several orders, the whole comprehending fifty-four genera.”

## ACCOUNT of some particular ANIMALS in CONNECTICUT.

[From the General History of CONNECTICUT.]

**T**HERE are only two small parks of deer in Connecticut; but plenty of rabbits, hares, grey, black, striped and red squirrels, otters, minks, racoons, weazels, foxes, whappernockers, woodchucks, cubas, and skunks. The following descriptions of the four last mentioned animals may be new to the reader.

“ The whappernocker is somewhat bigger than a weazel, and of a beautiful brown-red colour. He lives in the woods on worms and birds; is so wild that no man can tame him; and, as he never quits his harbour in the day time, is only to be taken by traps in the night. Of the skins of these animals, which are covered with an exceeding fine fur, are made muffs at the price of thirty or forty guineas a-piece: so that it is not without reason the ladies pride themselves on the possession of this small appurtenance of female habiliment.

“ The woodchuck, erroneously called the badger by some persons, is of the size of a large racoon, in form resembling a guinea-pig, and, when eating, makes a noise like a hog, whence he is named woodchuck, or chuck of the wood. His legs are short; but his claws sharp, teeth strong, and courage great, on occasions of self-defence. He burrows in the earth, feeds on clover and pumpkins during summer, and sleeps all the winter. His flesh is good to eat, and his skin makes excellent leather.

“ The cuba, I suppose to be peculiar to New England. The male

is of the size of a large cat, has four long tusks sharp as a razor, is very active in defending himself, and, if he has the first blow, will spoil a dog before he yields. His lady is peaceable and harmless, and depends for protection upon her spouse; and, as he has more courage than prudence, always attends him to moderate his temper. She sees danger, and he fears it not. She chatters at him while he is preparing for battle; and, if she thinks the danger is too great, she runs to him, and clings about his neck, screaming her extreme distress his wrath abates, and by her advice they fly to their caves. In like manner, when he is chained, and irritated into the greatest rage by an impertinent dog, his lady, who is never chained, will fly about his neck and kiss him, and in half a minute restore him to calmness. He is very tender of all his family, and never forsakes them till death dissolves their union.—What farther shews the magnanimity of this little animal, he never manifests the least anger towards his lady, though I have often seen her extremely loquacious, and, as I guessed, impertinent to him. How happy would the rational part of the creation become, if they would but follow the example of these irrational beasts! I the more readily suppose the cuba to be peculiar to New England, not only from my never having yet seen the creature described, but also on account of its perverse observance of carnival and neglect of carême.

“ The skunk is also peculiar to America,

America, and very different from the pale-cat, which he is sometimes called. He is black striped with white; and of the size of a small racoon, with a sharp nose. He burrows in the earth like a fox, feeds like a fox on fowls and eggs, and has strong teeth and claws like a fox: he has long hair, and thick and good fur; is the beauty of the wilderness; walks slow, and cannot run so fast as a man; is not wild, but very familiar with every creature. His gait, which is shaggy, and about one foot in length, he turns over his back at pleasure, to make himself appear larger and higher than he really is. When his tail is thus lying on his back, he is prepared for war, and generally conquers every enemy that lives by air; for on it lies his only weapon, about one inch from his body, or rump, in a small bladder or bag, which is full of an essence, whose tint is of the brightest yellow, and odour somewhat like the smell of garlic, but far more exquisite and piercing than any volatile spirit known to chemists. One drop will scent a house to such a degree, that musk, with the help of brimstone and tar burnt, will not expel it in six months. The bladder in which this essence lies is worked by the animal like an engine, pump, or squirt; and when the creature is af-

faulted, he turns his head from his enemy, and discharges from his tail the essence, which fills the neighbouring air with a mist that destroys the possibility of living in it. I have seen a large house-dog, by one discharge of the skunk, retire with shame and sickness; and, at another time, a bullock bellowing as if a dog had held him by his nose. Were it not for man, no creature could kill this animal, which, instead of the lion, ought to be crowned king of animals, as well on account of his virtues and complaisance, as his courage. He knows his forte; he fears nothing, but conquers all; yet he is civil to all, and never gives, as he will not take, offence. His virtues are many. The wood of Calamba, which cures fainting-fits and strokes of the palsy, and is worth its weight in gold, is far less valuable than the above mentioned essence of this animal. The bag is extracted whole from his tail, and the essence preserved in glass; nothing else will confine it. One drop sufficiently impregnates a quart of spring water; and half a gill of water thus impregnated is a dose. It cures the hiccups, asthmatic, hysterical, paralytic, and hectic disorders; and the odour prevents faintness. The flesh of this animal is excellent food; and its oil cures sprains, and contractions of the sinews."

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Natural History and Description of the TYGER-CAT of the  
CAPE of GOOD HOPE. By Dr. REINHOLD FORSTER.

[From the PHILOSOPHICAL TRANSACTIONS.]

"**F**EW tribes of quadrupeds have in Africa more representatives of their different species than

that of the cat. The genus of antelopes may perhaps be excepted, since to my knowledge, about twenty different

ferent gazels and antelopes are to be met with in Africa; but no more than about eight or nine of the cat tribe have hitherto been discovered on that continent. However, I know about twenty-one different species of this great class; and, I suppose, these by no means exhaust this numerous tribe.

“The greater and more numerous the different genera of animals are, the more difficult it must be to the natural historian properly to arrange the whole of such an extensive division of animals, especially if they are not equally well known. To form new genera, in order to dispose and arrange them under, is a remedy which increases the evil, instead of curing it. The best method, therefore, which can be devised, is to make great divisions in each genus, comprehending those species which, on account of some common relation or character, have a greater affinity to one another. The genus of cat, to which the animal belongs we are going to speak of more at large, offers three very easy and natural subdivisions. The first comprehends animals related to the cat-tribe with long hair or manes on their necks; secondly, such as have remarkable long tails, without any marks of a mane on their necks; lastly, such as have a brush of hair on the tips of their ears, and shorter tails than the second sub-division. The first might be called in Latin *Felis jubatæ*; the second sub-division should be named *Ælures*; and the third, and last, *Lynces*. To the first sub-division the lion and the hunting leopard or Indian chittah, belong. The second sub-division consists of the tyger, the panther, the leopard, the ounce, the puma, the jaguar-ete, the jaguara, the ocelot, the ginky of Congo, the Ti-

betan tyger-cat of the cape of 'Nfussi of Congo, the Tibetan tyger-cat which I saw at Peteriburg, the common bush-cat of the cape; and, lastly, the wild cat, and its domestic varieties. To the third division belong the lynx, the caracal, the ferval, the bay lynx, and the ghaus of professor Guldenstedt.

“Since it is quite foreign to my purpose to speak of those species which are known already to the naturalist, I confine myself to that species only which hitherto has been imperfectly known to naturalists.

“The first notice we had of the Cape cat is, in my opinion, to be met with in Labat's relation *Histoire de l'Ethiopie occidentale*, tom. i. p. 177. taken as is supposed from father Carazzi. Labat mentions there the 'Nfussi, a kind of wild cat of the size of a dog, with a coat as much striped and varied as that of a tyger. Its appearance bespeaks cruelty, and its eyes fierceness; but it is cowardly, and gets its prey only by cunning and insidious arts. All these characters are perfectly applicable to the Cape cat, and it seems the animal is found in all parts of Africa, from Congo to the Cape of Good Hope, in an extent of country of about eleven degrees of latitude. Kolbe, in his present state of the Cape of Good Hope, vol. ii. p. 127. (of the English edition) speaks of a tyger bush-cat, which he describes as the largest of all the wild cats of the Cape-countries, and is spotted something like a tyger. A skin of this animal was seen by Mr. Pennant in a furrier's shop in London, who thought it came from the Cape of Good Hope: from this skin Mr. Pennant gave the first description which could be of any utility to a natural historian. All the  
other

other authors mention this animal in a vague manner. When I and my son touched the second time at the Cape of Good Hope in the year 1775, an animal of this species was offered me to purchase; but I refused buying it because it had a broken leg, which made me apprehensive of losing it by death during the passage from the Cape to London. It was very gentle and tame. It was brought in a basket to my apartment, where I kept it above four and twenty hours, which gave me the opportunity of describing it, and of observing its manners and œconomy; as it did to my son that of making a very accurate drawing of it.

“After a most minute examination, I found its manners and œconomy perfectly analagous to those of our domestic cats. It ate fresh raw meat, and was very much attached to its feeders and benefactors: though

it had broken the fore-leg by accident, it nevertheless was very easy. After it had been several times fed by me, it soon followed me like a tame favourite cat. It liked to be stroked and caressed; it rubbed its head and back always against the person's cloaths who fed it, and desired to be made much of. It purred as our domestic cats do when they are pleased. It had been taken when quite young in the woods, and was not above eight or nine months old: I can, however, positively aver, having seen many skins of full-grown tyger-cats, that it had already very nearly, if not quite attained its full growth. I was told, that the tyger-cats live in mountainous and woody tracts, and that in their wild state they are very great destroyers of hares, rabbits, yerbuas, young antelopes, lambkins, and of all the feathered tribe.”

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Some EXTRACTS from Dr. DODSON's Paper, concerning the  
HARMATTAN, a singular AFRICAN WIND.

[From the same Work.]

“THE Harmattan is a periodical wind which blows from the interior parts of Africa towards the Atlantic ocean, and possesses such extraordinary properties, as to merit the attention of the naturalist, making a curious and important article in the history and theory of the winds.

“The first information I had on this subject was from my friend Mr. Norris, who has frequently visited the coast of Africa, and is a gentleman of an excellent understanding and strict veracity. This informa-

tion immediately excited my attention; and as Mr. Norris was preparing to make another voyage to that part of the world, I desired him to confirm the facts which he had related, by farther enquiries, experiments, and observations; and it is from these materials, with which I have been obligingly furnished by Mr. Norris, that the following account is drawn up.

“On that part of the coast of Africa which lies between Cape Verd and Cape Lopez, an easterly wind prevails during the months of  
December,

December, January, and February, which by the Fantees, a nation on the Gold coast, is called the Harmattan. Cape Verd is in 15 N. latitude, and Cape Lopez in 1 S. latitude, and the coast between these two Capes runs, in an oblique direction, nearly from W. S. W. to E. S. E. forming a range of upwards of two thousand one hundred miles. At the isles de Los, which are a little to the northward of Sierra Leone, and to the southward of Cape Verd, it blows from E. S. E. on the Gold coast from the N. E. and at Cape Lopez and the river Gabon from the N. N. E. This wind is by the French and Portuguese who frequent the Gold coast, called simply the N. E. wind, the quarter from which it blows. The English, who sometimes borrow words and phrases from the Fantee language, which is less guttural and more harmonious than that of their neighbours, adopt the Fantee word Harmattan.

“The Harmattan comes on indiscriminately at any hour of the day, at any time of the tide, or at any period of the moon, and continues sometimes only a day or two, sometimes five or six days, and it has been known to last fifteen or sixteen days. There are generally three or four returns of it every season. It blows with a moderate force, not quite so strong as the sea breeze (which every day sets in during the fair season from the W. W. S. W. and S. W.) ; but somewhat stronger than the land wind at night from the N. and N. N. W.

“A fog or haze is one of the peculiarities which always accompanies the Harmattan. The gloom occasioned by this fog is so great, as sometimes to make even near objects obscure. The English fort at Why-

dah stands about the midway between the French and Portuguese forts, and not quite a quarter of a mile from either, yet very often from thence neither of the other forts can be discovered. The sun, concealed the greatest part of the day, appears only about a few hours about noon, and then of a mild red, exciting no painful sensation on the eye.

“2. Extreme dryness makes another extraordinary property of this wind. No dew falls during the continuance of the harmattan; nor is there the least appearance of moisture in the atmosphere. Vegetables of every kind are very much injured; all tender plants, and most of the productions of the garden, are destroyed; the grass withers, and becomes dry like hay; the vigorous ever-greens likewise feel its pernicious influence; the branches of the lemon, orange, and lime trees droop, the leaves become flaccid, wither, and, if the harmattan continues to blow for ten or twelve days, are so parched as to be easily rubbed to dust between the fingers: the fruit of these trees, deprived of its nourishment, and stunted in its growth, only appears to ripen, for it becomes yellow and dry, without acquiring half the usual size. The natives take this opportunity of the extreme dryness of the grass and young trees to set fire to them, especially near their roads, not only to keep those roads open to travellers, but to destroy the shelter which long grass, and thickets of young trees, would afford to skulking parties of their enemies. A fire thus lighted flies with such rapidity as to endanger those who travel: in that situation a common method of escape is, on discovering a fire to windward, to set the grass

grais on fire to leeward, and then follow your own fire. There are other extraordinary effects produced by the extreme dryness of the harmattan.

“ The parching effects of this wind are likewise evident on the external parts of the body. The eyes, nostrils, lips, and palate, are rendered dry and uneasy, and drink is often required, not so much to quench thirst, as to remove a painful aridity in the fauces. The lips and nose become sore, and even chapped; and though the air be cool, yet there is a troublesome sensation of prickling heat on the skin. If the harmattan continues four or five days, the scarf skin peels off, first from the hands and face, and afterwards from the other parts of the body, if it continues a day or two longer. Mr. Norris observed, that when sweat was excited by exercise on those parts which were covered by his cloaths from the weather, it was peculiarly acrid, and tasted, on applying his tongue to his arm, something like spirits of hartshorn diluted with water.

“ Salubrity forms a third peculiarity of the harmattan. Though this wind is so very prejudicial to vegetable life, and occasions such disagreeable, parching effects on the human species, yet it is highly conducive to health. Those labouring under fluxes and intermitting fevers generally recover in an harmattan. Those weakened by fevers and sinking under evacuations for the cure of them, particularly bleeding, which is often injudiciously repeated, have their lives saved, and vigour restored, in spite of the doctor. It stops the progress of epidemics: the small pox, remittent fevers, &c. not only disappear, but those labouring under

these diseases when an harmattan comes on, are almost certain of a speedy recovery. Infection appears not then to be easily communicated even by art. In the year 1770 there were on board the *Unity*, at Whydah, above 300 slaves; the small-pox broke out among them, and it was determined to inoculate; those who were inoculated before the harmattan came on got very well thro’ the disease. About seventy were inoculated a day or after the harmattan set in, but no one of them had either sickness or eruption. It was imagined, that the infection was effectually dispersed, and the ship clear of the disorder; but in a very few weeks it began to appear among those seventy. About fifty of them were inoculated the second time; the others had the disease in a natural way: an harmattan came on, and they all recovered, excepting one girl, who had an ugly ulcer on the inoculated part, and died some time afterwards of a locked jaw.

Another enquiry which I desired Mr. Norris to make respected the source of the harmattan, and the nature of the soil over which it blows. It appears that, excepting a few rivers and some lakes, the country about and beyond Whydah is covered for four hundred miles back with verdure, open plains of grass, clumps of trees, and some woods of no considerable extent. The surface is sandy, and below that a rich reddish earth: it rises with a gentle ascent for one hundred and fifty miles from the sea before there is the appearance of a hill, without affording a stone of the size of a walnut. Beyond these hills there is no account of any great ranges of mountains.”

## Extract from Mr. SMEATHMAN's Account of the TERMITES, or WHITE ANTS, of AFRICA, and other hot Climates.

[From the same Work.]

“THE termites arborum, those which build in trees, frequently establish their nests within the roots and other parts of houses, to which they do considerable damage, if not timely extirpated.

“The large species are, however, not only much more destructive, but more difficult to be guarded against, since they make their approaches chiefly under ground, descending below the foundations of houses and stores at several feet from the surface, and rising again either in the floors, or entering at the bottoms of the posts, of which the sides of the buildings are composed, bore quite through them, following the course of the fibres to the top, or making lateral perforations and cavities here and there as they proceed.

“While some are employed in gutting the posts, others ascend from them, entering a rafter or some other part of the roof. If they once find the thatch, which seems to be a favourite food, they soon bring up wet clay, and build their pipes or galleries through the roof in various directions, as long as it will support them; sometimes eating the palm-tree leaves and branches of which it is composed, and perhaps, (for variety seems very pleasing to them) the rattan or other running plant which is used as a cord to tie the various part of the roof together, and that to the posts which support it: thus, with the assistance of the rats, who during the rainy season are apt to shelter themselves there, and to burrow through it,

they very soon ruin the house by weakening the fastenings and exposing it to the wet. In the mean time the posts will be perforated in every direction as full of holes as that timber in the bottoms of ships which has been bored by the worms; the fibrous and knotty parts, which are the hardest, being left to the last.

“They sometimes, in carrying on this business, find, I will not pretend to say how, that the post has some weight to support, and then if it is a convenient track to the roof, or is itself a kind of wood agreeable to them, they bring their mortar, and fill all or most of the cavities, leaving the necessary roads through it, and as fast as they take away the wood replace the vacancy with that material; which being worked together by them closer and more compactly than human strength or art could ram it, when the house is pulled to pieces, in order to examine if any of the posts are fit to be used again, those of the softer kind are often found reduced almost to a shell, and all or a greater part transformed from wood to clay as solid and as hard as many kinds of free-stone used for building in England. It is much the same when the termites bellicosus get into a chest or trunk containing cloaths and other things: if the weight above is great, or they are afraid of ants or other enemies, and have time, they carry their pipes through, and replace a great part with clay, running their galleries in various directions. The tree termites, indeed, when they get

get within a box, often make a nest there, and being once in possession destroy it at their leisure. They did so to the pyramidal box, which contained my compound microscope. It was of mahogany, and I had left it in the store of governor Campbell of Tobago, for a few months, while I made the tour of the Leeward Islands. On my return I found these insects had done much mischief in the store, and, among other things, had taken possession of the microscope, and eaten every thing about it except the glass or metal, and the board on which the pedestal is fixed, with the drawers under it, and the things inclosed. The cells were built all round the pedestal and the tube, and attached to it on every side. All the glasses which were covered with the wooden substance of their nests retained a cloud of a gummy nature upon them that was not easily got off, and the lacquer or burnish with which the brass work was covered was totally spoiled. Another party had taken a liking to the staves of a Madeira cask, and had let out almost a pipe of fine old wine. If the large species of Africa (the termites *bellicoli*) had been so long in the uninterrupted possession of such a store, they would not have left twenty pounds weight of wood remaining of the whole building, and all that it contained.

“These insects are not less expeditious in destroying the shelves, wainscoting, and other fixtures of a house, than the house itself. They are for ever piercing and boring in all directions, and sometimes go out of the broadside of one post into that of another joining to it; but they prefer and always destroy the softer substances the first, and are particularly fond of pine or fir-

boards, which they excavate and carry away with wonderful dispatch, and astonishing cunning: for except a shelf has something standing upon it, as a book, or any thing else which may tempt them, they will not perforate the surface, but artfully preserve it quite whole, and eat away all the inside, except a few fibres which barely keep the two sides connected together, so that a piece of an inch board which appears solid to the eye will not weigh much more than two sheets of pasteboard of equal dimensions, after these animals have been a little while in possession of it. In short, the termites are so insidious in their attacks, that we cannot be too much on our guard against them: they will sometimes begin and raise their works, especially in new houses, through the floor. If you destroy the works so begun, and make a fire upon the spot, the next night they will attempt to rise through another part; and if they happen to emerge under a chest or trunk early in the night, will pierce the bottom, and destroy or spoil every thing in it before the morning. On these accounts we are careful to set all our chests and boxes upon stones or bricks, so as to leave the bottoms of such furniture some inches above the ground; which not only prevents these insects finding them out so readily, but preserves the bottoms from a corrosive damp which would strike from the earth through, and rot every thing therein: a vast deal of vermin also would harbour under, such as cock-roaches, centipedes, millepedes, scorpions, ants, and various other noisome insects.

“When the termites attack trees and branches in the open air, they sometimes vary their manner of doing it. If a stake in a hedge has

not taken root and vegetated, it becomes their business to destroy it. If it has a good sound bark round it, they will enter at the bottom, and eat all but the bark, which will remain, and exhibit the appearance of a solid stick (which some vagrant colony of ants or other insects often shelter in till the winds disperse it); but if they cannot trust the bark, they cover the whole stick with their mortar, and it then looks as if it had been dipped into thick mud that had been dried on. Under this covering they work, leaving no more of the stick and bark than is barely sufficient to support it, and frequently not the smallest particle, so that upon a very small tap with your walking stick, the whole stake, tho' apparently as thick as your arm, five or six feet long, loses its form, and disappearing like a shadow, falls in small fragments at your feet. They generally enter the body of a large tree which has fallen through age or been thrown down by violence, on the side next the ground, and eat away at their leisure within the bark, without giving themselves the trouble either to cover it on the outside, or to replace the wood which they have removed from within, being somehow sensible that there is no necessity for it. These excavated trees have deceived me two or three times in running: for attempting to step two or three feet high, I might as well have attempted to step upon a cloud, and have come down with such unexpected violence, that, besides shaking my teeth and bones almost to dislocation, I have been precipitated, head foremost, among the neighbouring trees and bushes. Sometimes, though seldom, the animals are known to attack living trees; but not, I apprehend, before symptoms of mortification have ap-

peared at the roots, since it is evident, as is before observed, that these insects are intended in the order of nature to hasten the dissolution of such trees and vegetables as have arrived at their greatest maturity and perfection, and which would, by a tedious decay, serve only to encumber the face of the earth. This purpose they answer so effectually, that nothing perishable escapes them, and it is almost impossible to leave any thing penetrable upon the ground a long time in safety; for the odds are, that put it where you will abroad, they will find it out before the following morning, and its destruction follows very soon of course. In consequence of this disposition, the woods never remained long encumbered with the fallen trunks of trees or their branches; and thus it is, as I have before observed, the total destruction of deserted towns is so effectually completed, that in two or three years a thick wood fills the space; and, unless iron-wood posts have been made use of, not the least vestige of a house is to be discovered.

"The first object of admiration which strikes one upon opening their hills is the behaviour of the soldiers. If you make a breach in a slight part of the building, and do it quickly with a strong hoe or pick-axe, in the space of a few seconds a soldier will run out, and walk about the breach, as if to see whether the enemy is gone, or to examine what is the cause of the attack. He will sometimes go in again, as if to give the alarm: but most frequently, in a short time, is followed by two or three others, who run as fast as they can, straggling after one another, and are soon followed by a large body who rush out as fast as the breach will permit them, and so they proceed,

ceed, the number increasing, as long as any one continues battering their building. It is not easy to describe the rage and fury they shew. In their hurry they frequently miss their hold, and tumble down the sides of the hill, but recover themselves as quickly as possible; and being blind, bite every thing they run against, and thus make a crackling noise, while some of them beat repeatedly with their forceps upon the building, and make a small vibrating noise, something shriller and quicker than the ticking of a watch: I could distinguish this noise at three or four feet distance, and it continued for a minute at a time, with short intervals. While the attack proceeds they are in the most violent bustle and agitation. If they get hold of any one, they will in an instant let out blood enough to weigh against their whole body; and if it is the leg they wound, you will see the stain upon the stocking extend an inch in width. They make their hooked jaws meet at the first stroke, and never quit their hold, but suffer themselves to be pulled away leg by leg, and piece after piece, without the least attempt to escape. On the other hand, keep out of their way, and give them no interruption, and they will in less than half an hour retire into their nest, as if they supposed the wonderful monster that damaged their castle to be gone beyond their reach. Before they are all got in you will see the labourers in motion, and hastening in various directions toward the breach: every one with a burthen of mortar in his mouth ready tempered. This they stick upon the breach as fast as they come up, and do it with so much dispatch and facility, that although there are thousands, and I may say millions, of them,

they never stop or embarrass one another; and you are most agreeably deceived when, after an apparent scene of hurry and confusion, a regular wall arises, gradually filling up the chafin. While they are thus employed, almost all the soldiers are retired quite of sight, excepting here and there one, who saunters about among six hundred or a thousand of the labourers, but never touches the mortar either to lift or carry it: one, in particular, places himself close to the wall they are building. This soldier will turn himself leisurely on all sides, and every now and then, at intervals of a minute or two, lift up his head, and with his forceps beat upon the building, and make the vibrating noise before mentioned; on which immediately a loud hiss, which appears to come from all the labourers, issues from within side the dome and all the subterraneous caverns and passages: that it does come from the labourers is very evident, for you will see them all hasten at every such signal, redouble their pace, and work as fast again.

“As the most interesting experiments become dull by repetition or continuance, so the uniformity with which this business is carried on, though so very wonderful, at last fatiates the mind. A renewal of the attack, however, instantly changes the scene, and gratifies our curiosity still more. At every stroke we hear a loud hiss; and on the first the labourers run into the many pipes and galleries with which the building is perforated, which they do so quickly that they seem to vanish; for in a few seconds all are gone, and the soldiers rush out as numerous and as vindictive as before. On finding no enemy they return again leisurely into the hill, and very soon after the

## [130] OBSERVATIONS ON RESPIRATION.

labourers appear loaded as at first, as active and as fidulous, with soldiers here and there among them, who act just in the same manner, one or other of them giving the signal to hasten the business. Thus the pleasure of seeing them come out to

fight or to work alternately may be obtained as often as curiosity excites or time permits: and it will certainly be found, that the one order never attempts to fight, or the other to work, let the emergency be ever so great."

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### OBSERVATIONS on RESPIRATION, with a View to ascertain the Origin of the fixed Air discovered by it.

[From Dr. PRIESTLEY's Experiments, and Observations relative to various Branches of Natural Philosophy.]

"IT is a prevailing opinion, and, notwithstanding the pains I have taken to explain myself from time to time, is by many persons still ascribed to me, that common air, by the addition of phlogiston, becomes fixed air. Mr. Cruickshank, as I have observed, thinks that some experiments of his are decisive in favour of it, and my friend Mr. Kirwan is, I find, inclined to it. As I conceive this hypothesis to have no foundation in fact, it may not, I think, be amiss to animadvert a little upon it.

"All the experiments that I have yet heard of, that have been imagined to favour this opinion, only shew that there is an appearance of fixed air when common air is phlogisticated. But this may be the case if any considerable quantity of fixed air be contained in the common atmosphere, either properly incorporated with it, and making part of its constitution, or diffused through it. For the addition of phlogiston, or rather its union with common air, whereby it becomes phlogisticated air (which is quite another substance) may precipitate the fixed air, in consequence of its

having a stronger affinity with the basis, whatever that be, of common air. And that fixed air is, in some way or other, contained in common air, is evident from its being imbibed by lime water, whenever it is exposed to the common atmosphere. But besides the fixed air which is thus capable of being attracted by lime water, common air, probably at least, contains a quantity that it held in a much firmer union with it. For when lime water has absorbed all the fixed air that it can from any portion of common air, it is as fit for respiration as ever; and when it is phlogistical, at least by respiration or putrefaction, a much greater quantity of fixed air is (at least seemingly) precipitated from it.

"It is, I imagine, this appearance of fixed air that has led to many persons to suppose that it is formed by the union of phlogiston with common air. But if it be the addition of phlogiston that makes one part of any quantity of common air become fixed air, why does not the addition of more phlogiston convert the whole into fixed air, which is never the case? For in simple phlo-

## OBSERVATIONS ON RESPIRATION. [131]

phlogification the diminution never proceeds farther than about one fourth of any given quantity of common air, and the remainder is a thing as remote from fixed air as any kind of air can be; and it is in vain to attempt, by the addition of more phlogiston, to convert it into fixed air.

“ Besides, considering the great diminution of common air by phlogistic processes, there is no greater appearance of fixed air produced by respiration, than has been supposed to be contained in common air, and to be precipitated from it, even admitting, as I do, that the whole of the diminution is not owing to the precipitation of fixed air. Breathing into lime water seems to have been the principal circumstance that has led to the mistake which I am now animadverting upon; but few persons are aware how small a proportion of fixed air is necessary to make a very turbid appearance in a great quantity of lime water.

“ From these reflections on the subject I was led to make the following experiments; which though they discover new difficulties in it, may serve to give some kind of satisfaction with respect to it, and prepare the way for farther investigation.

“ It must be allowed to be a curious subject of inquiry, to ascertain the quantity of fixed air naturally contained in a given quantity of common air, or to trace the source of the fixed air which appears in some processes for phlogisticating common air. Now in some of these processes it seems to be more considerable than in others, and in some I find none at all. This remarkable difference, I own, I am not at present able to account for. Let the following facts speak for themselves.

“ The diminution of air by

breathing seems to be less than by putrefaction, or several other processes; and though air is not completely phlogisticated by this means (the animals dying before it quite arrives at that term) yet the diminution seems to be less even in proportion to the degree of phlogistication. The diminution is evidently much greater by means of putrefaction, notwithstanding the emission of permanent air from the putrefying substance, which *a priori* there is no reason to suspect from a living body. To make the following experiments in the fairest manner, I made use of quicksilver, rather than of water, to confine the air.

“ A mouse being suffered to live as long as it could in a given quantity of air, confined by quicksilver, I let it remain two or three days afterwards; in which time there was no sensible diminution of the air. I then withdrew the mouse; and admitting lime water to the air, it was diminished one twenty-eighth part of its bulk. But the precipitation of the lime was not very considerable. Agitation in water would have produced a farther diminution, as in the following experiment.

“ A mouse having breathed as long as it could in a quantity of air confined by quicksilver, I admitted lime water to it as soon as it was dead, when there was an immediate and copious precipitation of lime. After it had stood two days, one nineteenth of the whole quantity was absorbed, and by agitation in water it was reduced in all one tenth. This air being examined, with an equal quantity of nitrous air, the measures of the test were 1.6 so that it was something short of being completely phlogisticated.

“ Another mouse dying in an equal jar of air, in the same manner,

ner, I kept it upon the quick-silver four days, during which time there was no absorption of any thing; but upon water being admitted to it, one eighth of the whole quantity disappeared; and examining the remainder by nitrous air, the measures of the test were 1.8; which, considering how much of the nitrous air is absorbed by passing through water, may be deemed a pretty near approach to complete phlogification.

“ At another time a full grown, but young mouse, lived seven hours, in ten ounce measures of common air, confined by quick-silver. Lime water being then admitted to the air, it became turbid. But when one fifteenth of the whole was absorbed, the remainder seemed to have but little fixed air in it, though the agitation in water reduced it between one fifth and one sixth of the whole. This was the greatest diminution that I ever found in this way.

“ In these processes it is not easy to determine how much of the diminution is owing to the precipitation of fixed air; but so far is clear from these experiments, that let the matter to be absorbed be what it will, the absorption cannot take place so long as the air is confined by quick-silver, there being nothing, as we may suppose, with which the matter to be absorbed can unite in those circumstances; though it is ready to separate from the rest of the mass of air upon the admission of water, with which it can unite. In the case of respiration therefore, that which is separated from the common air seems to be either all fixed air, or some substance similar to it.

“ In the next place, I endeavoured to ascertain the quantity of fixed air produced by my own respiration in a given time; and the

quantity of air that I could phlogificate in that time. For this purpose, I put a quantity of lime water into a glass tube, three feet long and an inch wide, filling it so high as that no part of it might be thrown over when I breathed through it, by means of a small glass tube reaching to the bottom of the large one. In this manner I breathed two minutes. Then carefully pouring out all the turbid water, and filling a phial with it, I poured into it a quantity of oil of vitriol, enough to dislodge all the fixed air from the precipitated lime. However, lest this should not be sufficient, I afterwards expelled all the air that I could from it by means of heat. Then, rejecting all the permanent air that came over along with the fixed air, and allowing, as well as I could, for all that might have escaped, without being seized by the lime in the water, I estimated the whole produce at one ounce measure of fixed air.

“ Lest some mistake should arise from the quantity of air contained in the water itself, I at the same time expelled the air by the heat of boiling water from a phial of the same size, filled with the same water, and an equal quantity of oil of vitriol; and I found the quantity of air expelled from it to be quite inconsiderable. In reality, I found after this process, not more than a quarter of an ounce measure of air that was not affected by lime water. There was also not more than half an ounce measure of fixed air collected; so that I allowed half of the fixed air to have escaped the lime water, in order to make the whole equal to one ounce measure.

“ Then, in order to estimate the quantity of air that I could completely phlogificate by the respiration of two minutes, I breathed, through

## OBSERVATIONS ON PUTREFACTION. [133]

through a glass syphon, the air contained in a receiver that held 200 ounces of water, the receiver being inverted in a trough of water. So long I found that I could breathe the air contained in this receiver with tolerable ease, and examining the quality of it afterwards, by means of nitrous air, I found the measures of the test to be 1.5. I repeated the experiment with the same event. At the same time using the same nitrous air and common air, the measures of the test were 1.26.

“Taking this number from 2.0, the whole quantity of common air that had disappeared was 0.74; but in the air that I had breathed the quantity that had disappeared was 0.5; which taken from 0.74, leaves 0.24 for the measure of what this respired air was short of complete phlogification. Using therefore the following proportion, as 0.74 is to 2.0, so is 0.24 to 64.8. This I therefore conclude

to be the quantity of air which I could have completely phlogificated by the respiration of two minutes. It amounts therefore to 32.4 ounce measures, or about a quart in a minute; whereas it is generally supposed that we phlogificate, or as it has usually been termed, that we consume a gallon of air in a minute. And if by consuming be meant reducing the air to a state in which a candle will not burn in it, the estimate will be pretty near the truth.

“If this process can be depended upon, and if the fixed air produced by respiration be precipitated from the common air, it may be concluded that fixed air makes about a sixty-fifth part of the mass of common air, which is about the same proportion that the permanent residuum bears to any quantity of fixed air. For beyond that proportion, it is not possible to make water imbibe fixed air.”

## OBSERVATIONS on PUTREFACTION, with a View to ascertain the Origin of fixed Air discovered by it.

[From the same Work.]

“THE uncertainty of the conclusion from the experiments recited in the preceding section, arises chiefly from the quantity of fixed air that may be supposed to escape the lime water through which it is breathed. But I think that I made a pretty liberal allowance by supposing it to be one half of the whole, considering how very readily fixed air is absorbed by quick lime in water. If however, this one sixty-fifth part, or even more than double that quantity, be

all the fixed air that is discoverable in common air by means of respiration, there must be some other cause of the diminution of air produced by phlogiston, even in this process, besides the precipitation of fixed air. For in a complete phlogification (for which I made the above calculation) the diminution is nearly one fourth of the whole. And when the diminution of the air is made by putrefaction, not only does it amount to a complete fourth part of the whole, notwithstanding the

the production of some permanent air from the putrefying substance, but it has, in all respects, the appearance of being produced solely by the mere precipitation of fixed air.

“ The following experiments were made with a view to this very circumstance, and they were made with as much attention as I was capable of giving to them. My reader will find an experiment of the same kind in my first volume on the subject of air; but though it is there very faithfully reported, yet as I was at that time but a novice in these processes, I chose to go over it again, taking it on a larger scale, and with some precautions which I did not then attend to.

“ Notwithstanding what I had observed before, I had some suspicion that the diminution of air, after the process had been long continued in quick-silver, would not be quite so great as when it was made in water; and when consequently that part of the air which had disappeared had an opportunity of being immediately separated from the rest, and imbibed by the water, with which it was in immediate contact.

“ Having this circumstance particularly in view, on the 13th of March, 178 , I took two dead mice, of about equal size, and put them into two separate cups, under different jars of common air, of very nearly equal capacities, one of them containing 155 ounces of water, standing in quick-silver, and the other 100 ounces, standing in water.

“ Leaving them in the country to the care of a person who supplied the vessels in which they stood occasionally with water or quicksilver, I went to London, and after my return, in the beginning of August, I

found, by marking the vessels, and measuring them afterwards, that the air in the vessel which had stood in water was reduced to 140 ounce measures; and on the 28th of August it was reduced to 125, but after standing a fortnight longer, it was not sensibly diminished any farther. The air in the vessel which had stood in quick-silver was not sensibly diminished at all.

“ Admitting lime water to this vessel, it presently became turbid; but this being a slow diminution, I removed the vessel after some days to a trough of water, and then found that the air contained in it made lime water exceedingly turbid; and agitating this air in small portions it was presently reduced to 125 ounce measures; so that all the quantity diminished seems to have been fixed air, making lime water turbid, and being absorbed by water in the very same manner.

“ The air in the vessel which had stood in water, notwithstanding the opportunity there was for fixed air deposited by it being readily absorbed, made lime water very turbid, and by agitation in small portions this air was reduced to 140 ounce measures. Upon the whole then it appears, that the diminution in both of these cases was nearly equal, viz. a little more than one fifth.

“ In these experiments the two mice were thoroughly putrefied, and indeed quite dissolved, and no doubt had yielded all the air they were capable of yielding. But if the experiments on the putrefaction of mice in quicksilver recited above be compared with these, it will be found that the addition of fixed air, or air of any other kind, from the putrefied mice was quite inconsiderable, viz. an ounce measure and half of fixed air, and half an ounce

ounce measure of inflammable from each.

"It is true that mice putrefying in water yield perhaps more fixed air than in this proportion; but here they putrefied in air only. And that a very inconsiderable quantity is produced in these circumstances, is evident from there being little or no increase of the air when it is confined by quick-silver, which could not imbibe fixed air, if any had been discharged from the putrefying mice.

"If we were to estimate the proportion that the fixed air naturally contained in the atmosphere bears to its other constituent parts, from the data supplied by these experiments, it must be considered as not less than one fifth of the whole mass; and yet it is equally certain that in other phlogistic processes, the diminution has been quite as much without any appearance of fixed air. That there is no appearance of any when iron filings and brimstone are made use of, I observed before, and endeavoured to account for; but I am not able to account for it in the following experiments, at least in one of them.

"Having, for a purpose that will be mentioned hereafter, introduced a quantity of nitrous air to the usual proportion of common air, confined by quicksilver, I observed that the diminution was complete without any admission of water; and lime water being afterwards admitted to this air was not made turbid by it. Possibly, however, the fixed air in this case might unite with the saline substance formed by the union of the nitrous acid and quick-silver; as all the saline substances on which I have yet made the experiments do

yield some fixed air. But I cannot imagine what could have become of the fixed air, if there be any deposited by phlogification from the common air, in the following case.

"Air is as capable of being phlogisticated and diminished by inflammable air, as by nitrous air; and I found the same proportion of it sufficient for the purpose; but inflammable air must be ignited before it can part with its phlogiston to common air. I made the experiment repeatedly in quick-silver, by means of electric explosions, and observed that the whole diminution was always produced instantaneously; and even lime water admitted to the air immediately afterwards did not make it in the least turbid, or produce any farther diminution. This result therefore was the very reverse of the diminution of air by respiration, and especially by putrefaction.

"I not only repeated this experiment several times, and with as little loss of time as possible transferred the diminished air to lime water; but I made the diminution itself in lime water, without producing any turbid appearance whatever.

"I also made repeated diminutions of common air by means of inflammable air and the electric spark over water, in order to discover what it was that the air lost in phlogification, and what becomes of that part which had disappeared; suspecting that it might have been imbibed by the water, so as to be capable of being reproduced in the form of air by the application of heat. But the result was exactly similar to what I had observed when the diminution was made by the same means over

quick-silver. For in this case also the whole of the diminution took place at once, and no fixed air was afterwards found in the water.

“ To make this experiment to the most advantage, I mixed a large quantity of air, one third inflammable, and two thirds common, and then took of it such a quantity as I found by experience I could easily manage at one time; and putting it into one of Mr. Nairne’s inflammable air pistols, previously filled with water, I carefully closed the orifice, by tying round the mouth of it a moistened bladder, out of which all the air was very carefully pressed.

“ When, in these circumstances, the air within the pistol was fired by means of the electric explosion, the first effect was, that the expanded air was instantly thrown with great violence into the bladder, together with the water contained in the cavity of the pistol; but immediately after, the air, the water, and even the greatest part

of the bladder itself, were forced by the external air in the pistol; the air contained in the pistol being now reduced by phlogification into less space than it had occupied before. I then carefully withdrew the bladder, and preserving the same water, repeated the same experiment with it, till I had decomposed so much air, that even the quantity that had disappeared of the common air, exclusive of the inflammable air, must have been considerably more in bulk than the water. Then putting this water into a phial, I endeavoured to expel air from it by heat; but I found no more in it than such water usually contains, which was quite inconsiderable; for it was rain water which had been boiled not long before, for the purpose of expelling all its air. The water indeed had a turbid appearance, but this was probably occasioned by the bladder. Had it come from the air, and especially fixed air, it would have been driven out by boiling.”

Extract from a Paper of Dr. BLAGDEN’s, F.R.S. on the HEAT of the WATER in the GULF-STREAM.

[From the Philosophical Transactions.]

“ ONE of the most remarkable facts observed in navigating the ocean, is that constant and rapid current which sets along the coast of North America to the northward and eastward, and is commonly known to seamen by the name of the Gulf-stream. It seems justly attributed to the effect of the trade-winds, which blowing from the eastern quarter into the great Gulf of Mexico, cause there an accumulation of the water above the com-

mon level of the sea; in consequence of which, it is constantly running out by the channel where it finds least resistance, that is, through the Gulf of Florida, with such force as to continue a distinct stream to a very great distance. Since all ships going from Europe to any of the southern provinces of North America must cross this current, and are materially affected by it in their course, every circumstance of its motion becomes an object

ject highly interesting to the seaman, as well as of great curiosity to the philosopher. An observation which occurred to me on the spot suggests a new method of investigating a matter that appears so worthy of attention:

“ During a voyage to America, in the spring of the year 1776, I used frequently to examine the heat of sea water newly drawn, in order to compare it with that of the air. We made our passage far to the southward. In this situation, the greatest heat of the water which I observed was such as raised the quicksilver in Fahrenheit’s thermometer to  $77\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ . This happened twice; the first time on the 10th of April, in latitude  $21^{\circ} 10'$  N. and longitude, by our reckoning,  $52^{\circ} W$ ; and the second time, three days afterwards, in latitude  $22^{\circ} 7'$  and longitude  $55^{\circ}$ ; but, in general, the heat of the sea near the tropic of cancer, about the middle of April, was from  $76^{\circ}$  to  $77^{\circ}$ .

“ The rendezvous appointed for the fleet being off Cape Fear, our course, on approaching the American coast, became north-westward. On the 23d of April the heat of the sea was  $74^{\circ}$ , our latitude at noon  $28^{\circ} 7'$  N. Next day the heat was only  $71^{\circ}$ ; we were then in latitude  $29^{\circ} 12'$ ; the heat of the water, therefore, was now lessening very fast in proportion to the change of latitude. The 25th our latitude was  $31^{\circ} 3'$ ; but though we had thus gone almost  $2^{\circ}$  farther to the northward, the heat of the sea was this day rather increased, it being  $72^{\circ}$  in the morning, and  $72\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  in the evening. Next day, the 26th of April, at half after eight in the morning, I again plunged the thermometer into sea-water, and was greatly surprised to see the quick-

silver rise to  $78^{\circ}$ , higher than I had ever observed it, even within the tropic. As the difference was too great to be imputed to any accidental variation, I immediately conceived that we must have come into the Gulf-stream, the water of which still retained great part of the heat that it had acquired in the torrid zone. This idea was confirmed by the subsequent, regular, and quick diminution of the heat: the ship’s run for a quarter of an hour had lessened it  $2^{\circ}$ ; the thermometer, at three quarters after eight, being raised by sea-water, fresh drawn, only to  $76^{\circ}$ ; by nine the heat was reduced to  $73^{\circ}$ , and in a quarter of an hour more, to  $71^{\circ}$  nearly: all this time the wind blew fresh, and we were going seven knots an hour on a north-western course. The water now began to lose the fine transparent blue colour of the ocean, and to assume something of a greenish olive tinge, a well-known indication of soundings. Accordingly, between four and five in the afternoon, ground was struck with the lead at the depth of eighty fathom, the heat of the sea being then reduced to  $69^{\circ}$ . In the course of the following night and next day, as we came into shallower water and nearer the land, the temperature of the sea gradually sunk to  $65^{\circ}$ , which was nearly that of the air at the time.

“ Unfortunately bad weather, on the 26th, prevented us from taking an observation of the sun; but on the 27th, though it was then cloudy at noon, we calculated the latitude from two altitudes, and found it to be  $33^{\circ} 26'$  N. The difference of this latitude from that which we had observed on the 25th, being  $2^{\circ} 23'$ , was so much greater than could be deduced from the ship’s run marked in the log-book, as to convince

vince the seamen that we had been set many miles to the northward by the current.

“On the 25th at noon, the longitude, by our reckoning, was  $74^{\circ}$  W. and I believe the computation to have been pretty just; but the foundings, together with the latitude, will determine the spot where these observations were made better than any reckoning from the eastward. The ship’s run on the 26th, from nine in the forenoon to four in the afternoon, was about ten leagues on a north-west-by-north course: soon afterwards we hove-to in order to sound, and, finding bottom, we went very slowly all night, and till noon the next day.

“From these observations, I think, it may be concluded, that the Gulf-stream, about the  $33^{\text{d}}$  degree of north latitude, and the  $76^{\text{th}}$  degree of longitude west of Greenwich, is, in the month of April, at least six degrees hotter than the water of the sea through which it runs. As the heat of the sea water evidently began to increase in the evening of the 25th, and as the observations shew that we were getting out of the current when I first tried the heat in the morning of the 26th, it is most probable, that the ship’s run, during the night, is nearly the breadth of the stream measured obliquely across: that, as it blew a fresh breeze, could not be much less than twenty-five leagues in fifteen hours, the distance of time between the two observations of the heat; and hence the breadth of the stream may be estimated at twenty leagues. The breadth of the Gulf of Florida, which evidently bounds the stream at its origin, appears by the charts to be two or three miles less than this, excluding the rocks and sandbanks which surround the Bahama

Islands, and the shallow water that extends to a considerable distance from the coast of Florida; and the correspondence of these measures is very remarkable; since the stream, from well-known principles of hydraulics, must gradually become wider as it gets to a greater distance from the channel by which it issues.

“If the heat of the Gulf of Mexico were known, many curious calculations might be formed by comparing it with that of the current. The mean heat of Spanish-town and Kingston in Jamaica, seems not to exceed  $81^{\circ}$ ; that of St. Domingo on the sea-coast may be estimated at the same from Mons. Godin’s observations; but as the coast of the continent which bounds the gulf to the westward and southward is probably warmer, perhaps a degree or two may be allowed for the mean temperature of the climate over the whole bay: let it be stated at  $82^{\circ}$  or  $83^{\circ}$ . Now there seems to be great probability in the supposition that the sea, at a certain comparatively small distance below its surface, agrees in heat pretty nearly with the average temperature of the air, during the whole year, in that part; and hence it may be conjectured, that the general heat of the water, as it issues out of the bay to form the stream, is about  $84^{\circ}$ , the small variations of temperature on the surface not being sufficient to affect materially that of the general mass. At the tropic of cancer I found the heat to be  $77^{\circ}$ ; the stream, therefore, in its whole course from the gulf of Florida, may be supposed to have been constantly running through water from  $4^{\circ}$  to  $6^{\circ}$  colder than itself, and yet it had lost only  $4^{\circ}$  of heat, though the surrounding water where I observed

served it was was  $1^{\circ}$  below the supposed original temperature of the water which forms the current. From this small diminution of the heat, in a distance probably of three hundred miles, some idea may be acquired of the vast body of fluid which sets out of the gulf of Mexico, and of the great velocity of its motion. Numerous observations on the temperature of this stream, in every part of it, and at different seasons of the year, compared with the heat of the water in the surrounding seas, both within and without the tropic, would, I apprehend, be the best means of ascertaining its nature, and determining every material circumstance of its movement, especially if the effect of the current in pushing ships to the northward is carefully attended to, at the same time with the observations upon its heat.

“An opinion prevails among seamen, that there is something peculiar in the weather about the Gulf-stream. As far as I could judge, the heat of the air was considerably increased by it, as might be expected; but whether to a degree or extent sufficient for producing any material changes in the atmosphere must be determined by future observations.

“Perhaps other currents may be found which, issuing from places warmer or colder than the surrounding sea, differ from it in their temperature so much as to be discovered by the thermometer. Should there be many such, this instrument will come to be ranked among the most valuable at sea; as the difficulty of ascertaining currents is well known to be one of the greatest defects in the present art of navigation.

“In the meantime, I hope the observations which have been here

related are sufficient to prove, that in crossing the Gulf-stream very essential advantages may be derived from the use of the thermometer: for if the master of a ship, bound to any of the southern provinces of North America, will be careful to try the heat of the sea frequently, he must discover very accurately his entrance into the Gulf stream, by the sudden increase of the heat; and a continuance of the same experiments will shew him, with equal exactness, how long he remains in it. Hence he will always be able to make a proper allowance for the number of miles that the ship is set to the northward, by multiplying the time into the velocity of the current. Though this velocity is hitherto very imperfectly known, for want of some method of determining how long the current acted upon the ships, yet all uncertainty arising from thence must soon cease, as a few experiments upon the heat of the stream, compared with the ship's run checked by observations of the latitude, will ascertain its motion with sufficient precision. From differences in the wind, and perhaps other circumstances, it is probable, that there may be some variations in the velocity of the current; and it will be curious to observe, whether these variations may not frequently be pointed out by a difference in its temperature; as the quicker the current moves, the less heat is likely to be lost, and consequently the hotter the water will be. In this observation, however, the season of the year must always be considered; partly, because it may, perhaps, in some degree affect the original temperature of the water in the gulf of Mexico; but principally, because the actual heat of the stream must be greater

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or less in proportion as the tract of the sea through which it has flown was warmer or colder. In winter, I should suppose, that the heat of the stream itself would be rather less than in summer; but that the difference between it and the surrounding sea would be much greater; and I can conceive that, in the middle of summer, though the stream had lost very little of its original heat, yet the sea might, in some parts, acquire so nearly the same temperature, as to render it scarcely possible to distinguish by the thermometer when a ship entered into the current.

“ Besides the convenience of correcting a ship’s course, by knowing how to make a proper allowance for the distance she is set to the northward by the current, a method of determining with certainty when she enters into the Gulf-stream is attended with the farther inestimable advantage of shewing her place upon the ocean in the most critical situation: for, as the current sets along the coast of America at no great distance from soundings, the mariner,

when he finds this sudden increase of heat in the sea, will be warned of his approach to the coast, and will thus have timely notice to take the necessary precautions for the security of his vessel. As the course of the Gulf-stream comes more to be accurately known, from repeated observations of the heat and latitudes, this method of determining the ship’s place will be proportionably more applicable to use. And it derives additional importance from the peculiar circumstances of the American coast, which, from the mouth of the Delaware to the southernmost point of Florida, is every where low, and beset with frequent shoals, running out so far into the sea that a vessel may be aground in many places where the shore is not to be distinguished even from the mast-head. The Gulf stream, therefore, which has hitherto served only to increase the perplexities of seamen, will now, if these observations are found to be just in practice, become one of the chief means of their preservation upon that dangerous coast.”

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ACCOUNT of a PHENOMENON observed upon the  
ISLAND of SUMATRA. By WILLIAM MARSDEN,  
Esq.

[From the same Publication.]

“ DURING my residence on the island of Sumatra in the East Indies, I had occasion to observe a phenomenon singular, I believe, in its kind, an account of which may not perhaps be uninteresting to the curious.

“ In the year 1775 the S. E. or dry monsoon set in about the middle

of June, and continued with very little intermission till the month of March in the following year. So long and severe a drought had not been experienced then in the memory of the oldest man. The verdure of the ground was burnt up, the trees were stripped of their leaves, the springs of water failed, and the earth

earth every where gaped in fissures. For some time a copious dew falling in the night supplied the deficiency of rain; but this did not last long: yet a thick fog, which rendered the neighbouring hills invisible for months together, and nearly obscured the sun, never ceased to hang over the land, and add a gloom to the prospect already but too melancholy. The Europeans on the coast suffered extremely by sickness; about a fourth part of the whole number being carried off by fevers and other bilious distempers, the depression of spirits which they laboured under, not a little contributing to hasten the fatal effects. The natives also died in great numbers.

“In the month of November 1775, the dry season having then exceeded its usual period, and the S. E. winds continuing with unremitting violence, the sea was observed to be covered, to the distance of a mile, and in some places a league from shore, with *fish* floating on the surface. Great quantities of them were at the same time driven on the beach, or left there by the tide, some quite alive, others dying, but the greatest part quite dead. The fish thus found were not of one but various species, both large and small, flat and round, the Cat-fish and Mullet being generally most prevalent. The numbers were prodigious, and overspread the shore to the extent of some degrees: of this I had ocular proof or certain information, and probably they extended a considerable way farther than I had opportunity of making enquiry. Their first appearance was sudden; but though the numbers diminished, they continued to be thrown up, in some parts of the coast, for at least

a month, furnishing the inhabitants with food, which, though attended with no immediate ill consequence, probably contributed to the unhealthiness so severely felt. No alteration in the weather had been remarked for many days previous to their appearance. The thermometer stood as usual at the time of year at about 85°.

“Various were the conjectures formed as to the cause of this extraordinary phenomenon, and almost as various and contradictory were the consequences deduced by the natives from an omen so portentous; some inferring the continuance, and others, with equal plausibility, a relief from the drought. With respect to the cause, I must confess myself much at a loss to account for it satisfactorily. If I might hazard a conjecture, and it is not offered as any thing more, I would suppose, that the sea requires the mixture of a due proportion of fresh water to temper its saline quality, and enable certain species of fish to subsist in it. Of this salubrious correction it was deprived for an unusual space of time, not only by the want of rain, but by the ceasing of many rivers to flow into it, whose sources were dried up. I rode across the mouths of several perfectly dry, which I had often before passed in boats. The fish no longer experiencing this refreshment, necessary as it would seem to their existence, sickened and perished as in a corrupted element.

“If any thing similar to what I have above described has been noticed in other parts of the world, I should be happy by a comparison of the attendant circumstances, to investigate and ascertain the true causes of so extraordinary an effect.”

A farther Account of the Usefulness of WASHING the STEMS of TREES. By ROBERT MARSHAM, of Stratton, Esq; F.R.S.

[ From the same Publication. ]

THE following account is a kind of postscript to my letter to Dr. Moss, lord bishop of Bath and Wells, in 1775, which the Royal Society did me the honour to publish in the Philosophical Transactions in 1777. In that I shewed how much a beech increased upon its stem being cleaned and washed; and in this I shall shew, that the benefit of cleaning the stem continues several years: for the beech which I washed in 1775 has increased in the five years since the washing eight inches and six-tenths, or above an inch and seven-tenths yearly; and the aggregate of nine unwashed beeches of the same age does not amount to one inch and three-tenths yearly to each tree. In 1776 I washed another beech (of the same age, *viz.* seed in 1741); and the increase in four years since the washing is nine inches and two-tenths, or two inches and three-tenths yearly, when the aggregate of nine unwashed beeches amounted to but one inch and three-tenths and a half. In 1776 I washed an oak which I planted in 1720, which has increased in the four years since washing seven inches and two-tenths, and the aggregate of three oaks planted the same year (*viz.* all I measured) amounted to but one inch yearly to each tree. In 1779 I washed another beech of the same age, and the increase in 1780 was three inches, when the aggregate of fifteen unwashed beeches was not full fifteen inches and six-tenths, or not one inch and half a tenth to each tree; yet most of these trees grew on better land than that which was washed. But I apprehend the whole of the extraordinary increase in the two last experiments should not be attributed to washing: for in the autumn of 1778 I had greatly pond-

mud spread round some favourite trees, as far as I supposed their roots extended, and although some trees did not show to have received any benefit from the mud, yet others did, that is, an oak increased half an inch, and a beech three-tenths, above their ordinary growth. Now though the beech gained but three-tenths, yet, perhaps, that may not be enough to allow for the mud; for the summer of 1779 was the most ungenial to the growth of trees of any since I have measured them, some not gaining half their ordinary growth, and the aggregate increase of all the unwashed and unmudded trees that I measured (ninety-three in number of various kinds) was in 1779 but six feet five inches and seven-tenths, or seventy-seven inches and seven-tenths, which gives but eight-tenths and about one-third to each tree; when in 1778 (a very dry summer in Norfolk) they increased seven feet and nine-tenths, or near eighty-five inches, which gives above nine-tenths to each tree: and this summer of 1780 being also very dry, yet the aggregate increase was above half an inch more than in 1778. But the best increase of these three years is low, as there are but twenty of the ninety-three trees that were not planted by me, and greater increase is reasonably expected in young than old trees; yet I have an oak now two hundred years old (1780) which is sixteen feet and five inches in circumference, or one hundred and ninety-seven inches in two hundred years. But this oak cannot properly be called old. The annual increase of very old trees is hardly measurable with a string, as the slightest change of the air will affect the string more than a year's growth. The largest trees that I have measured are  
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## USEFULNESS of WASHING the STEMS of TREES.

so far from me, that I have had no opportunity of measuring them a second time, excepting the oak near the honourable Mr. Legge's Lodge in Holt Forest, which does not show to be hollow. In 1759 I found it was at seven feet (for a large swelling rendered it unfair to measure at five or six feet) a trifle above thirty-four feet in circumference, and in 1778 I found it had not increased above half an inch in nineteen years. This more entire remain of longevity merits some regard from the lovers of trees, as well as the hollow oak at Cowthorp in Yorkshire, which Dr. Hunter gives an account of in his edition of Evelyn's *Silva*, and calls it forty-eight feet round at three feet. I did not measure it so low; but in 1768 I found it at four feet, forty feet and six inches; and at five feet, thirty-six feet and six inches; and at six feet, thirty-two feet and once inch. Now, although this oak is larger near the earth than that in Hampshire, yet it diminishes much more suddenly in girth, viz. eight feet and five inches in two feet of height (I reckon by my own measures as I took pains to be exact.) Suppose the diminution continues about this rate (for I did not measure so high) then at seven feet it will be about twenty-eight feet in circumference, and the bottom fourteen feet contain six hundred and eighty-six feet round or buyer's measure, or seventeen ton and six feet; and fourteen feet length of the Hampshire Oak is one thousand and seven feet, or twenty-five ton and seven feet, that is, three hundred and twenty-one feet more than the Yorkshire Oak, though that is supposed by many people the greatest Oak in England.

"I am unwilling to conclude this account of washing the stems of trees without observing, that all the

ingredients of vegetation united, which are received from the roots, stem, branches, and leaves of a mossy and dirty tree, do not produce half the increase that another gains whose stem is clean to the head only, and that not ten feet in height. Is it not clear that this greater share of nourishment cannot come from rain? For the dirty stem will retain the moisture longer than when clean, and the nourishment drawn from the roots, and imbibed by the branches and leaves, must be the same to both trees. Then must not the great share of vegetative ingredients be conveyed in dew? May not the moss and dirt absorb the finest parts of the dew? and may they not act as a kind of screen, and deprive the tree of that share of air and sun which it requires? To develop this mysterious operation of nature would be an honor to the most ingenious, and the plain fact may afford pleasure to the owners of young trees; for if their growth may be increased by cleaning their stems once in five or six years (and perhaps they will not require it so often) if the increase is but half an inch yearly above the ordinary growth, it will greatly over-pay for the trouble, besides the pleasure of seeing the tree more flourishing. Although the extra increase of my first washed beech was but four-tenths of an inch, the second was nine-tenths and a half, and the third nearly two inches, so the aggregate extra increase is above one inch and one-tenth yearly; and the increase of the oak is eight-tenths. But calling it only half an inch, then six years will produce above five cubic feet of timber, as the oak is eight feet round, and above twenty feet long, and six pence will pay for the washing; so there remains nine shillings and six pence clear gain in six years."

ANTI-

# ANTIQUITIES.

## On the Origin and Derivation of the Title of IONIANS, from ION and JAVAN.

[From Mr. JODDREL's Illustrations of the ION of EURIPIDES.]

Ionians, from the honour'd Ion call'd.

Verse 1640.

**T**HE title of Ionians is here said to be derived from the Ion of the play ; but this appellation has been supposed with great probability to have had a different origin of a far more remote antiquity : and it appears, that the name was originally very extensive from the most undoubted testimony. We learn from Herodotus, " that the Athenians were for a time called Ionians from Ion, son of Xuthus, the leader of their armies : and that the Ionians of the Peloponnese before the arrival of Danaus and Xuthus were called the *Ægiales*, or the Maritime *Pelafgi*, as the Greeks asserted ; but afterwards Ionians from Ion, the son of Xuthus." According to him however " the Athenians rejected this appellation, as well as the other Ionians in Greece, and were most of them in his time ashamed of it : but the twelve cities of the Ionians themselves in Asia gloried in the appellation, erected a temple, and imposed on themselves the common name of *Panionium* ; of which they were willing that none but the Ionians themselves should participate." Strabo also asserts, " that the Ionic dialect was the same with the ancient Attick, and that the Athenians were formerly called Ionians : Hence are

derived the Ionians inhabiting Asia who now make use of the Ionick tongue, as it is called : In another place he informs us, " that Attica was formerly called *Ionia* and *Ias*, and that Homer, when he mentions the *Iaones*, means the Athenians." Pausanius relates, " that Selinus, king of *Ægialus*, gave his only daughter *Helice* in marriage to Ion, and adopted him as his son and successor in the government : that after the death of Selinus he there reigned, founded a city in *Ægialus*, of the name of *Helice* derived from his wife, and called the nation Ionians from himself : This however was no exchange of name, but only an addition ; for they were called the *Ægialenses* Ionians." He afterwards adds, " that the descendants of Ion retained the sovereignty of the Ionians, till they and the whole nation fell under the *Achæans*." The Ionians, says Strabo, speaking of *Ægialus* in *Achaia*, who were originally of Athenian extraction, formerly possessed this country ; and its ancient name was *Ægialeia*, as the inhabitants were called *Ægiales* ; but the country was afterwards denominated *Ionia*, as well as *Attica*, from Ion, son of Xuthus. Hence it appears, that a considerable part of Greece had this appellation : but it was even the common title of the whole country in

in Europe, as the Asiatics themselves called it. Thus Æschylus in his Persians makes Atossa call Greece the land of the Iæonians; and the chorus in that play calls the people of Greece the Iæonians. Aristophanes also, in the mouth of a Persian nobleman, uses this expression; and the scholiast there tells us, that the Barbarians called all the Hellenes by the name of Iæonians. The foundation therefore of this title seems to have been derived from Javan, the fourth son of Japhet, and the grandson of the patriarch Noah, whose posterity after the deluge are recorded in Genesis to have peopled the isles of the Gentiles. I shall submit the following observations to the reader, from an essay, intitled, An enquiry into the origin of the Greek language, by the late bishop Squire. "We find this very land of Greece, in the sacred records, more than once expressly termed Javan or Ionia; that is, the country of Javan, for as the original word in the Hebrew is wrote יָוָן, according to the different insertion of the vowels, it may be pronounced IoN or IαVαN, or IαoN, or IαNNα: and what still more strongly strengthens and confirms this opinion, that the country of Javan was really the same with that of Græce, is, that the Syrians, Persians, Arabians, and the Barbarians in general never called the inhabitants of this land Hellenes, the name they most commonly gave themselves; but always Javans, or Ionians. The Greeks themselves indeed are ready enough to tell us, that this name was of a much later date than that I have now assigned; and that it took its original from the brave and noble exploits of one Ion an Athenian, the son of Xuthus, who

1781.

was three entire generations younger than Deucalion: but this opinion seems to have no better foundation, than meer unsupported conjecture; for what had the Syrians, Arabs, Egyptians, and those other nations, which the Greeks term barbarous, to do with the Athenian Ion, a man of no character with regard to them, and scarcely known and acknowledged by his countrymen themselves? The very actions, that are said to have been performed by him, allowing them to be all true in fact, are however far from being of that distinguished merit, as to deserve to have a whole people denominated from him. Had this been the true original of the name of the Ionians, we should most undoubtedly have found it chiefly in use amongst the Greeks themselves, and by them taught and propagated to the neighbouring nations: whereas the direct contrary of this is evident; for it does not appear from history, as far as I am able to learn, that the Greeks in general ever called themselves Ionians, or that even the Athenians, whose country had the honour of giving birth to this imaginary hero, were ever so well pleased with this name as to endeavour to propagate it: nay, it is certain from history, that they even disliked it, avoided to make use of it, and were unwilling to be called by it: Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι Ἴωνες, καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔφυγον τὸ ὄνομα, εὐβουλομένοι Ἴωνες κεκληθῆναι, as Herodotus tells us. When therefore the learned Bochart, in his Phaleg demonstrates, that the Javans or Ionians were not originally a meer party distinction among the Greeks, assumed by accident, as it were, in later times; but that in their first and most early ages the inhabitants of all the countries between Thrace

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and

and Peloponnesus inclusively were called after this name; is not this a most convincing argument, does it not amount even to demonstration, that the Greek account of the original of this appellation of Ionians cannot possibly be true? Though the Athenians and some of their nearest neighbours might be supposed to have been called after this name in memory of their countryman Ion; yet how does this affect, or in the least concern the Thracians, and those other nations who at this time, it is more than probable, had not the least commerce or correspondence with them? We must therefore have recourse to some cause as extensive as the effect. That which I have assigned seems fully to come up to the point; viz. that the Javans and Pelasgi were in reality one and the same people, planting and inhabiting the same countries at the same time, from their ancestor denominated Javans, or Ionians, and from their manner of life Pelasgi, a wandering people." This ingenious explication naturally solves all the difficulties in

regard to this character of Ion. His Mosaic archetype, the Asiatick Javan, was designedly lost in oblivion by the Græcians, and particularly by the Athenians, that their national vanity might not suffer by this traditional badge of oriental extraction; nor clash with their favourite prejudice of considering themselves the Autochthones of their own country, or the native inhabitants sprung from its very soil, and not imported from any other. In order therefore to account for the derivation of the name of Ionians, if they did not absolutely create an imaginary character of their own, the dramatic Ion of Euripides, yet they undoubtedly aggrandized the exploits of the son of Creusa. By this artful invention they secured to themselves a double advantage; for they lost the ideal disgrace of acknowledging themselves, as a colony planted by a foreign founder; and yet they retained the flattering compliment of stamping on the islands and the Asiatick colonies the mark of political derivation from them."

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### SHORT HISTORICAL ACCOUNT of ATHENS, from the TIME of her PERSIAN TRIUMPHS, to that of her becoming subject to the TURKS.

[From Mr. HARRIS's Philological Inquiries.]

"**W**HEN the Athenians had delivered themselves from the tyranny of Peisistratus, and after this had defeated the vast efforts of the Persians, and that against two successive invaders, Darius and Xerxes, they may be considered as at the summit of their national glory. For more than half a century after-

wards they maintained, without controul, the sovereignty of Greece.

"As their taste was naturally good, arts of every kind soon rose among them, and flourished. Valour had given them reputation; reputation gave them an ascendant; and that ascendant produced a security, which left their minds at ease, and gave them

them leisure to cultivate every thing liberal, or elegant.

" 'Twas then that Pericles adorned the city with temples, theatres, and other beautiful public buildings. Phidias, the great sculptor, was employed as his architect, who, when he had erected edifices, adorned them himself, and added statues and basso-relievo's, the admiration of every beholder. 'Twas then that Polignotus and Myro painted; that Sophocles and Euripides wrote; and not long after, that they saw the divine Socrates.

" Human affairs are, by nature, prone to change; and states, as well as individuals, are born to decay. Jealousy and ambition insensibly fomented wars, and success in these wars, as in others, was often various. The military strength of the Athenians was first impaired by the Lacedæmonians; after that, it was again humiliated, under Epaminondas, by the Thebans; and last of all it was wholly crushed by the Macedonian, Philip.

" But though their political sovereignty was lost, yet, happily for mankind, their love of literature and arts did not sink along with it.

" Just at the close of their golden days of empire flourished Xenophon and Plato, the disciples of Socrates, and from Plato descended that race of philosophers, called the Old Academy.

" Aristotle, who was Plato's disciple, may be said, not to have invented a new philosophy, but rather to have tempered the sublime, and rapturous mysteries of his master with method, order, and a stricter mode of reasoning.

" Zeno, who was himself also educated in the principles of Platonism, only differed from Plato in the comparative estimate of things,

allowing nothing to be intrinsically good but virtue, nothing intrinsically bad but vice, and considering all other things to be in themselves indifferent.

" He too and Aristotle accurately cultivated logic, but in different ways; for Aristotle chiefly dwelt upon the simple syllogism; Zeno upon that which is derived out of it, the compound or hypothetic. Both too, as well as other philosophers, cultivated rhetoric along with logic; holding a knowledge in both to be requisite for those, who think of addressing mankind with all the efficacy of persuasion. Zeno elegantly illustrated the force of these two powers by a simile, taken from the hand: the close power of logic he compared to the fist, or hand compressed; the diffuse power of logic, to the palm, or hand open.

" I shall mention but two sects more, the New Academy, and the Epicurean.

" The New Academy, so called from the Old Academy (the name given to the school of Plato) was founded by Arcesilas, and ably maintained by Carneades. From a mistaken imitation of the great parent of philosophy, Socrates, (particularly as he appears in the dialogues of Plato) because Socrates doubted some things, therefore Arcesilas and Carneades doubted all.

" Epicurus drew from another source; Democritus had taught him atoms and a void: by the fortuitous concurrence of atoms he fancied he could form a world, while by a feigned veneration he complimented away his gods, and totally denied their providential care, lest the trouble of it should impair their uninterrupted state of bliss. Virtue he recommended, though not for the sake of virtue, but pleasure; pleasure,

sure, according to him, being our chief and sovereign good. It must be confessed however, that, though his principles were erroneous and even bad, never was a man more temperate and humane; never was a man more beloved by his friends, or more cordially attached to them in affectionate esteem.

“ We have already mentioned the alliance between philosophy and rhetoric. This cannot be thought wonderful, if rhetoric be the art, by which men are persuaded, and if men cannot be persuaded, without a knowledge of human nature: for what, but philosophy, can procure us this knowledge?

“ ’Twas for this reason the ablest Greek philosophers not only taught (as we hinted before) but wrote also treatises upon rhetoric. They had a farther inducement, and that was the intrinsic beauty of their language, as it was then spoken among the learned and polite. They would have been ashamed to have delivered philosophy, as it has been too often delivered since, in compositions as clumsy, as the common dialect of the mere vulgar.

“ The same love of elegance, which made them attend to their style, made them attend even to the places, where their philosophy was taught.

“ Plato delivered his lectures in a place shaded with groves, on the banks of the river Ilissus; and which, as it once belonged to a person called Academus, was called, after his name, the Academy. Aristotle chose another spot of a similar character, where there were trees and shade; a spot called the Lyœum. Zeno taught in a portico or colonade, distinguished from other buildings of that sort (of which the Athenians had many) by the name

of the Variegated Portico, the walls being decorated with various paintings of Polygnotus and Myro, two capital masters of that transcendent period. Epicurus addressed his hearers in those well known gardens, called, after his own name, The Gardens of Epicurus.

“ Some of these places, gave names to the doctrines, which were taught there. Plato’s philosophy took its name of Academic from the Academy; that of Zeno was called the Stoic, from a Greek word, signifying a portico.

“ The system indeed of Aristotle was not denominated from the place, but was called Peripatetic, from the manner in which he taught; from his walking about, at the time, when he disserted. The term Epicurean philosophy needs no explanation.

“ Open air, shade, water, and pleasant walks seem above all things to favour that exercise, the best suited to contemplation, I mean gentle walking without inducing fatigue. The many agreeable walks in and about Oxford may teach my own countrymen the truth of this assertion, and best explain how Horace lived, while a student at Athens, employed (as he tells us) — *inter silvas Academique verum.*

“ These places of public institution were called among the Greeks by the name of Gymnasia, in which, whatever that word might have originally meant, were taught all those exercises, and all those arts, which tended to cultivate not only the body, but the mind. As man was a being consisting of both, the Greeks could not consider that education as complete, in which both were not regarded, and both properly formed. Hence their Gymnasia, with reference to this double

end,

## HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF ATHENS, &c. [149]

end, were adorned with two statues, those of Mercury and of Hercules, the corporeal accomplishments being patronized (as they supposed) by the god of strength, the mental accomplishments by the god of ingenuity.

" 'Tis to be feared, that many places, now called academies, scarcely deserve the name upon this extensive plan, if the professors teach no more, than how to dance, fence, and ride upon horses.

" 'Twas for the cultivation of every liberal accomplishment that Athens was celebrated (as we have said) during many centuries, long after her political influence was lost, and at an end.

" When Alexander the Great died, many tyrants, like many hydras, immediately sprang up. Athens then, though she still maintained the form of her antient government, was perpetually checked and humiliated by their insolence. Antipater destroyed her orators, and she was sacked by Demetrius. At length she became subject to the all-powerful Romans, and found the cruel Sylla her severest enemy.

" His face (which perhaps indicated his manners) was of a purple red, intermixed with white. This circumstance could not escape the witty Athenians: they described him in a verse, and ridiculously said,

*Sylla's face is a mulberry sprinkled with meal.*

" The devastations and carnage, which he caused soon after, gave them too much reason to repent their sarcasm.

" The civil war between Cæsar and Pompey soon followed, and their natural love of liberty made them side with Pompey. Here again they were unfortunate, for

Cæsar conquered. But Cæsar did not treat them like Sylla. With that clemency, which made so amiable a part of his character, he dismissed them by a fine allusion to their illustrious ancestors, saying, that he spared the living for the sake of the dead.

" Another storm followed soon after this, the wars of Brutus and Cassius with Augustus and Antony. Their partiality for liberty did not here forsake them: they took part in the contest with the two patriot Romans, and erected their statues near their own antient deliverers, Harmodius and Aristogiton, who had slain Hipparchus. But they were still unhappy, for their enemies triumphed.

" They made their peace however with Augustus, and having met afterwards with different treatment under different emperors, sometimes favourable, sometimes harsh, and never more severe than under Vespasian, their oppressions were at length relieved by the virtuous Nerva and Trajan.

" Mankind, during the interval which began from Nerva, and which extended to the death of that best of emperors, Marcus Antoninus, felt a respite from those evils, which they had so severely felt before, and which they felt so severely revived under Commodus, and his wretched successors.

" Athens, during the above golden period, enjoyed more than all others the general felicity; for she found in Adrian so generous a benefactor, that her citizens could hardly help esteeming him a second founder. He restored their old privileges; gave them new; repaired their antient buildings, and added others of his own. Marcus Antoninus, although he did not do so much, still

continued to shew them his benevolent attention.

“ If from this period we turn our eyes back, we shall find, for centuries before, that Athens was the place of education, not only for Greeks, but for Romans. ’Twas hither, that Horace was sent by his father; ’twas here that Ciceró put his son Marcus under Cratippus, one of the ablest philosophers then belonging to that city.

“ The sects of philosophers, which we have already described, were still existing, when St. Paul came thither. We cannot enough admire the superior eloquence of that apostle, in his manner of addressing so intelligent an audience. We cannot enough admire the sublimity of his Exordium; the propriety of his mentioning an altar, which he had found there; and his quotation from Aratus, one of their well-known poets.

“ Nor was Athens only celebrated for the residence of philosophers, and the institution of youth: men of rank and fortune found pleasure in a retreat, which contributed so much to their liberal enjoyment.

“ Vicissitudes befall both men and cities, and changes too often happen from prosperous to adverse. Such was the state of Athens under the successors of Alexander, and so on from Sylla down to the time of Augustus. It shared the same hard fate with the Roman empire in general upon the accession of Commodus.

“ At length, after a certain period, the barbarians of the north

began to pour into the south. Rome was taken by Alaric, and Athens was besieged by the same. Yet here we are informed (at least we learn so from history) that it was miraculously saved by Minerva and Achilles. The goddess it seems and the hero both of them appeared, compelling the invader to raise the siege.

“ Synesius, who lived in the fifth century, visited Athens, and gives in his epistles an account of his visit. Its lustre appears at that time to have been greatly diminished. Among other things he informs us, that the celebrated portico or colonade, the Greek name of which gave name to the sect of stoics, had by an oppressive proconsul been despoiled of its fine pictures; and that, on this devastation, it had been forsaken by those philosophers.

“ In the thirteenth century, when the Grecian empire was cruelly oppressed by the Crusaders, and all things in confusion, Athens was besieged by one Segurus Leo, who was unable to take it; and, after that, by a marquis of Montferrat, to whom it surrendered.

“ Its fortune after this was various; and it was sometimes under the Venetians, sometimes under the Catalonians, till Mahomer the Great made himself master of Constantinople. This fatal catastrophe (which happened near two thousand years after the time of Pisistratus) brought Athens and with it all Greece into the hands of the Turks, under whose despotic yoke it has continued ever since.”

# CONJECTURES concerning the DURATION of the LATIN TONGUE at CONSTANTINOPLE.

[From the same Work.]

**H**AVING mentioned Latin Classics, I beg leave to submit a conjecture concerning the state and duration of the Latin tongue at Constantinople.

“ When Constantine founded this imperial city, he not only adorned it with curiosities from every part of the Roman empire, but he induced, by every sort of encouragement, many of the first families in Italy, and a multitude more of inferior rank, to leave their country, and there settle themselves. We may therefore suppose, that Latin was for a long time the prevailing language of the place, till in a course of years it was supplanted by Greek, the common language of the neighbourhood, and the fashionable acquired language of every polite Roman.

“ We are told, that soon after the end of the sixth century Latin ceased to be spoken at Rome. Yet was it in the beginning of that century that Justinian published his laws in Latin at Constantinople; and that the celebrated Priscian in the same city taught the principles of the Latin grammar.

“ If we descend to a period still later, (so late indeed as to the tenth and eleventh centuries) we shall find, in the ceremonial of the Byzantine court, certain formularies preserved, evidently connected with this subject.

“ As often as the emperor gave an imperial banquet, ’twas the custom for some of his attendants, at peculiar times during the feast, to repeat and chant the following words—  
Κωνσταντίνε Δέεσσις ἡμῶν βασιλεῦ—Βή-

στης, Δόμην ὑπεράτατον ἐν πολλοῖς ἀν-  
ταξ. Δέεσσις ὀμνιστοῦς παρέσθ—Ἦν γαυ-  
δίω πρανδεῖτε, Δόμην.

“ It may possibly for a moment surprise a learned reader, when he hears that the meaning of this strange jargon is—*May God preserve your Empire—Live, imperial Lords, for many years; God Almighty so grant—Live, my Lords, in joy.*

“ But his doubts will soon vanish, when he finds this jargon to be Latin, and comes to read it exhibited according to a Latin alphabet—

“ CONSERVET DEVS IMPERIUM VESTRUM—VIVITE, DOMINI IMPERATORES, IN MULTOS ANNOS; DEVS OMNIPOTENS PRAESTET—IN GAUDIO PRANDETE, DOMINI.

“ Tis evident from these instances, that traces of Latin were still remaining at Constantinople, during those centuries. ’Twill be then perhaps less wonderful, if Planudes upon the same spot should, in the fourteenth century, appear to have understood it. We may suppose, that by degrees it changed from a common language to a learned one, and that, being thus confined to the learned few, its valuable works were by their labours again made known, and diffused among their countrymen in Greek translations.

“ This too will make it probable, that even to the lowest age of the Greek empire their great libraries contained many valuable Latin manuscripts; perhaps had entire copies of Cicero, of Livy, of Tacitus, and many others. Where else did Planudes, when he translated, find his originals?”

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## SHORT VIEW of ARABIAN LITERATURE.

[From the same Work.]

“THE Arabians began ill. The sentiment of their caliph Omar, when he commanded the Alexandrian library to be burnt was natural to any bigot, when in the plenitude of despotism. But they grew more rational, as they grew less bigotted, and by degrees began to think, that science was worth cultivating. They may be said indeed to have recurred to their ancient character; that character, which they did not rest upon brutal force alone, but which they boasted to imply three capital things, Hospitality, Valour, and Eloquence.

“When success in arms has defeated rivals, and empire becomes not only extended but established, then is it that nations begin to think of letters, and to cultivate philosophy, and liberal speculation. This happened to the Athenians, after they had triumphed over the Persians; to the Romans, after they triumphed over Carthage; and to the Arabians, after the Caliphate was established at Bagdad.

“And here perhaps it may not be improper to observe, that after the four first caliphs, came the race of the Omniadæ. These about thirty years after Mahomet, upon the destruction of Ali, usurped the sovereignty, and held it ninety years. They were considered by the Arabic historians as a race of tyrants, and were in number fourteen. Having made themselves by their oppressions to be much detested, the last of them, Merwin, was deposed by Al Sufiah, from whom began another race, the race of Abbassidæ, who claimed to be related in blood to

Mahomet, by descending from his uncle, Abbas.

“As many of these were far superior in character to their predecessors, so their dominion was of much longer duration, lasting for more than five centuries.

“The former part of this period may be called the æra of the grandeur, and magnificence of the caliphate.

“Almanzur, who was among the first of them, removed the imperial seat from Damascus to Bagdad, a city which he himself founded upon the banks of the Tigris, and which soon after became one of the most splendid cities throughout the East.

“Almanzur was not only a great conqueror, but a lover of letters and learned men. ’Twas under him that Arabian literature, which had been at first chiefly confined to medicine and a few other branches, was extended to sciences of every denomination.

“His grandson Almamun (who reigned about fifty years after) giving a full scope to his love of learning, sent to the Greek emperors for copies of their best books; employed the ablest scholars, that could be found, to translate them; and, when translated, encouraged men of genius in their perusal, taking a pleasure in being present at literary conversations. Then was it that learned men, in the lofty language of Eastern eloquence, were called *Luminaries, that dispel darkness; Lords of human kind; of whom, when the world becomes destitute, it becomes barbarous and savage.*

“The rapid victories of these Eastern

Eastern conquerors soon carried their empire from Asia even into the remote regions of Spain. Letters followed them, as they went. Plato, Aristotle, and their best Greek commentators were soon translated into Arabic; so were Euclid, Archimedes, Apollonius, Diophantus, and the other Greek mathematicians; so Hippocrates, Galen, and the best professors of medicine; so Ptolemy, and the noted writers on the subject of astronomy. The study of these Greeks produced others like them; produced others, who not only explained them in Arabic comments, but composed themselves original pieces upon the same principles.

“Averroes was celebrated for his philosophy in Spain; Alpharabi and Avicenna were equally admired through Asia. Science (to speak a little in their own stile) may be said to have extended *a Gadibus usque Auroram et Cergem*.

“Nor, in this immense multitude, did they want historians, some of which, (such as Abulfeda, Abulpharagius, Bohadin, and others) have been translated, and are perused, even in their translations, both with pleasure and profit, as they give not only the outlines of amazing enterprizes, but a sample of manners, and character, widely different from our own.”

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### An ACCOUNT of the ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS, belonging to the ESCURIAL LIBRARY in Spain.

[From the same Work.]

“THIS account is extracted from two fair folio volumes, to the first of which volumes the title is conceived in the following words.

*“Bibliotheca Arabico Hispanæ Escorialensis, sive Librorum omnium MSS. quos Arabicè ab auctoribus magnam partem Arabo-Hispanis compositos Bibliotheca Cœnobii Escorialensis complectitur, Recensio et Explanatio: Opera et Studio Michaelis Casiri, Syro-Maronitæ, Presbyteri, S. Theologiæ Doctoris, Regis a Bibliotheca, Linguarumque Orientalium Interpretatione; Caroli III. Regis Opt. Max. auctoritate atque auspiciis edita. Tomus Prior. Matriti. Antonius Perez de Soto imprimebat Anno MDCCLX.*

“This catalogue is particularly valuable, because not only each manuscript is enumerated, but its age also

and author (when known) are given, together with large extracts upon occasion, both in the original Arabic, and in Latin.

“From the first volume it appears that the Arabians cultivated every species of philosophy and philology, as also (according to their systems) jurisprudence and theology.

“They were peculiarly fond of poetry, and paid great honours to those, whom they esteemed good poets. Their earliest writers were of this sort, some of whom (and those much admired) flourished many centuries before the time of Mahomet.

“The study of their poets led them to the art of criticism, whence we find in the above catalogue, not only a multitude of poems, but many works upon composition, metre, &c.

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“ We find in the same catalogue translations of Aristotle and Plato, together with their Lives; as also translations of their best Greek commentators, such as Alexander Aphrodisiensis, Philoponus, and others. We find also comments of their own, and original pieces, formed on the principles of the above philosophers.

“ There too may be found translations of Euclid, Archimedes, Apollonius Pergæus, and other ancient mathematicians, together with their Greek commentators, and many original pieces of their own upon the same mathematical subjects. In the arithmetical part they are said to follow Diophantus, from whom they learnt that algebra, of which they are erroneously thought to have been the inventors.

“ There we may find also the works of Ptolemy translated, and many original treatises of their own upon the subject of astronomy.

“ It appears too, that they studied with care the important subject of agriculture. One large work in particular is mentioned, composed by a Spanish Arabian, where every mode of culture, and every species of vegetable is treated; pasture, arable, trees, shrubs, flowers, &c. By this work may be perceived (as the editor well observes) how much better Spain was cultivated in those times; and that some species of vegetables were then found there, which are now lost.

“ Here are many tracts on the various parts of jurisprudence; some ancient copies of the Alcoran; innumerable commentaries on it; together with books of prayer, books of devotion, sermons, &c.

“ Among their theological works, there are some upon the principles of the mystic divinity; and among their philosophical, some upon the

subject of Talismans, Divination, and judicial Astrology.

“ The first volume, of which we have been speaking, is elegantly printed, and has a learned preface prefixed by the editor, wherein he relates what he has done, together with the assistance he has received, as well from the crown of Spain and its ministers, as from learned men.

“ He mentions a fatal fire, which happened at the Escorial, in the year 1670; when above three thousand of these valuable manuscripts were destroyed. He has in this volume given an account of about fourteen hundred.

“ The second volume of this valuable work, which bears the same title with the first, was published at Madrid, ten years after it, in the year 1770.

“ It contains chiefly the Arabian chronologers, travellers, and historians; and, though national partiality may be sometimes suspected, yet, as these are accounts given by the Spanish Arabians themselves, there are many incidents preserved, which other writers could not know; incidents respecting not only the successions, and the characters of the Arabic-Spanish princes, but the country and its productions, together with the manners, and the literature of its then inhabitants.

“ Nor are the incidents in these volumes confined to Spain only. Many of them relate to other countries, such as the growth of sugar in Egypt; the invention of paper there (of which material there are manuscripts in the Escorial library of the year 1180); the use of gunpowder, carried not only to the beginning of the fourteenth century, but even so far back (if we can believe it) as to the seventh century;

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the description of Mecca ; the antiquity of the Arabic language, and the practice of their most ancient authors, to write in verse ; their year, months, weeks, and method of computation ; their love for poetry, and rhetoric, &c.

“Great heroes are recorded to have flourished among them, such as Abdelrahmans, and Abi Amer Almoapheri.

“Abdelrahmans lived in the beginning of the tenth century, and Abi Amer Almoapheri at its latter end. The first, having subdued innumerable factions and seditions, reigned at Corduba with reputation for fifty years, famed for his love of letters, and his upright administration of justice. The second, undertaking the tuition of a young prince (who was a minor, named Hefcham) and having restored peace to a turbid kingdom, turned his arms so successfully against its numerous invaders, that he acquired the honourable name of Almanzor, that is, the defender. (See vol. 2d of this catalogue, pages 37, 49, 50.)

“Arabian Spain had too its men of letters, and those in great numbers ; some, whose fame was so extensive, that even Christians came to hear them from remote regions of Europe.

“Public libraries (not less than seventy) were established through the country ; and noble benefactions they were to the cause of letters, at a time when books, by being manuscripts, were so costly an article, that few scholars were equal to the expence of a collection.

“To the subjects, already treated, were added the lives of their famous women ; that is, of women who had been famous for their literature and genius.

“’Tis somewhat strange, when we read these accounts, to hear it asserted, that the religion of these people was hostile to literature, and this assertion founded on no better reason, than that the Turks, their successors, by being barbarous and ignorant, had little value for accomplishments, of which they knew nothing.

“These Spanish Arabians also, like their ancestors in the East, were great horsemen, and particularly fond of horses. Accounts are preserved both of horses and camels ; also of their coin ; of the two races of Caliphs, the Ommiadæ, and the Abbassidæ ; of the first conqueror of Spain, and the conditions of toleration granted to the Christians, whom he had conquered.

“It farther appears from these Arabic works, that not only sugar, but silk was known and cultivated in Spain. We read a beautiful description of Grenada, and its environs ; as also epitaphs of different kinds ; some of them approaching to Attic elegance.

“When that pleasing liquor coffee was first introduced among them, a scruple arose among the devout (perhaps from feeling its exhilarating quality), whether it was not forbidden by the Alcoran, under the article of wine. A council of Mahometan divines was held upon the occasion, and the council luckily decreed for the legality of its use. (See vol. 2d of this catalogue, p. 172, 173.)

“The concessions made by the Arabian conqueror of Spain to the Gothic prince, whom he subdued, is a striking picture of his lenity and toleration. He neither deposed the Gothic prince, nor plundered his people,

people, but, on payment of a moderate tribute, stipulated not to deprive them either of their lives or property, and gave them also their churches, and a toleration for their religion. See this curious treaty, which was made about the year 712 of the Christian era, in the second vol. of this catalogue, p. 106.

“When the posterity of these conquerors came in their turn to be conquered, (an event, which happened many centuries afterward) they did not experience that indulgence, which had been granted by their forefathers.

“The conquered Moors (as they were then called) were expelled by thousands; or, if they ventured to stay, were exposed to the carnage of a merciless inquisition—

—*pueri, innuptæque puellæ,*

*Impositique rogis juvenes ante ora parentum.*

“It appears that many of these Arabic-Spanish princes were men of amiable manners, and great encouragers both of arts and letters, while others, on the contrary, were tyrannic, cruel, and sanguinary.

“There were usually many kingdoms existing at the same time, and these on every occasion embroiled one with another; not to mention much internal sedition in each particular state.

“Like their Eastern ancestors, they appear not to have shared the smallest sentiment of civil liberty; the difference as to good and bad government seeming to have been wholly derived, according to them, from the worth or pravity of the prince, who governed.”

OBSERVATIONS concerning the ANCIENT STATE of the ISLE of WIGHT, and whether the TIN TRADE was formerly carried on from that Island.

[ From Sir RICHARD WORSLEY's History of the ISLE of WIGHT. ]

“THE Isle of Wight is, by many writers, said to have formerly been a portion of the main land, gradually disjoined by the encroachments of the sea; a notion probably taken from Diodorus Siculus, who mentions a peninsula which he calls Vestis, as the mart to which the Cornish merchants used to bring their tin in carts. But the distance, with many other circumstances, have caused it to be doubted by some, whether he really meant this island. The ingenious Mr. Borlase is of this number, and makes use of the following argument: “The short description which we have of the tin trade in Diodorus Siculus must not be omitted, though it is too general for us to learn many

particulars from it. These men, says he, meaning the tanners, manufacture their tin, by working the grounds which produce it with great art; for though the land is rocky, it has soft veins of earth running through it, in which the tanners find the treasure, extract, melt, and purify it; then shaping it by moulds into a kind of cubical figure, they carry it off to a certain island lying near the British shore, which they call Ictis. For at the recess of the tide, the space betwixt the island and the main land being dry, the tanners embrace the opportunity, and carry the tin in carts, as fast as may be, over to the Ictis or port; for it must be observed, that the islands which lie betwixt the continent

nent and Britain, have this singularity, that when the tide is full they are real islands, but when the sea retires they are all but so many peninsulas. From this island the merchants buy the tin of the natives, and export it into Gaul, and finally, through Gaul, by a journey of about thirty days, they bring it down on horses to the mouth of the Erydanus, meaning the Rhone. In this description it will naturally occur to the inquisitive reader to ask where this Ictis was, to which the Cornish carried their melted tin in carts, and there sold it to the merchants. I really cannot inform him; but by the Ictis here, it is plain that the historian could not mean the Ictis or Vestis of the antients, at present called the isle of Wight: for he is speaking of the Britons of Cornwall, and, by the words, it should seem those of the most western parts; *Τῆς κατὰ Β. ἑλάνκης καὶ αὐτὸ ἀκρωτηρίου τοῦ καλεσμένου Βελερίου οἱ μάλοικηῖτες, &c. Οἱ τοὶ τὸν κοσσίτην κατασκευάζουσι φιλιόκενας, &c.* that is, those who live at the extreme end of Britain, called Belerium, find, dress, melt, carry, and sell their tin, &c. Now it would be absurd to think these inhabitants should carry in carts their tin nearly two hundred miles, for so distant is the Isle of Wight from them, when they had at least as good ports and harbours on their own shores as they could meet with there; besides, the inhabitants are said in the same paragraph, to have been more than ordinarily civilized by conversing with strangers and merchants. Those merchants then must have been very conversant in Cornwall; there trafficked for tin, that is, there bought and thence exported the tin, or they could have no business there: their residence would have

been in some of the ports of Hampshire, and Cornwall would scarcely have felt the influence of their manners, much less have been improved and civilized by them at that distance. Again, the Cornish, after the tin was melted, carried it at low water over the Ictis in carts; this will by no means suit the situation of the Isle of Wight, which is at least two miles distant from the main land; and never, so far as we can learn, has been alternately an island and a peninsula, as the tide is in and out. The Ictis, therefore, here mentioned must lie somewhere near the coast of Cornwall; and must either have been a general name for any peninsula or creek (*Ictis* being a common Cornish word, denoting a cove, creek, or port of traffick), or the name of some particular peninsula and common emporium on the same coast, which has now lost its isthmus, name, and perhaps wholly disappeared, by means of some great alterations on the sea shore of this country." Borlase's Nat. Hist. of Cornwall, § 16, p. 16.

"With great deference to so high authority as Mr. Borlase, what another very ingenious author has said upon the subject may be given, without undertaking to decide upon a question of so great uncertainty. Mr. Whitaker, in his History of Manchester, after mentioning that the Phœnicians had continued the tin trade to the coasts of Scilly for near three hundred years, says, "The Greeks of Marseilles first followed the track of the Phœnician voyagers, and before the days of Polybius, and about two hundred years before the age of Christ, began to share with them in the trade of tin. The Carthaginian commerce declined. The Massilian commerce increased. And in the reign of Augustus the whole

whole current of the British traffic had been gradually diverted into this channel. Two roads were laid across the country, and reached from Sandwich to Carnarvon on one side, and extended from Dorsetshire into Suffolk on the other. The great staple of the tin was no longer settled in a distant corner of the island. It was removed from Scilly, and was fixed in the isle of Wight, a central part of the coast, lying equally betwixt the two roads, and better adapted to the new arrangement of the trade. Thither the tin was carried by the Belgæ, and thither the foreign merchants resorted with their wares." He adds farther, "That the Isle of Wight, which, as late as the eighth century, was separated from the remainder of Hampshire by a channel no less than three miles in breadth, was now actually a part of the greater island, disjoined from it only by the tide, and united to it always at the ebb. And during the recess of the waters, the Britons constantly passed over the low isthmus of land, and carried their loaded carts of tin across it."

"As Mr. Whitaker produces authorities for what he has advanced, the curious reader is referred to his work for a more nice investigation of this subject. But in support of the same opinion, I cannot omit the following remarks offered by a gentleman of the island: he observes, that at each extremity of the channel between the island and Hampshire, the tide rushes in and out with such impetuosity as to render these parts the deepest and most dangerous; whereas, near the midway, where the tides meet, though the conflict makes a rough water, according as the wind may assist the one or the

other, there is no rapidity of current to carry away the soil and deepen the bottom: accordingly we discover a hard gravelly beach there, extending a great way across the channel, a circumstance not to be found in any other part of it. Corresponding with this, on the Hampshire side, is a place called *Leap*, possibly from the narrowness of the pass; and on the isle of Wight, opposite this, is a strait open road, of at least two miles in length, called *Rew-street*, probably from the French word *Rue*, to which the translation of it might afterwards be added: this road, after having crossed the town, may be traced by an obelisk and cross from St. Austin's Gate to the west of Christchurch castle, over a field called *North Field*, by Shear, and so on to the south side of the island. Many parts of this road are of little or no use at this time, and unless it was heretofore used for the purpose of conveying tin, it is not easy to conjecture what purpose it was to answer.

"One more respectable authority, that the staple of tin was brought into Hampshire must be produced.

"That learned antiquarian, Sir Robert Cotton, in a little treatise, entitled, "*The Manner and Means how the Kings of England have from Time to Time supported and repaired their Estates*," printed in the year 1609, has the following anecdote.

"Henry VI. anno 20, by advice of his council, took up, by way of purveyance, great store of grain and transported it into Gascoigne, where, by reason of the dearth, the price was extreme. In anno 31, he arrested all the tin in Southampton, and sold it to his own present use."

# RECAPITULATION of Mr. BRYANT's ARGUMENTS in Favour of the AUTHENTICITY of the Poems ascribed to ROWLEY.

We do not mean, by inserting this Recapitulation, to express our agreement in opinion with the learned writer ; but only to pay a proper tribute of respect to his ingenious and elaborate performance. The decisive publications, on the other side of the question, will fall under our notice in the NEW ANNUAL REGISTER for the Year 1782.

“ **I**F we consider all, that has been said, we shall find, that there has been full evidence afforded to the following facts. First, that Mr. William Canynge, by the assistance of his friend and confessor Thomas Rowley, did make a valuable collection of writings. That they were deposited in a large chest in a room over the north porch in St. Mary Redcliffe at Bristol. That he took the utmost care for the preservation of this valuable deposit, by having six keys to the chest, and as many trustees, who were to perform an annual visitation. Of Rowley, whose existence was doubted, there has been afforded sufficient testimony from the register of Wells : and it has been farther shewn from the ledger of St. Ewin's, that in his time, there were at Bristol several respectable persons of that name ; and, as we may reasonably infer, of his family. It has been shewn, that the writings thus laid up, were preserved very safely, till the year 1727 : at which time the chest was broke open : and part of the parchments were carried to another room. That the remainder lay exposed, and was carried away by different persons. That Chatterton's father had a large share ; of which a great deal was by him misapplied and ruined. What was left at his death his widow put into a box, and upon her removal carried

to her own house. That this box was some years afterwards discovered by her son, when he was about fifteen years old ; and that he at times carried off the writings, which he studied and copied at his master's office. Mention has been made of his joy, when he found out their value : of his ecstasy in speaking of them, and when he read them to his friends : of his indignation at their being disregarded ; which he sometimes expressed in very opprobrious terms. It has been proved, that he never took the merit of them to himself ; but always uniformly spoke of them as Rowley's. For this we have the evidence of his mother and sister, and every one of his most intimate friends. Persons have been applied to, who saw the originals : who saw him with the parchments in his hand ; who heard him read from them ; and were present at the time he was copying. Several of the originals are still in the hands of Mr. Barrett. I have shewn his small pretensions to learning, from his first companions ; from those, who knew him afterwards ; from the master, who taught him ; and lastly, from his own testimony ; from the writings under his own signature, the strongest evidence of all. That he had originals before him, is plain from the helps, to which he applied, to get information. These were

were Skinner, Kersey, the small Saxon dictionary, and Chaucer with the glossary. These he obtained, when he had been in possession of the manuscripts above a year and an half : so that at that season, though he had copied many of them, he was not perfectly master of the language. Indeed, he never attained to it. - And to this were owing the false glosses and deviations, of which a real author could not have been guilty. Indeed, nothing can be more inconsistent, than to suppose him the author : for it is plain, if he composed the poems, that he did not know his own meaning : if he penned the originals, he could not read his own writing ; but was obliged to others to find out his purpose. This induces me to dwell a little longer upon the books, which he borrowed ; as the inference, which naturally results from that circumstance, seems to be of consequence. They were obtained partly from Mr. Barrett ; and partly from Mr. Green's circulating library ; after he had given to Mr. Catcott and Mr. Barrett many copies of the poems, and spoken of others, as being in his possession. This shews, that they were not of his own composition. For who ever constructed a poem, and then a year or two afterwards turned to a dictionary to understand it ? It may be said, that he had recourse to these helps, in order to form a glossary. But if he had composed the verses, surely he could have made a glossary, without the help of either Kersey, or Skinner : otherwise, as I have urged before, he must have written, what he did not understand : and that such fine poetry was the result of ignorance, is not to be believed. That the world arose from chaos, I can easily imagine ; because it was

by means of a divine hand. But that a jargon of words should produce an Iliad, I cannot conceive. It is therefore plain, that he was not the author.

“ I have mentioned many of his mistakes and misconceptions ; and the mistakes of others, which he through ignorance adopted. It is with regret, that I am obliged to recur to those instances of his want of knowledge in his Saxon and African poems : in the latter of which Cabo Lopez Gonfalso is changed to the rock of Lupa and the cave of Lobar : the desert of Zaira to the palaces of Zeira ; and the river Tiber is made to run through Arabia. How is it possible for a person of so little experience to have attained to that store of knowledge, to that abstruse and recondite history, with which these poems are fraught ? Turgott and Rowley knew the persons, of whom they treated ; and the circumstances, which they described. But Chatterton had not this knowledge. He lived at a great distance of time ; and had neither experience, nor history, of these events, which he is supposed to commemorate. How could he possibly know the names of the Saxon Earls, which occur in the Battle of Hastings ; and which are not to be found in any historian ? They are indeed authenticated by Doomsday-book. But did he ever hear of that book ? or if he did, had he ever access to it ? We may be assured that he never had. The names of Bertram, Normanne, and many others, were too far out of his reach to have been ever attained by him. The nature of this evidence is such, as must set aside all scruples and surmises : nor can it be affected by any of the popular stories of Chatterton, and his  
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inventive faculty ; nor by the high and unwarrantable notions of his parts and genius. As I have before said, let him have had every natural qualification, with which man can be blest ; yet he was not gifted with inspiration : and without that, he could not have arrived at the truths contained in Rowley. And let him have forged volumes ; yet he never composed these poems ; nor the manuscripts, with which they are connected. It was impossible for him to have hit upon so many historical truths, without any history to direct him. How could he have any intelligence about the marriage designed for Canynge into the family of the Widevilles, concerning which there was no known history ? Or of the cruel fine imposed upon him for his refusal, which was equally unknown ? The same may be asked concerning any person, who may be substituted, as the author, in the room of Rowley. These evidences not only shew, who did not compose the poems ; but point out, who did. They prove, that the intelligence came from Redcliffe Tower ; and totally make void the notion of an imaginary third person. Rowley must have been apprised of Canynge's marriage. He lived at the time ; and it was from him, that the history was transmitted. The whole has since been very fortunately authenticated, as I have shewn. The very article of king Edward being at Bristol in the year 1467 could hardly have been discovered by Chatterton ; as it is, I believe, mentioned but by one historian. Indeed, he does not pretend to have known the year : nor is it any where specified by Rowley. Yet it has been verified by means of the Wor-

1781.

cester register : and every circumstance about Canynge's ordination has been verified from thence. We have the like evidence about the burning of Redcliffe spire. Rowley must have been in some degree an eye-witness of the event : but Chatterton had no history of it ; no record, excepting what must have come from Rowley. He could not have mentioned it without some previous intimation from that quarter : for no account was elsewhere to be had. This, like the two articles above, has since his death been attested, and by the same hand : by the testimony of William of Worcester. If the manuscripts were forgeries by Chatterton, these histories must have been his invention : but we have seen them past contradiction certified ; which could not have been the case, if they had been forgeries. They therefore cannot have been the mere flights of a boyish imagination, but are genuine historical truths. And as he uniformly said, that he had them from Rowley, and as we cannot reasonably conceive any other means, it is absurd to ascribe them to any other person. If all those, who knew the young man, and have given their attestation to the antiquity of the poems, were to be warped in their principles, or to be found mistaken, or were even to retract their evidence ; yet it would avail nothing against these proofs. We may proceed upon the same principle in respect to the Temple church, which was said to have been so badly constructed by the first builder, that it subsided, and bulged. But a better architect preserved it, by laying a stronger basis, founded on piles. If this account were a forgery by Chatterton, it could never have been by

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any means authenticated : but we find that it was verified in the year 1774, about four years after his death.

“ These are events, for which Chatterton had no voucher, if we do not allow him Rowley. But even those persons, and those events, which have collateral history for their confirmation, are often too obscure to be easily met with ; and could not come within the sphere of a boy's intelligence. We have seen, that he makes a soldier, who was later than Hubba the Dane, contemporary with Hengist ; and speaks of an Inca's fleet upon the coast of Calabar. Can we imagine such a novice to be an adept in the most remote, and secret parts of history ? It cannot be supposed. How could he know any thing of the Blue Briton, and Tinyan ? of Powis-land, and Matraval ; and the history of Howel ap Jevah ? Add to these the numberless references and dark allusions, which continually present themselves to the reader in every part of Rowley.

“ Such is the evidence, with which these poems are attended. In the process of my enquiry I have brought accumulated proof of the MSS. having been seen, and acknowledged as authentic. I have mentioned the manner of their being carried away and secreted : of their being afterwards copied ; and of the person, who transcribed

them, being seen in the article of transcribing : of their being uniformly attributed to the real author, Rowley ; concerning whom no doubts were ever entertained by the best judges, the people upon the spot, who were eye-witnesses to the facts, upon which my evidence is founded. Not the least suspicion prevailed ; till scruples and difficulties arose at a distance. This external evidence is necessarily blended with the internal : and through the whole course of my enquiry I have endeavoured to prove, that these compositions required far more learning, than fell to the lot of the young man at Bristol. I have shewn, that he many times did not comprehend the purport of the lines, which he copied ; and that he mistook the very characters, in which they were described ; so that he substituted one word for another. This alone, I think, falls little short of demonstration, that the poems were by another hand. On this account I must recur to the proposition with which I set out, that every author must know his own meaning. And whoever brings a copy of a prior writing, and does not understand that writing, that person cannot be the author. In short, if a boy produces a reputable exercise, and cannot construe it, there is not an usher at a boarding-school, but will tell him, he did not make it.”

# MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

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SPEECH of Sir JOSEPH BANKS, Bart. President of the Royal Society, delivered on Wednesday, November 30th, 1780, being the Day on which the SOCIETY first assembled at their new Apartments in Somerset Place.

[From the PHILOSOPHICAL TRANSACTIONS.]

“THE emotions of gratitude inspired by the very place in which, by the munificence of our royal patron, we are now for the first time assembled, render it impossible for me to neglect the opportunity which this season, when ye have been used to hear yourselves addressed from the chair, affords me, of offering my small tribute of acknowledgment for a benefit so eminently calculated to promote the honour and advancement of this society.

“Established originally by the munificence of a royal founder; fostered and encouraged since that time by every successive monarch who has swayed the British sceptre, ye have ever proved yourselves worthy the favour of your royal protectors. A Newton, who pruned his infant wing under your auspices, when his maturer flights soared to worlds unmeasurably distant, still thought a place among you an honourable distinction. A Newton’s immortal labours, a Boyle, a Flamsteed, a Halley, a Ray, and many others, of whom I trust it is needless to remind you, have made ample returns for the patronage of former monarchs.

“But bountiful as the encouragement ye have received from former patrons has ever been, the favours which science has, through your intercession, received from his present Majesty (whom God long preserve!) have eminently outdone their most extensive ideas of liberality. Ample funds, by him provided, have enabled you to reward men of extensive knowledge and ability, for spending whole years in the service of science; observing twice the transit of the planet Venus over the disk of the sun. At your request, the public defrayed the expence of conveying them to the most distant parts of the globe we inhabit, where the purposes of their mission, so important to the science of astronomy, could best be fulfilled; while ye alone enjoy among your fellow-academies the reputation of having both sent and rewarded them.

“And more; those very donations were so liberally planned by that attention to science which has ever distinguished his present Majesty’s reign, and will for ever bear testimony of his enlarged mind, and disposition favourable to the advancement of true knowledge, that the

surplus alone enabled you, with his royal approbation, to institute experiments on the attraction of mountains, amidst the barren and bleak precipices of the Highlands of Scotland, which then for the first time, beheld instruments of the nicest construction transported to the summits of their pathless crags, and men, used to other habitations, voluntarily residing in temporary huts, eager to express a grateful sense of their royal patron's liberality, by thus promoting to the utmost the cause of science, in which they were, under his protection, embarked.

"Gifts like these, unsolicited and unconditionally bestowed, might have satisfied the impulses even of a princely munificence; but not so with our royal patron. Amply informed in every branch of real knowledge, he resolved to bestow a still more distinguished mark of his favour on science which he loved, and in this his last best gift has fulfilled his royal resolution.

"Such a donation, so suited to our present prosperous and flourishing condition under his royal patronage and protection, is admirably calculated to increase the respect, great as it is, which ye have ever received from the learned of all Europe, placing you at once, in every point of splendid accommodation, as much above all foreign academies, as the labours of your learned predecessors had raised you above them in literary reputation.

"Let then gratitude to a sovereign, from whom ye have received such conspicuous encouragement, engage you, by an application to a promotion of the sciences ye feverally possess, to deserve a continuance of his royal favour; to measure your future exertions by the standard of his princely liberality; and thus shew the world, that ye still are, as ye always have been, worthy the patronage of your king!"

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ACCOUNT of a SATIRICAL PIECE, by JUAN RUIZ, a Spanish Poet in the fourteenth Century.

[From the LETTERS from an ENGLISH TRAVELLER in SPAIN.]

"A Singular poet and satyr-ist now occurs, who has escaped the researches of Don Nicholas Antonio, and most other biographers, till discovered by Don Lewis Velazquez, knight of the order of St. James. This is Juan Ruiz, arch-priest of Hita, whose works are in manuscript, in the library of Toledo, and who flourished in the year 1330. The manuscript is in a very imperfect condition, with many sheets torn out,

and others unintelligible: therefore I shall confine myself to a specimen of a satyrical piece, as given by Velazquez.

"This poem describes a contest between the time of Eating Meat and Lent Time, wherein the former is defeated on Ash Wednesday, and remains in a dejected state till Holy-week, when recovering his spirits, he enters the lists and sends a challenge to Lent, by his second, Don Breakfast, fixing the time for combat

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bat on Easter-Sunday. Lent, not thinking himself obliged to receive a challenge from one whom he has vanquished, finding himself moreover enfeebled, and not being able to procure a fresh supply of sea fish, to recruit his constitution, promises to meet him at Jerusalem, dresses himself like a pilgrim, and makes his escape on Holy-Saturday. Two potent emperors arrive in the world; Don Flesh and Don Love. They both make a triumphal entry: the various musical instruments are described, as well as the reception they meet with, from all ranks of people: a contest arises concerning who is to receive Don Love: each party offers his reasons and claim for a preference, but he refuses them, and shews a predilection to the author, as an old servant of the family, and goes to his house; but the apartments being too small for such splendid guests, a tent is fixed, and here a poetical description is given of the four seasons of the year, in the nature of a vision. The author, with the confidence of an old servant, enquires of Don Love, where he had been during his absence. He answers, in the mild climate of Andalusia during winter, and complains, that coming to Toledo in the beginning of lent, they had shut the gates of the city against him; on which he applied to several convents, but none would receive him, and at last was obliged to pass the lent in the town of Castro, where he was kindly entertained. Finally recovering his strength after lent, he went to the fair of Alcala, and from thence wandering about the country, had left the author in a melancholy mood, who not pleased with a solitary life, consulted an old trot, called Trota Conventos. This sorry old woman advises him to

make love to a nun, and paints the delight of such amours. Trota Conventos applies to a nun, to whom she had rendered former services, speaks in favour of the arch-priest, and acts as procurer between them. A long dialogue ensues, with the persuasions of the old Jezebel on one side, and the resistance and inconveniencies alleged by the nun on the other. Trota Conventos displays the character of the arch-priest;—the nun at last consents to receive him on honourable terms, and dies in two months. The arch-priest is much grieved, and engages the old hag to procure him a wife: she finds out a Moor, who refuses the offer—the author relates the songs he had composed for Jews and Moors, adapted to various instruments, and proper for dances, and to be sung by blind men and strollers.—Trota Conventos dies, the ravages of death are described, as well as the ingratitude of relations and heirs. The epitaph of Trota Conventos is given. Preventatives are offered against the sudden acts of death, which are to be guarded against with the shield of good works.

“Such is the main scope of this whimsical poem, many parts of which are unintelligible at present. One of the last verses says expressly that it was finished in the year 1378.—The work is not destitute of poetical invention, and seems to be a violent satyr on the times, abounding with moral reflections, as well as lively descriptions of the vices of some of the principal personages of the court. At the same time the poet seems to laugh in his easy chair, and might have furnished a model for Rabelais, who probably never saw this poem:—from the freedom with which the arch-priest

has painted the vices of the times, we may call him the Petronius of Spain. Some of his verses have the same metre as the Greek and Latin hexameters : for instance,

“ Fis vos pequeno libro, de testas  
mas que de glosa,

“ Non creo que es pequeno, ant es  
mui gran plofa.”

## PROGRESS of the AGRARIAN LAWS at ROME.

[From Dr. BEVER's History of the LEGAL POLITY of the ROMAN STATE.]

AS the Romans gradually extended their victorious arms over the weaker states of Italy, they were accustomed to take a certain portion of the conquered lands into their own possession ; part of which was sold by auction for the use of the public ; and the rest divided among the poorer citizens, on the payment of a small quit-rent to the treasury, in acknowledgment of the tenure.

“ For the better regulation of these distributions, various laws had been passed from time to time, under the title of Agrarian. The first of these was the Cassian Law, enacted not many years after the beginning of the consular government ; which was followed, at different periods, by many others of the same import ; though the introduction of them was commonly attended with riot and discontent.

“ The comforts arising from the enjoyment of separate property are more apt to stimulate, than to satisfy, the appetite ; and though a simplicity of manners, and a happy ignorance of the superfluities of life, may, for a while, restrain the importunities of the human passions, they will naturally arise in their demands, with the abilities of the state to indulge them. Cato

the Censor, therefore, of honest and frugal memory, clearly foreseeing that Rome was hastening to corruption through her own greatness, vigorously opposed the increasing luxury of the age, both by his example and authority. For this he was rewarded with a statue, by the suffrages of a grateful people ; and yet, by a strange inconsistency, more common than accountable, in the contracted sphere of worldly politics, he suffered his inveterate prejudices against an unfortunate rival to counteract his own zeal, and effectually to defeat his favourite plan of reformation. The destruction of Carthage eased Rome of her fears ; and thus the malady grew every day worse, by the removal of the only check that could have prevented it.

“ The richer citizens getting possession of large tracts of waste land, and being confirmed in them by long prescription ; adding to these likewise, either by force or purchase, the smaller pittance of their poor neighbours, by degrees became masters of territories instead of farms. As a farther grievance, the management of these was often committed to the care of slaves ; whereby the multiplication of the free inhabitants was impeded ; such

as remained were oppressed by penury, exactions, and military services; or, if left unemployed, were enervated by idleness, without lands of their own to occupy; and excluded the privilege of earning their bread upon those of others, by captives and foreigners.

“ Such enormous monopolies once more raised the indignation of tribunitian patriotism, and gave birth to the famous Licinian law, so denominated from its author, Licinius Stolo. By this it was ordained, that no citizen, of what station soever, should possess more than five hundred acres to his own share; nor maintain more than one hundred head of large, and five hundred of small cattle; and that a certain number of free men should be constantly employed in the business of husbandry.

“ This law was admirably suited to the modest ideas of a republic; and well calculated to preserve the just equipoise between the higher and lower orders of the community. While it supplied the nobles with sufficient affluence to command all that respect which was due to their station, it deprived them of the power of corrupting or depressing the poor: and while it supported that distinction of rank, which is essential to the dignity and good order of civil government, it prevented the common people from becoming a burden to the state, by enabling them to maintain their families with their daily labour. That no sanction might be wanting to insure the operation of a law of such extensive importance, it was guarded likewise by oaths, fines, and forfeiture.

“ It might well have been expected that these heavy penalties, enforced by such solemn obligations,

would have checked the growth of this crying evil for ages to come. But the best-concerted designs of human wisdom soon become impotent and inefficacious, when opposed by the cravings of avarice, the insolence of power, and the audacity of ambition. No sooner was the law passed than it was broken by the author himself; who is the first upon record that became the object of its severity.

“ This well-timed example, most probably, put a stop to any gross and open violation of it for the present; though it was far from being a sufficient barrier against the future course of the evil itself. The more cautious and circumspect evaded the prohibitions, by making purchases under borrowed names; while others, more daring, set them at open defiance. A law, designed to humble the pride of riches, and give countenance to parsimony, was ill adapted to the aspiring views of the conquerors of Carthage and Numantia. The ancient abuses gathered strength from the successes of the state; and were daily renewed, with many aggravations, threatening the utter ruin of the industrious husbandman, and the extinction of popular liberty.

“ While avarice and rapine were thus ranging at free quarter over the patrimony of the poor, one strenuous effort was made to repel their hostile invasions, by the virtue and courage of the famous Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus; a youthful hero, adorned with every valuable accomplishment of the genuine Roman. Melting with pity at the desolate view of the Hetrurian plains, forsaken by their native inhabitants, and over-run by foreign slaves; animated likewise by the cries of the whole people, who unfortunately

demanding the restitution of the alienated lands, he resolutely stood forth the advocate of their deserted cause.

“ Armed with the power of the tribunate, he meditated an excellent scheme of redress ; and engaged several other eminent persons, who had yet escaped the general contagion, to support it with their united authority. The candid and equitable principle upon which this law was framed, is a convincing proof both of his wisdom and moderation ; for it may be truly affirmed, that a gentler remedy was never before applied to so desperate a mischief. Free from the impolitic and malevolent desire of reducing all orders to one common level, his only object was to preserve the proper distinction between each ; by bringing back the rich within the pale of those laws which they had so shamefully transgressed ; and by restoring the poor to those rights of which they had been so unjustly deprived. To quiet the apprehensions of the offenders, he remitted the fines inflicted by the Licinian law ; and to alleviate their hardships, directed that the value of the lands to be resigned should be repaid out of the public treasury. As a farther indulgence, he allowed the heir of the family to retain two hundred and fifty acres, over and above the estate possessed by his father.

“ The humble commonalty, amply satisfied with the proposed reforms, would willingly have buried all former acts of injustice in total oblivion, on condition only of having their possessions secured from any future incroachments. But the opulent landholders, enraged at the law by the instigations of avarice, and at the author by resentment and perverseness, strove to

alarm the jealousy of the people against Tiberius, by charging him with a design to introduce innovations, and excite commotions in the state. The powers of eloquence, however, exerted in so just a cause, rendered him invincible ; and his adversaries, confounded by the force of it, had recourse to the common expedient of dividing the tribunician authority against itself ; by prevailing upon Cæcilius, a member of the same body, to interpose his negative.

“ But this injudicious resistance served only to aggravate the evil, which it meant to remove. It inflamed the zeal of the intrepid Tiberius : provoked him to abandon the mild and humane design of his first law, and to bring in another, much more severe upon the engrossers of lands ; enjoining them to give up immediately whatever they possessed, contrary to the permission of the laws then in being. The dissensions still increasing, he went farther ; suspended the magistrates from the exercise of their respective jurisdictions, sealed up the treasury, and put an entire stop to the ordinary course of public business.

“ After various fruitless attempts to reconcile the contending parties, Tiberius, by his superior influence over the people, deposed Octavius from his office of tribune ; and having thus violently overpowered all opposition, his law was confirmed by the voice of the “ comitia,” and himself appointed one of the commissioners to regulate the intended distribution. At the same time, to secure the affection of his fellow-citizens, he took advantage of a singular bequest, lately made by Attalus king of Pergamus, of his whole dominions and fortune to the

Roman

Roman people; and proposed that the ready money, left by this infatuated prince, should be divided among such of the poor as had obtained a share of the public lands, to enable them to improve their farms; and as to the cities and territories, he denied the disposal of them to the senate, insisting that the right belonged to the people in general, whose pleasure he should consult upon that occasion.

To protect him against the malice of the oppressed nobles, he was elected tribune for another year; and, strengthened by this renewal of his authority, gave daily proofs of the sincerest attachment to the popular cause. But his enemies, watching his most innocent motions with an eye of prejudice, carried the folly of suspicion to so great a length, as to interpret a sudden elevation of his hand toward his head

(designed by himself only as a signal of distress in the heat of a tumult) into the demand of a diadem. What was suggestion only in the "forum," was truth in the senate. The members of that haughty body, trembling for their usurped property, were clamorous with the consul to avenge them of the tyrant. But that wise and just magistrate refusing to pass sentence before the guilt was proved, Scipio Nafica, whom fear and self-interest alone had suddenly transformed into a champion of liberty, rushed out, at the head of desperate partizans, upon the defenceless tribune; and put him to a barbarous and ignominious death with a vile weapon, the use of which could only have been excused against a savage and noxious animal: and thus fell Tiberius Gracchus, an illustrious victim to a rapacious and implacable senate."

## OBSERVATIONS on the TREATMENT of the FAIR SEX in different Countries.

[From Dr. Falconer's REMARKS on the Influence of Climate, &c. on the Disposition and Temper, &c. of MANKIND.]

"**P**OLITENESS and elegance of behaviour have always attained to the greatest perfection in temperate climates: this has been owing in some measure to the greater perfection of arts in general. But I apprehend, that the disposition of the people to activity, joined with a degree of sensibility; and a government with some share of liberty, and which consequently admits of a free communication of sentiment, are the principal reasons.

"The last of these, as far as relates to a free intercourse of com-

pany and conversation between the sexes, is perhaps the most active cause of any, and subsists only in moderate climates; the female sex, in cold ones, being disregarded, and in hot ones, being in a state of confinement. While in Asia the fair sex are considered only as a possession, in Europe they are objects of tenderness, esteem, and rational attachment. This inspires a habit of attentive and respectful behaviour; their beauty excites admiration and love; and even their very weakness adds force to their influence,

influence, under the idea of delicacy. Generosity prevents oppression, where there can be no resistance; and rouses valour and gallantry in their defence. Whatever they say is heard with peculiar attention; and even their foibles are construed into perfections. Besides, by their being at liberty, they are enabled to take a part in the business of the world; to manage domestic affairs, which are there regarded as their peculiar province; and to bear an almost equal part in the adventures of life; and thus to render themselves objects of esteem, when their personal attractions are no more.

“Another circumstance highly favourable to the influence of the fair sex, in moderate climates, is, that in them their beauty and understanding accompany each other; so that a woman is at the same time an object of passion and of respect. This circumstance, joined to that of there being but one object, (polygamy not being practised) and of consequence the hopes of offspring depending on her only, enhances much their consequence in society: and of course tends to render the manners of the other sex such as are agreeable to them; that is, attentive, polished, and elegant.

“In Asia, the case is directly the reverse: the women are there secluded from conversation with the other sex, and are regarded chiefly in the light of an object for the gratification of passion; and even this regard is divided among a number. Their beauty is transient, their manners disposed to be profligate,

and their minds uncultivated; they bear no part in the affairs of life, and are esteemed to be in an inferior station in point of rank; consequently, they can neither be objects of respect, esteem, or rational attachment. No wonder then, that the other sex should be little disposed to cultivate a mode of behaviour adapted to their inclinations. In very cold countries, the fair sex, though under no restraint in point of personal confinement, are, as I have before remarked, but little respected; and of consequence their intercourse with the other sex has but little effect upon the manners. In Russia, until of late years, they were held to be scarcely superior to domestic servants; were accustomed to be beaten, at the pleasure of their husbands; and even the sign of espousal itself, was an instrument of chastisement. By communication with other nations, this brutality is in a great measure worn off; and Russia, in consequence, rises in the esteem and respect of Europe: enough, however, is yet left to shew the natural disposition of the people.

“Some respectable writers have attributed this situation of the female sex in cold climates, to the rude state of the people, but without reason. Our ancestors, the ancient Germans, whose country, though cold, was not extreme in degree, held the fair sex in the highest estimation, and even veneration; and the same is the case with the savage nations in some of the more temperate climates of America.”

## Upon the USE of TEA.

[From the same work.]

“TEA appears, from the best experiments, to produce sedative effects upon the nerves, diminishing their energy, and the tone of the muscular fibres, and inducing a considerable degree, both of sensibility and irritability, upon the whole system. It also promotes the thinner evacuations very powerfully, and diminishes the flesh and bulk of those who use it. These effects tend to impair the strength, and promote the other consequences of it upon the nervous system above described. Hence the use of tea has been found very agreeable to the studious, especially those engaged in the composition of works of genius and imagination; and hence it is emphatically styled the poet’s friend. But, on the other hand, I believe that, at least with us, it has had the effect of enfeebling and enervating the bodies of our people, and of introducing several disorders that arise from laxity and debility; and has been of still worse consequence in making way for the use of spirituous liquors, which are often taken to relieve that depression which tea occasions.

“From these effects of tea, I cannot but think that its consequences, on the whole, have been highly prejudicial. It evidently injures the health, and, by the consequences

last mentioned, tends to corrupt the morals of the people: and, in my opinion, by the effects it produces upon the nerves, contributes to abate courage, vigour, and steadiness of mind: circumstances surely of themselves sufficient to discredit its use, with those who are engaged in any situation of life that requires exertion and resolution. Perhaps, however, in the hot climates of China and India, the use of this liquor may not be so prejudicial as in the colder ones: it may there tend to abate the weariness occasioned by heat, and, as a grateful diluent, promote the thinner evacuations; which possibly may, by causing it to pass off quickly, counteract, in some measure, its bad effects. But the noxious qualities of this plant are not unknown even in its native countries. The Japanese are subject to the diabetes, and to consumptive disorders resembling the atrophy, from its use; and the Chinese, it is said, are so sensible of these consequences, that they rarely drink green tea at all, which is the most remarkable for these effects. Perhaps the diminutive stature, and cowardly, and at the same time acute and tricking disposition of the Chinese, may be owing, in no small degree, to the use of this vegetable.”

## LAWS of CHIVALRY.

[From the History of the Chevalier BAYARD.]

“THE subsequent articles were agreed to, and observed, at the first tournament that was held in Germany, in the year 938, at the city of Magdeburg, by Henry the Fowler.

“I. That in following time, a custom should be observed and kept in Germany, and the countries thereto belonging, from three years to three years (at the least), to celebrate jousts and tourneys for exercise, and to know the nobility resorting to them. That all princes, lords, barons, and gentlemen of noble extraction, being well armed and honourably accoutred, should be welcome to them. From these tourneys were to be excluded all such as could be detected of blaspheming the sacred name of God, the most Holy Trinity, and the Christian Catholic Religion. If any such persons (standing upon the nobility of their extraction) durst be so bold as to present themselves in this assembly; we ordain, will, and it is our pleasure, that they should be dismounted, and deprived of their horses and lances: and, as a note of infamy for ever after, so long as the tourney shall endure, such a man must ride upon the bars, or rails, as a man exposed to the scorn of the whole assembly.

“II. Whatsoever person of the nobility, that shall (advisedly and wilfully) speak evil of the emperor's person, blame or condemn his ordinances and commands, and resist them in deed or word, he shall be ignominiously expelled from the tourney, lose his horse and ride the rails.

“III. Any man of the nobility, that shall outrage, or abuse (by word or deed) the honour of a wife, maid, or widow, and shall possess himself (by force and violence) of their goods and possessions, or shall give aid and help, to such as shall so wrong and abuse them; he shall lose his horse and ride the rails.

“IV. From these tourneys are likewise excluded all gentlemen, attainted and convicted of crimes, either of falsehood, perjury, or breach of faith. Whosoever, being such an offender, shall dare to present himself within the lists; it is the loss of his horse, and riding the rails.

“V. Whosoever hath betrayed his lord, and by fraud or craft hath forsaken him, either in going, being there, or returning from war, or else hath persuaded his lord's servants to do so: whosoever hath not assisted and defended his fellow-citizen, his servants or other persons (that did put themselves into his safeguard and protection) from all injustice and violence, but hath counselled and procured the contrary, and by fear and cowardice, by intelligence and wicked practice, left and forsook them, when he ought and might have protected him or them; for ever he is to be excluded from jousts and tourneys: but if he dare presume to present himself at any, as a manifest note of shame and infamy, he must lose his horse, and ride the rails.

“VI. Whosoever shall have procured the death of his wife, or practised and given consent thereto: whosoever also hath favoured, given counsel, or lodged the murderers of his sovereign lord, either be-

fore,

fore, or after his death ; he shall (to all perpetuity) stand banished from these tourneys, with the loss of his horse, and riding the rails instead thereof.

“ VII. Whosoever hath perpetrated or committed sacrilege, and disposed sanctified places of their goods and riches : or hath usurped by force and violence, those belonging to widows, and orphans, without making restitution (vices, which ought to be reprov'd and punished above any other, especially in a gentleman of honour,) he is to be expuls'd from these jousts, after he hath lost his horse, and ridden the rails.

“ VIII. Whosoever shall surprize his enemy by treason, either before he hath challenged him, or after, and shall pursue him in any other sort, than as is allowed by the laws of war ; burning his houses and granges, tearing up his vines and corn, by means whereof, dearth of these fruits of the earth may bring hurt and damage to the commonwealth : whosoever also, either by himself, or some other by his intelligence, shall lye thievishly lurking, and waiting on the high ways for him : all these having lost their horses, shall ride the rails.

“ IX. Whosoever shall oppress his subjects or servants with novel impositions, taxes, and subsidies, either by land or water (without knowledge and permission of his chief sovereign lord) for augmenting and encreasing his own private demesnes ; and whosoever in the lands and marches under his government, shall impose any taxation upon foreign commodities, by means whereof, strangers shall be robbed and ill entreated, and traffic and commerce

hindred ; he shall have his horse taken from him, and ride the rails.

“ X. Whosoever (being married) shall be convicted of adultery ; if he be a widower, and shall maintain a married wife, a religious sister, or a devout woman ; if he shall be a messenger to the low countries of women, or of devoted sisters, and nuns, or shall have forcibly taken them for his use ; let him be banished for ever from the noble assembly of jousts and tourneys, deprived of his horse, and sent away in a shirt of mail, or set to ride on a wooden hobby horse.

“ XI. If any one of noble extraction, being not satisfied with such goods, as came to him by birth, kindred and inheritance, or otherwise won and conquered, by wages and pensions from his prince ; but shall make himself a farmer of goods, fruits, or commodities of any other, under borrowed names, because he dare not himself avouch it ; he is for ever to be banished from this noble assembly of jousts and tourneys. But if his boldness maketh him to presume thither and is seen there ; let him lose his horse and ride the rails.

“ XII. If any man shall present himself at a joust or tourney, under shadow and pretence, that he hath been enabled by his prince, and therefore presumeth to march equal, and as a peer with them of ancient nobility, and cannot be justified by his own birth in the fourth degree, by the father's stock, or by the mother's side at the least : such a gentleman of the first edition, ought to be beaten with rods, and switches, his horse taken from him, and he to ride the rails.”

# ENQUIRY into the LORENZO of Dr. YOUNG's NIGHT THOUGHTS.

[From Mr. CROFT's Life of YOUNG, in JOHNSON's Lives of the Poets.]

“ **W**HETHER you think with me, I know not; but the famous “*De mortuis nil nisi bonum*” has always stricken me as favouring more of female weakness than of manly reason. Censure is not heard beneath the tomb any more than praise. *De mortuis nil nisi verum—De vivis nil nisi bonum*—would approach much nearer to good sense. After all, the few handfuls of remaining dust which once composed the body of the author of the Night Thoughts, feel not much concern whether Young passes now for a man of sorrow, or for a fellow of infinite jest. To this favour must come the whole family of Yorick.—His immortal part, wherever that now dwells, is still less solicitous on this head. But to a son of worth and sensibility it is of some little consequence whether contemporaries believe, and posterity be taught to believe, that his debauched and reprobate life cast a Stygian gloom over the evening of his father's days, saved him the trouble of feigning a character completely detestable, and succeeded at last in bringing his grey hairs with sorrow to the grave.

“ The humanity of the world, little satisfied with inventing perhaps a melancholy disposition for the father, proceeds next to invent an argument in support of their invention, and chooses that Lorenzo should be Young's own son. The Biographia pretty roundly asserts this to be a fact; of the absolute impossibility of which the Biographia itself, in particular dates,

contains undeniable evidence. Readers I know there are of a strange turn of mind, who will hereafter peruse the Night Thoughts with less satisfaction; who will wish they had been still deceived; who will quarrel with me for discovering that no such character as Lorenzo ever yet disgraced human nature, or broke a father's heart. Yet would these admirers of the sublime and terrible be offended, should you set them down for cruel and for savage.

“ Of this report, inhuman to the surviving son, if it be untrue, in proportion as the character of Lorenzo is diabolical, where are we to find the proofs? Perhaps it is clear from the performance itself. From the first line to the last of the Night Thoughts no one expression can be discovered which betrays any thing like the father. In the second Night I find an expression which betrays something else; that Lorenzo was his friend; one, it is possible, of his former companions; one of the Duke of Wharton's set. The poet styles him gay friend—an appellation not very natural from a pious incensed father to such a being as he paints Lorenzo, and that being his son.

“ But let us see how he has sketched this dreadful portrait, from the sight of some of whose features the artist himself must have turned away with horror!—A subject more shocking, if his only child really sat to him, than the crucifixion of Michael Angelo; upon the horrid story told of which, Young composed

# The LORENZO of Dr. YOUNG's NIGHT THOUGHTS. [175]

posed a short poem of fourteen lines in the early part of life, which he did not think deserved to be republished.

"In the first Night, the address to the poet's supposed son is,

"Lorenzo, Fortune makes her court to thee."

"In the fifth Night—

"And burns Lorenzo still for the sublime  
Of life? To hang his hairy nest on high?"

Is this a picture of the son of the rector of Wellwyn?

"Eighth Night—

"In foreign realms (for thou has travell'd far)—"

which even now does not apply to his son.

"In Night five—

"So wept Lorenzo fair Clarissa's fate,  
Who gave that angel-boy on whom he dotes,  
And died to give him, orphan'd in his birth!"

"At the beginning of the fifth Night we find—

"Lorenzo! to recriminate is just.  
I grant the man is vain who writes for praise."

"But, to cut short all enquiry, if any one of these passages, if any passage in the poems, be applicable, my friend shall pass for Lorenzo. The son of the author of the Night Thoughts was not old enough, when the Night Thoughts were written, to recriminate, or to be a father. The Night Thoughts were begun immediately after the mournful events of 1740. The first Nights appear in the Stationers books as the property of Robert Doddsley, in 1742. The Preface to Night Seven is dated July the 7th, 1744. The marriage, in consequence of which the supposed Lorenzo was born, happened in April, 1732. Young's

child was not born till June 1733. In 1740 this Lorenzo, this finished infidel, this father, to whose education Vice had for some years put the last hand, was only seven years old. A anecdote of this cruel sort, so open to contradiction, so impossible to be true, who could propagate? Thus easily are blasted the reputations of the living and of the dead.

"Who then was Lorenzo? exclaim the readers I have mentioned. If he was not his son, was he not his nephew, his cousin?"

"These are questions which I do not pretend to answer. For the sake of human nature, I could wish Lorenzo to have been only the creation of the poet's fancy. That this was the case, many expressions in the Night Thoughts would seem to prove, did not a passage in Night Eight appear to shew that he had somebody in his eye for the groundwork at least of the painting. Lovelace or Lorenzo may be feigned characters; but a writer does not feign a name of which he only gives the initial letter:

"Tell not Calista. She will laugh  
dead,  
Or send thee to her hermitage with L—."

"The Biographia, not satisfied with pointing out the son of Young, in that son's life-time, as his father's Lorenzo, travels out of its way into the history of the son, and tells of his having been forbidden his college at Oxford for misbehaviour, and of his long labouring under the displeasure of his father. How such anecdotes, were they true, tend to illustrate the Life of Young, it is not easy to discover. If the son of the author of the Night Thoughts was indeed forbidden his college, for a time, at one of our universities, the author of Paradise Lost was disgracefully ejected

ejected from the other, with the additional indignity of public corporal correction. From juvenile follies who is free? Were Nature to indulge the son of Young with a second youth, and to leave him at the same time the experience of that which is past, he would probably pass it differently (who would not?) he would certainly be the occasion of less uneasiness to his father;—but, from the same experience, he would as certainly be treated in a different manner by his father. Young was a poet: poets (with reverence be it spoken) do not make the best parents. Fancy and imagination seldom deign to stoop from their

heights; always stoop unwillingly to the low level of common duties. Aloof from vulgar life, they pursue their rapid flight beyond the ken of mortals, and descend not to earth but when obliged by necessity. The prose of ordinary occurrences is beneath the dignity of poetry.

“Yet the son of Young would almost sooner, I know, pass for a Lorenzo, than see himself vindicated, at the expence of his father's memory, from follies which, if it was blameable in a boy to have committed them, it is surely praise-worthy in a man to lament, and certainly not only unnecessary but cruel in a biographer to record.”

## ESTIMATE of Mr. RICHARDSON's MERIT.

[From Mr. SHERLOCK's Letters.]

“**Y**OU have wit, taste, sense, and sentiment, and you don't like Richardson. Well, that is to me astonishing. He has but one great fault, and unfortunately every body feels it. The defect might be cured; and it is, in my opinion, an object well worthy the attention of the nation to have it remedied

“Richardson's views were grand. His soul was noble, and his heart was excellent. He formed a plan that embraced all human nature. His object was to benefit mankind. His knowledge of the world shewed him that happiness was to be attained by man, only in proportion as he practised virtue. His good sense then shewed him that no practical system of morality existed; and the same good sense told him that nothing but a body of morality, put

into action, could work with efficacy on the minds of youth. Sermons and essays, experience shewed him, were ineffectual. The manner of them was dry and uninteresting to young people; and arguments addressed to what is weakest in youth, to their understandings, he clearly perceived were without effect. He saw farther, that example was the great point which formed the young; and he saw that man was composed of passions and imagination as well as of understanding.

“These were his general principles; and upon these principles he reasoned thus: Mankind is naturally good, for it is rare to meet young people with bad hearts. A young man, then, coming into the world, wishes to be perfect. But how shall he learn? The world is a bad school; and precepts scattered up  
and

and down in books of morality are of little use. An example would form him; but where is it to be found? None exists. I will then create one for him. I will set before him a model of perfection. The more he imitates it, the more perfect he will be; the more perfect he is, the happier he will be.

"As he reasoned upon man, so he reasoned upon woman. He aimed at no less than bestowing felicity on the generation he saw rising before him, and on every one that was to succeed it. And had he not had powers to accomplish this aim, his wish was so grand, so noble, and of such a superior order of benevolence, that that alone would have entitled him to immortality: I had almost said canonization.

"But such is the perverseness and weakness of mankind, that what constitutes Richardson's greatest merit, is considered by many as a capital defect in his conception. They object that such a woman as *Clarissa*, and such a man as *sir Charles Grandison*, having never existed, the author has created palpable chimeras, and consequently his creations are useless and unaffecting. How consistent are the reasonings of men! Century after century, and country after country, have vied with each other in praising the work and the author of the *Venus of Medici*. Yet this work must be universally allowed to be farther from nature than Richardson's *Clarissa*. No woman ever came near the beauty of this statue; yet, has that diminished the merits of the author? Has he not always been, and is he not hourly and justly admired for the ingenuity of his idea, though this idea is totally barren of profit to the world?

"Not so with *Clarissa*: she must profit every female that beholds

her. Though the whole of these two imaginary beings did evidently never exist, yet so great has been the mastery of these uncommon artists, that there is not a particle in the composition of the statue, nor a trait in the character or conduct of the heroine, that can be said to deviate in the minutest degree from the precise line of nature and of truth.

"Richardson has done no more than animate the *Venus of Medici*. The Grecian sculptor had created of every creature's best, a marble body: the English writer created equally of every creature's best, a soul, a mind, a genius for that body. Can any man pretend to be consistent with himself, who admires the one, and condemns the other? Suppose the two the work of the Greek, and I will venture to say, this would have been the language of the world: "When the sculptor created that form, he surpassed men; but when he created that genius and that soul, he rivalled the gods."

"The writers of England excel those of all other nations in the pathetic; and Richardson in this point is, I think, superior to all his countrymen. He makes one cry too much: and by a very singular talent, peculiar to himself alone, he fills our eyes almost as often by elevated sentiments, as he does by tender ones. He abounds with strokes of greatness, sometimes in the actions, and sometimes in the sentiments of his characters, which raise the reader's soul, and make the tear of generosity spring into his eye he knows not whence.

"Here are three strokes of pathos; tell me which of them you like best.

"When the tyrannical *Capulet* says to his daughter:

M

"Thursday,

“ Thursday is near ;  
 “ If you be mine, I’ll give you to my  
 “ friend :  
 “ If you be not, hang, beg, starve, die  
 “ i’t’h’ streets,  
 “ For by my soul, I’ll ne’er acknowledge  
 “ thee.”

“ Then Juliet ;  
 “ Is there no Pity fitting in the clouds,  
 “ That sees into the bottom of my  
 “ grief ?  
 “ O sweet my mother, cast me not  
 “ away.”

“ Is not that earnest appeal to  
 heaven most solemnly moving ? and  
 then that passionate address to her  
 mother, as her only resource after  
 Providence, is exceedingly affecting.  
 The confusion too in placing her  
 words, *O sweet my mother, for O my  
 sweet mother*, is infinitely beautiful :  
 it is somewhat like Virgil’s *Me, me  
 adsum qui feci*.

“ The next is from Otway.  
 When Jaffier gives Belvidera to Re-  
 nault, and gives him with her a dag-  
 ger, desiring him, when he proves  
 unworthy, to strike it to her heart ;  
 Belvidera’s answer is inimitably  
 fine.

“ O thou unkind one !  
 “ . . . Have I deserv’d this from you ?  
 “ Look on me, tell me,  
 “ Why am I separated from thy love ?

“ If I am false, accuse me, but if true,  
 “ Don’t, pr’ythee don’t in poverty for-  
 “ sake me,  
 “ But pity the sad heart that’s torn with  
 “ parting.”

“ No man can write better than  
 this. That line, “ Don’t, pr’ythee,  
 don’t *in poverty* forsake me,” is a-  
 bove praise. Every word of it is  
 a beauty. The words “ *but if true*,”  
 introduce this affecting close with  
 peculiar happiness, because the au-  
 dience, knowing that she *is* true,  
 feels more deeply for her sorrows.

“ The third is from Clarissa.  
 After she has escaped from Love-  
 lace, and is lodged at a glove-shop,  
 King-Street, Covent-Garden, she  
 writes a letter to her nurse, Mrs.  
 Norton, in which are these words :  
 “ I am afraid *my Poor*, as I used to  
 “ call the good creatures to whose  
 “ necessities I was wont to admini-  
 “ ster by your faithful hands, have  
 “ missed me of late. But now, alas !  
 “ I am poor myself.” When Cla-  
 rissa’s story is known, and the whole  
 of her character, and her present  
 situation considered, “ *But now,  
 alas ! I am poor myself*,” is irresistible.

“ I do not believe any language,  
 ancient or modern, can shew three  
 traits equal to these.”

## On the LITERARY EDUCATION of WOMEN.

[From Mr. KNOX’s LIBERAL EDUCATION.]

“ THERE are many preju-  
 dices entertained against  
 the character of a learned lady ; and  
 perhaps if all ladies were profoundly  
 learned, some inconveniencies might  
 arise from it : but I must own it

does not appear to me, that a wo-  
 man will be rendered less acceptable  
 in the world, or worse qualified to  
 perform any part of her duty in it,  
 by having employed the time from  
 six to sixteen, in the cultivation of  
 her

her mind. Time enough will remain, after a few hours every day spent in reading, for the improvement of the person, and the acquisition of the usual accomplishments. With respect to these accomplishments, I will not presume to direct the method of pursuing them. I will not so far intrude on a province, which by no means belongs to me. The ladies themselves, and their instructors, want no directions in matters of external ornament, the end of which is to please on intuition. However arrogant the men have been in their claims of superiority, they have usually allowed the ladies the possession of a delicate taste in the improvement and perception of all kinds of beauty.

“ The literary education of women ought indisputably to be varied according to their fortunes, and their expectations. Much refinement, and a taste for books, will injure her, whose time, from prudential motives, must be entirely engrossed by œconomy. Few women are indeed exempted from all attention to domestic care. But yet the unmarried, and those who enjoy opulence, find many intervals which they often devote to some species of reading. And there is no doubt, but that the reading would be selected with more judgment, and would afford more pleasure and advantage, if the taste were formed by early culture.

“ I will then venture to recommend, that ladies of this description should have a classical education. But let not the reader be alarmed. I mean not to advise, that they should be initiated, without exception, in Greek and Latin; but that they should be well and early acquainted with the French and the English classics.

“ As soon as they can read with

fluency, let them begin to learn Lowth's Grammar, and to read at the same time some very easy and elegant author, with a view to exemplify the rules. They should learn a part in grammar every morning, and then proceed to read a lesson; just in the manner observed in classical schools in learning Latin. After a year spent in this method, if the success is adequate to the time, they should advance to French, and study that language exactly in the same mode. In the French grammar, it will not be necessary to go through those particulars which are common to the grammars of all languages, and which have been learned in studying English.

“ Several years should be spent in this elementary process; and when the scholar is perfectly acquainted with orthography and grammar, she may then proceed to the cultivation of taste. Milton, Addison, and Pope, must be the standing models in English; Boileau, Fontenelle, and Vertot, in French; and I wish these to be attended to solely for a considerable time. Many inconveniencies arise from engaging young minds in the perusal of too many books. After these authors have been read over with attention, and with a critical observation of their beauties, the scholar may be permitted to select any of the approved writers of France and England, for her own improvement. She will be able to select with some judgment, and will have laid a foundation which will bear any superstructure. Her mind, if she has been successful in this course, will have imbibed an elegance which will naturally diffuse itself over her conversation, address, and behaviour. It is well known, that internal beauty contributes much to perfect

external grace. I believe it will also be favourable to virtue, and will operate greatly in restraining from any conduct grossly indelicate, and obviously improper. Much of the profligacy of female manners has proceeded from a levity occasioned by a want of a proper education. She who has no taste for well written books, will often be at a loss how to spend her time; and the consequences of such a state are too frequent not to be known, and too fatal not to be dreaded and avoided.

“Whenever a young lady in easy circumstances appears to possess a genius, and an inclination for learned pursuits, I will venture to say, she ought, if her situation and connections permit, to be early instructed in the elements of Latin and Greek. Her mind is certainly as capable of improvement, as that of the other sex. The instances which might be brought to prove this, are all too well known to admit of citation. And the method to be pursued must be exactly the same as that which is used in the private tuition of boys, when judiciously conducted.

“And here I cannot refrain from adding, that though I disapprove, for the most part, of private tuition for boys, yet I very seriously recommend it to girls, with little exception. All sensible people agree in thinking, that large seminaries

of young ladies, though managed with all the vigilance and caution which human abilities can exert, are in danger of great corruption. Vanity and vice will be introduced by some among a large number, and the contagion soon spreads with irresistible violence. Who can be so proper an instructor and guardian, as a tender and a sensible mother? Where can virgin innocence and delicacy be better protected, than under a parent's roof, and in a father's and a brother's bosom? Certainly no where, provided that the parents are sensible and virtuous, and that the house is free from improper or dangerous connections. But where the parents are much engaged in pleasure, or in business; where they are ignorant or vicious; where a family is exposed to the visits or constant company of libertine young persons; there it is certainly expedient to place a daughter under the care of some of those judicious matrons, who preside over the schools in or near the metropolis. But I believe it often happens, that young ladies are sent from their parent's eye, to these seminaries, principally with a view to form connections. I leave it to the heart of a feeling father to determine, whether it is not cruel to endanger the morals of his offspring for the sake of promoting her interest, or of gratifying her vanity and his own ambition.”

## How EDUCATION should be conducted with regard to REVEALED RELIGION.

[From Lord KAIMS's LOOSE HINTS upon EDUCATION.]

“**W**HAT remains with respect to religious education, is to add a few hints upon revealed religion. This may be thought an extremely delicate point ; because, in endeavouring to instruct young people in the revelation that ought to be embraced, there may be danger of leading them astray. As revealed religion is not stamped on the heart, but requires profound reasoning and the knowledge of many obscure facts, we are apt to conclude that it ought to be delayed till the faculty of reason be ripe ; which resolves in leaving every person to judge for themselves. But this opinion ought not to be adopted ; for as the generality of men are incapable to judge of a matter so intricate, they must be led. Now, I say, that it is better for them to be led in their younger years by a kindly parent or tutor, than to be left to form an opinion afterward as chance shall direct. For this reason, I am clear that children be educated in the religion established or tolerated by law. Nor ought this to be considered as a rash concession ; for sure I am, that ninety-nine of a hundred have no better foundation to build their faith upon. It may be demanded then, where lies the merit of a Christian above a Mahometan or a Pagan ? I admit, that it cannot lie in following blindly the profession of one's ancestors. But as the Christian revelation is the most perfect of all, and the purest in its doctrines, it is highly meritorious in a Turk or a

Pagan, who seeks truth with a sincere heart, to become a true Christian. At the same time, I am far from thinking, that Christianity is the only road to heaven. All who have a good heart with a clear conscience, will meet with the same reward. It is not material in the sight of the Almighty, whether the religion they have been taught is or is not orthodox, provided they be sincere. People follow naturally and innocently the faith of their parents ; and the generality have no other means for embracing a revelation, real or pretended. How few are there who can depend on their own judgment, in making a choice ! Are people to be condemned for judging wrong, who cannot judge at all ? To me therefore it appears evidently the will of God, that sincerity should be the only title to his favour, leaving men to their own belief.

“ It is at the same time extremely convenient, that people should be of the religion of their country. Therefore, whatever unlucky doubts or scruples may haunt a man with respect to that religion, he ought to conceal them from his children. In a Christian country, let him employ all honest means to breed his children sincere Christians. To that end, among other particulars more material, a set of prints representing the history of the Old and New Testament, will contribute greatly. Young creatures delight in pictures ; and by that means, the material facts relative to Christi-

anity may be deeply stamped on their minds, leaving when they grow up little inclination to doubt of their reality.

“ Here indeed I zealously exhort parents and teachers to guard against bigotry and superstition, which, if early sown in young minds, are not easily rooted out. Teach your children to prefer their own religion ; but inculcate at the same time that the virtuous are acceptable to God, however erroneous in point of belief. Press it home on them, that there is nothing in nature to hinder different sects of Christians from living amicably together, more than different sects of philosophers, or of men who work in different arts : especially as the articles of faith that distinguish these sects are purely speculative : they have no relation to morals, nor any influence on our conduct. Yet from these distinctions have proceeded rancour and animosity, as if our most important concerns had been at stake. In a different view, the absurdity appears still more glaring. These articles, the greater part at least, relate to subjects beyond the reach of human understanding ; so that no man can say whether they are false or true. The Almighty by his works of creation has made his wisdom and benevolence manifest : but he has not found it necessary to explain to his crea-

tures the manner of his existence ; and in all appearance the manner of his existence is beyond the reach of our conceptions. Yet Athanasius, that great champion for blind credulity, and who for that reason has been dubbed a saint, handles the subject with as great assurance of being in the right, as if it had been revealed to him from heaven. Certain it is, that the propositions laid down in his creed, are far beyond the reach of human knowledge. I forbear to mention, that the greater part of them, if they have any distinct meaning, contradict common sense. And yet, good God ! what oceans of blood have been shed by the inveteracy of the orthodox against the Arians, occasioned chiefly by that very creed ; men massacring one another without remorse, and even without pity—more cruel far than beasts of prey, who never kill but for food. Persecution for the sake of religion, would have been entirely prevented by wholesome education, instilling into the minds of young people, that difference in opinion is no just cause of discord ; and that different sects may live amicably together. In a word, neglect no opportunity to impress on the mind of your pupils, that religion is given for our good ; and that no religion can be true that tends to disturb the peace of society.”

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The RURAL TASTE of a LONDON TRADESMAN'S WIFE,  
humourously exposed.

[From the St. JAMES'S Chronicle.]

“ SIR,  
“ **N**EVER was any poor devil  
of a husband plagued in  
the manner I am with the singula-

rities of a wife. You must know,  
sir, though her father was a carcase-  
butcher in White-chapel, though  
she was educated at a boarding-  
school

school in Thames-street, and never travelled farther than Bethnal-green, or Hoxton, or Hackney, or Newington-Butts ; yet she affects such a taste and passion for the country, as would have ruined the patience of all the heathen philosophers put together : every room in my house, from the cellar to the garrets, bears testimony to her rural ideas in some way or other : the leads of my house, and the rails of the windows, are crowded with pots and pans, and vegetables, and ever-greens, like the shop of a botanist or seedsmen. When I go into the kitchen, I find the light, which is none of the liveliest at the best, totally shut out by a range of physic phials huddled together as close as they can stick, and filled with mint, to give the windows a rural appearance. Then, sir, the dining-room windows, in summer time, are so crossed and crowded with pack-threads fastened like bars from the top to the bottom of them, that if it were not for the French-beans which cluster round the strings, it would enliven my mind with the pleasing imagination of being cooped up in a spunging-house. Every chimney-corner is then set out, as it is called, with bough-pots, and not a china jar in my house escapes an ornament from Covent-garden market. I have been, you must know, severely lectured for this week past, for spoiling a charming bed of parsley, as my wife calls it, upon the leads, while I was giving a bricklayer orders to make some repairs to the chimney ; and what is still more provoking, upon enquiring for my best wig-box, a few days ago, I was told, by the maid, that the box was put to much better use, for that her mistress had sown a small salad in it of

mustard and cress, which would be fit to be cut in a few days. Sir, this passion for the vegetable world is so predominant in my wife's mind, that not a broken chamber-pot is free from some cultivation or other : as I hope to be saved, she had some time since a geranium in full blossom, which, to save expence, was stuck fast in a c — e f — l pan ; a myrtle in a butter firkin ; an orange-tree in a washing-tub ; a tulip in a salt-box ; and a young gooseberry-bush in a punch-bowl. Nay, to such a pitch of extravagance does this enthusiastic helpmate of mine carry this gardening taste of her's, that the house was thrown into convulsions three days ago, upon a report that the cat had kitted upon the grass-plot, which grew upon the top shelf of the pantry. Then, sir, to add to my vexation, I have had the happiness to be threatened with an indictment for being a nuisance to my neighbours and the public, as hardly a week passes without some pan or pot tumbling upon the heads of passengers, and doing some mischief or other. If I expostulate, I have no taste ; if I threaten, I have no humanity ; if I coax her, I have no influence ; and if I give way to her, I can expect no comfort. My very bed-room in summer, sir, is so filled with flowers, that I am in nightly dread of being perfumed to death before morning. Then I never must stir out without a nosegay in my button hole, because it makes so rural and so countrified an appearance. In short, what with rural smells and rural conversation, rural ornaments and rural nonsense of one kind or another, my patience is quite exhausted : therefore I take this public method of giving my

wife warning, that unless there is a thorough reformation in her manners, I am determined to assert some spirit, to turn the grass-plot out of the house at a minute's notice, send the party-bed into the dust-tub,

pack up her shrubbery in an hamper, and restore my wig-box to its proper use.

I am, sir, your's, &c,

HOMO.

ADVERTISEMENTS and LETTERS, with Regard to the late  
CONTROVERSY concerning the AUTHENTICITY of OSSIAN'S  
POEMS.

N<sup>o</sup> I.

"IN a pamphlet, intituled An Enquiry into the Authenticity of the Poems ascribed to Ossian, having read the following passage, page 45, "Mr. Smith mentions Dr. Percy's Reliques of Ancient Poetry, in which he says, the doctor confesseth, that he himself heard pieces of it recited; and being compared with the translation, exactly corresponded. Dr. Percy does not understand a syllable of the Earse, and therefore could be no judge. The truth is, Dr. Blair and Professor Ferguson, when Dr. Percy was at Edinburgh, took care to introduce a young student from the Highlands, who repeated some verses, of which Professor Ferguson said such and such sentences in Fingal were the translation." To prevent any inferences which might be drawn from my silence, I think it material to declare that the above passage, so far as it relates to me, is altogether false; and that I never was present at the repetition of verses to Dr. Percy by a young student from the Highlands.

ADAM FERGUSON."

*Edinburgh, July, 21, 1781.*

N<sup>o</sup> II.

"Having no interest to gratify but the love of truth, I have no rea-

son to be sorry when any falsehood is detected. Mr. Ferguson has denied that he was present when the attempt was made to convince Dr. Percy of the genuineness of Ossian. My relation was not from my own knowledge. I desire to acquit Mr. Ferguson, whose presence or absence makes no difference in the question; and I am too well supported by truth to need, or to wish, the help of falsehood. The attempt was really made, and Dr. Percy was for a while credulous, with which I do not mean to reproach him; for I have confessed that I was once credulous myself: but I shall be credulous no more till the Works of Ossian are produced.

W. SHAW."

*Aug. 31.*

N<sup>o</sup> III.

"In one or two pamphlets lately published, concerning the authenticity of Ossian's poems, great liberties have been taken with my name, and two advertisements on the same subject, signed Adam Ferguson and W. Shaw, have appeared in the news-papers; one of which only came to my notice very lately. It is with the greatest reluctance I enter at all into a controversy of which I am so incompetent a judge, from my utter ignorance of the Earse language; but regard to truth compels me

me to give the following relation of a fact respecting it, which has been greatly misrepresented.

“On October 8, 1765, I arrived at Edinburgh, where I passed five days with the Rev. Dr. Blair, who, among many learned and ingenious men, introduced me to Dr. Ferguson, Professor of Moral Philosophy. To this gentleman he mentioned some doubts I had entertained concerning the genuineness of Ossian's Poems: and he, in the evening before I left Edinburgh (*viz.* October 13), invited us to drink tea at his house, where he produced a student, a native of the Highlands, who recited several passages, or verses, in Earse, (some of which he afterwards sung to me) as what he had heard in his own country; and perfectly remember, that when he interpreted the verses to me, some of them appeared to contain part of the description of Fingal's chariot. Dr. Ferguson also gave me, in his own hand-writing, some specimens of Earse poetry in the original. Dr. Blair afterwards desired me to mention the recital I had heard, in the next edition of the *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*; and, in compliance with his request, I gave a short account of what had passed, in a note to the first volume of my second edition, 1767, (p. xlv.) Some years after, on discussing this subject with a very judicious friend, a native of Scotland also, who knew much more of the grounds of the Earse poetry than I did, he made it credible to me, that there might be some deception in the case, and advised me to suppress the passage in question; which I did, soon after, in my third edition, in 1775. But as I never believed Dr. Blair to have been conscious of any deception in what passed between the student and

me, so the same may have been the case with Dr. Ferguson also, as he now appears so entirely to have forgotten the whole transaction.

*Carlisle, Novr.* THOMAS PERCY.”  
10, 1781.

#### IV.

“In an advertisement, dated Carlisle, November 10, and signed Thomas Percy, the attention of the public is recalled, among other particulars, to a declaration, signed by me on the 21st of July last. My sense of how little consequence the subject is to the public, would hinder my intruding myself again in this manner; and my very great respect for the station in which Dr. Percy is placed would incline me to be silent, where I have the misfortune to differ from him on a matter of fact, if I did not apprehend that silence in this case might be interpreted against me.

“At the date of my former declaration, I had found myself charged in a pamphlet, on the authenticity of Ossian's Poems, as accessory to a cheat which was put upon Dr. Percy, in a recital of some pretended specimens of that poetry, by a young student from the Highlands. Whoever may have been the author of this charge, I thought and think myself entitled to say it is false.

“I had many reasons likewise to deny my having ever been present at the recital of verses to Dr. Percy, by a young student from the Highlands; and it caused me much surprise to find, in a correspondence on this subject, which took place between Dr. Percy and Dr. Blair, that Dr. Percy had conceived of me as having not only been present at the recital of verses by a student, but as sending for a student into his company, who, in a deliberate manner,

manner, passed upon him what he afterwards believed to be an imposition.

“ Dr. Percy may not have been aware of the part which he assigned to me in this imposition, as it depended upon an inference to be drawn from my knowledge of the Earle’s language : nor was it credible that he meant to apply it to a person for whom he still professed some esteem. But whatever may have been the idea, I flattered myself that upon recollection he would think it more probable, that he himself had committed some mistake in the fact, rather than that I should have concurred in such a cheat. In this persuasion I wrote to Dr. Blair the following letter, to be transmitted to him ; and am now very sorry to publish this or any thing else on a controversy in which neither the attack nor the defence can do credit to any person whatever.

*Copy of a Letter from Dr. Ferguson to Dr. Blair.*

*Edinburgh, 18th Aug. 1781.*

“ Dear Sir,

“ I have just seen in the hands of Dr. Black the letter which you have received from Dr. Percy, and am exceedingly vexed to have a difference on a matter of fact with a person whose character I so much respect : I did not imagine that Dr. Percy, any more than you, could have been affected by the late declaration relating to a passage in a pamphlet, on the authenticity of Ossian’s Poems, farther than by the repetition of your names, which were already made free with. If I had thought Dr. Percy any way committed, I should certainly have troubled him with a copy of my declaration, and waited his commands before it was published. But it did not occur to me that he, any more

than you, could be cited in support of any allegation which it concerned me to deny.

“ The most respectful thing I can now do to Dr. Percy is to remind him, as far as my memory serves me, of the fact in the only conversation which I had the honour to have with him. Among other subjects Earle’s poetry was mentioned ; and I remember to have shewn him, in my own hand-writing, some scraps which I had received from Mr. James Macpherson, or from Mr. MacLaggan, chaplain to the 42d regiment. I remember a line, or expression, in which the poet, describing the time and the scene, said, *the sun of day was scorching the mountain*, and that Dr. Percy was pleased to say it was a pleonasm, but a beautiful one. I remember to have left the paper with Dr. Percy, and have long since lost every other copy of it.

“ The difference between Dr. Percy and me is perhaps not very material ; no more, as he states it, than that he remembers what I have forgot. If, nevertheless, what he is pleased to publish shall seem to corroborate the charge which I have already thought myself called upon to deny, I must recur to the entire sense and consciousness of my innocence, and renew my declaration, that I was not present at the repetition of verses to Dr. Percy, by a young student from the Highlands ; and I give my denial in these positive terms, because I not only do not remember the repetition of verses in Earle, by a student from the Highlands, on that occasion, but because I do not remember the repetition of verses in Earle, by a student, upon any other occasion ; and because, though intimate with some students from the Highlands, I do not remember that any of them

ever repeated verses in my presence beyond a song or a catch ; and this circumstance remains with me, with respect to some of them, as a circumstance I noted ; so that I am entirely persuaded Dr. Percy, in recollecting the passages of his few days stay at Edinburgh, must have jumbled together circumstances that, in point of time, were actually separate ; the repetition of verses by a young student, with the communication of verses in writing by me. If this supposition does not compose the difference, I must despair of being able to remove it, and must leave the matter to the candour of those who are pleased to bestow any thought on me or my affairs.

“ If I should be under the necessity of publishing any more on this subject, I shall, with your leave, send a copy of this letter to the press. In the mean time, as I have not the honour of a personal correspondence with Dr. Percy, I must beg the favour that you will transmit it to him. I am, with great regard and esteem, dear sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

(Signed) ADAM FERGUSON.”

*The Rev. Dr. Blair.*

“ To the contents of this letter, I must now add, that although the facts stated by Dr. Percy might be admitted on less authority than his, yet as they are entirely contrary to any feeling or recollection I have of the matter, and have been employed to convey a very injurious imputation against me, he must excuse me, if I do not admit them. And if he still persist, that over and above the specimen of Earse poetry, which I gave him in my own hand-writing, I likewise procured a student to recite other specimens to him, he will farther excuse me, if I insist, that every passage, of which the interpretation was vouched by me, was in truth what it was given for. As he allows, that I may not have been conscious of any deception in what passed between the student and him, I must, in return, allow that he may not be conscious of any misrepresentation of the fact. But I cannot allow that he has made the best use of his understanding, in thinking it credible, that any person, possessed of a decent character, could be concerned in such a cheat, as he supposes to have been practised upon him. ADAM FERGUSON.”

## P O E T R Y.

ODE for the NEW YEAR, 1781.  
By WILLIAM WHITEHEAD, Esq. Poet Laureat.

ASK round the world, from age to age,  
Not where alone th' historian's page  
Or poet's song have just attention won,  
But even the feeblest voice of fame  
Has learnt to list Britannia's name,  
Ask of her inborn worth, and deeds of high renown.  
What power from Lusitania broke  
The haughty Spaniard's galling yoke?  
Who bade the Belgian mounds with freedom ring?  
Who fixt so oft, with strength supreme,  
Unbalanc'd Europe's nodding beam,  
And rais'd the Austrian eagle's drooping wing?  
'Twas Britain! Britain heard the nations groan,  
As jealous of their freedom as her own.  
Where'er her valiant troops she led,  
Check'd, and abash'd, and taught to fear,  
The earth's proud tyrants stopp'd their mad career;  
To Britain Gallia bow'd; from Britain Julius fled.  
Why then when round her fair protectress' brow  
The dark clouds gather, and the tempests blow,  
With folded arms, at ease reclin'd,  
Does Europe sit? or, more unkind,  
Why fraudulently aid th' insidious plan?  
The foes of Britain are the foes of man.  
Alas! her glory soars too high,  
Her radiant Star of Liberty  
Has bid too long th' astonish'd nations gaze  
That glory which they once admir'd,  
That glory in their cause acquir'd,  
That glory burns too bright, they cannot bear the blaze!  
Then, Britons, by experience wise,  
Court not an envious or a timid friend;  
Firm in thyself undaunted rise,  
On thy own arm, and righteous Heaven depend.  
So, as in great Eliza's days,  
On self-supported pinions borne,  
Again shalt thou look down with scorn  
On an opposing world, and all its wily ways:

Grown greater from distress,  
 And eager still to bless,  
 As truly generous as thou'rt truly brave,  
 Again shalt crush the proud, again the conquer'd save.

ELPHIN'S CONSOLATION, an Ode of TALIESIN. Translated  
 by a Lady.

Taliesin, when an infant, was found exposed on the water, wrapped in a leathern bag, in a wear which had been granted to Elphin, son of Gwyddno, for his support. The young prince, reduced by his extravagance, burst into tears, at finding, as he imagined, so unprofitable a booty. However, he took pity on the infant, and caused proper care to be taken of him. After this, Elphin prospered; and Taliesin, when he grew up, wrote the following moral Ode, supposed to have been addressed to the prince by the infant bard, on the night in which he was found.

[FROM MR. PENNANT'S JOURNEY TO SNOWDON.]

I.

ELPHIN! fair as roseate morn,  
 Cease, O lovely youth! to mourn;  
 Mortals never should presume  
 To dispute their Maker's doom.  
 Feeble race! too blind to scan  
 What th' Almighty deigns for man;  
 Humble hope be still thy guide,  
 Steady faith thy only pride,  
 Then despair will fade away,  
 Like demons at th' approach of day,  
 Cunllo's prayers acceptance gain,  
 Goodness never sues in vain;  
 He, who form'd the sky is just,  
 In him alone, O Elphin! trust.  
 See glist'ning spoils in shoals appear,  
 Fate smiles this hour on Gwyddno's wear.

II.

Elphin fair! the clouds dispell  
 That on thy lovely visage dwell;  
 Wipe, ah! wipe the pearly tear,  
 Nor let thy manly bosom fear;  
 What good can melancholy give?  
 'Tis bondage in her train to live.  
 Pungent sorrows doubts proclaim,  
 Ill suits those doubts a Christian's name;

Thy

Thy great Creator's wonders trace,  
 His love diviné to mortal race,  
 Then doubt, and fear, and pain will fly,  
 And hope beam radiant in thine eye.  
 Behold me, least of human kind,  
 Yet heav'n illumines my soaring mind.  
 Lo! from the yawning deep I came,  
 Friend to thy lineage and thy fame,  
 To point thee out the paths of truth,  
 To guard from hidden rocks thy youth;  
 From seas, from mountains, far and wide,  
 God will the good and virtuous guide.

## III.

Elphin fair! with virtue blest,  
 Let not that virtue idly rest;  
 If rous'd, 'twill yield thee sure relief,  
 And banish far unmanly grief:  
 Think on that pow'r, whose arm can save,  
 Who e'en can snatch thee from the grave;  
 He bade my harp for thee be strung,  
 Prophetic lays he taught my tongue.  
 Though like a slender reed I grow,  
 Toss'd by the billows to and fro,  
 Yet still, by him inspir'd, my song  
 The weak can raise, confound the strong:  
 Am not I better, Elphin, say,  
 Than thousands of thy scaly prey?

## IV.

Elphin! fair as roseate morn,  
 Cease, O lovely youth! to mourn.  
 Weak on my leathern couch I lie,  
 Yet heav'nly lore I can descry;  
 Gifts divine my tongue inspire,  
 My bosom glows celestial fire;  
 Mark! how it mounts! my lips disclose  
 The certain fate of Elphin's foes.  
 Fix thy hopes on him alone,  
 Who is th'eternal Three in One;  
 There thy ardent vows be given,  
 Prayer acceptance meets from Heaven;  
 Then thou shalt adverse fate defy,  
 And Elphin glorious live and die.

## LADY BOTHWELL'S LAMENT.

[From the SCOTTISH TRAGIC BALLADS.]

**B**ALOW, my babe, lye still and flei  
 It grieves me fair to see thee weip;  
 If thou'lt be silent I'll be glad,  
 Thy maining maks my heart full sad;  
 Balow my boy, thy mither's joy;  
 Thy father breids me great annoy.

When he began to feik my luv,  
 And wi hie fucred words to muve;  
 His feigning fause, and flattering cheir,  
 To me that time did nocht appeir;  
 But now I see that cruel he  
 Cares neither for my babe nor me.

Lye still, my darling, fleip a while,  
 And whan thou wakest sweitly smile;  
 But smile nae as thy father did  
 To cozen maids: nay, 'God forbid,  
 What yet I feir, that thou fold leir  
 Thy father's heart and face to bier!

Be still, my sad one: spare those teirs,  
 To weip whan thou hast wit and yeirs;  
 Thy griefs are gathering to a sum,  
 God grant thee patience when they cum;  
 Born to sustain a mother's shame,  
 A father's fall, a bastard's name.

Balow, &amp;c.

The first CHANSON a BOIRE, or DRINKING BALLAD of  
 any Merit in our Language, and which appeared in the Year,  
 1551.

[From the third Volume of Mr. WARTON's History of English Poetry.]

**I** CANNOT eat, but little meat,  
 My stomach is not good;  
 But sure I think, that I can drink  
 With him that weares a hood.  
 Though I go bare, take ye no care,  
 I nothing am a colde;  
 I stufte my skin so full within,  
 Of joly goode ale and olde.

Backe and side go bare, go bare,  
 Both foot and hand go colde;  
 But, belly, God send thee good ale inoughe,  
 Whether it be new or olde !

I love no rost, but a nut-browne toste,  
 And a crab laid in the fire;  
 A little bread shall do me stead,  
 Moche bread I nought desire.  
 No frost no snow, no winde, I trowe,  
 Can hurt me if I wolde,  
 I am so wrapt, and throwly lapt  
 Of joly good ale and olde.  
 Back and side, &c.

And Tib my wife, that as her life  
 Loveth well good ale to seeke,  
 Full oft drinkes shee, till ye may see  
 The teares run downe her cheeke.  
 Then doth she trowle to me the bowle  
 Even as a mault-worme sholde;  
 And, "faith, sweet heart, I tooke my part  
 " Of this joly good ale and olde."  
 Backe and side, &c.

Now let them drinke, till they nod and winke,  
 Even as good fellows should do:  
 They shall not misse to have the blisse  
 Good ale doth bring men to.  
 And al goode fowles that have scoured bowles,  
 Or have them lustely trolde,  
 God save the lives, of them and their wives,  
 Whether they be yong or olde !  
 Backe and side, &c.

### ODE on the DEATH of a Young Lady.

[From Mr. LOGAN'S POEMS.]

UNTIMELY gone! for ever fled  
 The roses of the cheek so red,  
 Th' affection warm, the temper mild,  
 The sweetness that in sorrow smil'd.

Alas! the cheek where beauty glow'd,  
 The heart where goodness overflow'd,  
 A clod amid the valley lies,  
 And "dust to dust" the mourner cries;

O from

O from thy kindred early torn,  
And to thy grave untimely bor'n !  
Vanish'd for ever from my view,  
Thou sister of my soul, adieu !

Fair with my first ideas twin'd,  
Thine image oft will meet my mind ;  
And, while remembrance brings thee near,  
Affection sad will drop a tear.

How oft does sorrow bend the head,  
Before we dwell among the dead !  
Scarce in the years of manly prime,  
I've often wept the wrecks of time !

What tragic tears bedew the eye !  
What deaths we suffer ere we die !  
Our broken friendships we deplore,  
And loves of youth that are no more !

No after-friendship e'er can raise  
Th' endearments of our early days :  
And ne'er the heart such fondness prove,  
As when it first began to love.

Affection dies, a vernal flower ;  
And love, the blossom of an hour !  
The spring of fancy cares controul,  
And mar the beauty of the soul.

Vers'd in the commerce of deceit,  
How soon the heart forgets to beat !  
The blood runs cold at int'rest's call,  
They look with equal eyes on all.

Ye gods ! whatever ye withhold,  
Let my affection ne'er grow old ;  
Ne'er may the human glow depart,  
Nor nature yield to frigid art !

Still may thy generous bosom burn,  
Tho' doom'd to bleed o'er beauty's urn ;  
And still the friendly face appear,  
'T'ho' moisten'd with a tender tear !

ODE for his MAJESTY's BIRTH-DAY, June 4, 1781.

By WILLIAM WHITEHEAD, Esq. Poet Laureat.

**S**TILL does the rage of war prevail ?  
Still thirsts for blood th' insatiate spear ?  
Waft not, ye winds, th' invidious tale,  
Nor let th' untutor'd nations hear

That passion baffles reason's boasted reign,  
 And half the peopled world is civiliz'd in vain.  
 What are morals, what are laws,  
 What religion's sacred name?  
 Nor morals soften, nor religion awes;  
 Pure though the precepts flow, the actions are the same.  
 Revenge, and pride, and deadly hate,  
 And avarice, tainting deep the mind,  
 With all the fury-fiends that wait,  
 As torturing plagues, on human kind,  
 When shown in their own native light,  
 In truth's clear mirror, heavenly bright,  
 Like real monsters rise;  
 But, let illusion's powerful wand  
 Transform, arrange the hideous band,  
 They cheat us in disguise,  
 We dress their horrid forms in borrow'd rays,  
 Then call them glory, and pursue the blaze.  
 O blind to Nature's social plan,  
 And Heaven's indulgent end!  
 Her kinder laws knit man to man  
 As brother and as friend.  
 Nature, intent alone to bless,  
 Bids strife and discord cease;  
 "Her ways are ways of pleasantness,  
 "And all her paths are peace."  
 Even this auspicious day would wear  
 A brighter face of joy serene,  
 And not one ruffling gale of care  
 Disturb the halcyon scene;  
 On lighter wings would Zephyrs move,  
 The Sun with added lustre shine;  
 Did Peace, descending from above,  
 Here fix her earthly shrine:  
 Here to the Monarch's fondest prayer  
 A just attention yield,  
 And let Him change the sword of war  
 For her protecting shield.

### The HERMIT and his DOG.

[From SYMPATHY, a Poem.]

**I**N life's fair morn, I knew an aged seer,  
 Who sad and lonely pass'd his joyless year;  
 Betray'd, heart-broken, from the world he ran,  
 And shunn'd, oh dire extreme, the face of man;  
 Humbly he rear'd his hut within the wood,  
 Hermit his vest, a hermit's was his food,

Nitch'd

Nitch'd in some corner of the gelid cave  
 Where chilling drops the rugged rockstone lave ;  
 Hour after hour, the melancholy sage,  
 Drop after drop to reckon, would engage  
 The ling'ring day, and trickling as they fell,  
 A tear went with them to the narrow well ;  
 Then thus he moraliz'd as slow it pass'd,  
 " This, brings me nearer Lucia than the last ;  
 " And this, now streaming from the eye," said he,  
 " Oh, my lov'd child, will bring me nearer thee."  
 When first he roam'd, his dog with anxious care;  
 His wand'rings watch'd, as emulous to share ;  
 In vain the faithful brute was bid to go,  
 In vain the forrower sought a lonely woe.  
 The Hermit paus'd, th' attendant dog was near,  
 Slept at his feet, and caught the falling tear ;  
 Up rose the Hermit, up the dog would rise,  
 And every way to win a master tries.  
 " Then be it so. Come faithful fool," he said ;  
 One pat encourag'd, and they sought the shade ;  
 An unfrequented thicket soon they found,  
 And both repos'd upon the leafy ground ;  
 Mellifluous murmurings told the fountains nigh,  
 Fountains, which well a pilgrim's drink supply ;  
 And thence, by many a labyrinth is led,  
 Where ev'ry tree bestow'd an ev'ning bed.  
 Skill'd in the chace, the faithful creature brought  
 Whate'er at morn or moon-light course he caught ;  
 But the sage lent his sympathy to all,  
 Nor saw unwept his dumb associates fall.  
 He was, in sooth, the gentlest of his kind,  
 And though a hermit, had a social mind :  
 " And why, said he, must man subsist by prey,  
 " Why stop yon melting music on the spray ?  
 " Why, when assail'd by hounds and hunter's cry,  
 " Must half the harmless race in terrors die ?  
 " Why must we work of innocence the woe ?  
 " Still shall this bosom throb, these eyes o'erflow ;  
 " A heart too tender here, from man, retires,  
 " A heart that aches, if but a wren expires."  
 Thus liv'd the master good, the servant true,  
 'Till to its God the master's spirit flew ;  
 Beside a fount which daily water gave,  
 Stooping to drink, the Hermit found a grave ;  
 All in the running stream his garments spread,  
 And dark, damp verdure ill conceal'd his head ;  
 'The faithful servant from that fatal day  
 Watch'd the lov'd corpse, and hourly pin'd away :  
 His head upon his master's cheek was found,  
 While the obstructed water mourn'd around.

A FABLE written for Lady MILLER's Vase. By the Rev. Mr.  
WHALLEY.

[From the fourth Volume of POETICAL AMUSEMENTS at a  
VILLA near BATH.]

AS Wisdom walk'd abroad one day,  
—I think 'twas in the month of May,—  
With musing step, and stedfast eye,  
And wrapt in meditation high,  
He spied a nymph, upon whose face  
Bright beauty beam'd with youthful grace;  
Her copious tresses unconfin'd,  
Which wav'd and wanton'd in the wind,  
A sweet fantastic garland crown'd,  
Of ev'ry flow'r that paints the ground;  
Her rolling eye, that roving glanc'd  
On ev'ry side with look entranc'd,  
Shot light'nings; yet by turns wou'd wear  
The graceful meltings of a tear.  
Round her soft lips, as roses red,  
The dimpling smiles sweet gambols play'd:  
Now, o'er her velvet cheek wou'd rush  
The blood, in many a fervid flush;  
And now, a white succeed the glow,  
More dazzling pure than mountain snow;  
A pinion from each shoulder grew,  
Which, tinted soft with heav'nly blue,  
Where'er she spread them, sparkled bright,  
With mingled waves of flaming light.  
Her careless vesture, all unbound,  
Flow'd wantonly along the ground,  
Yet graceful flow'd; and with her tread,  
A thousand changeeful hues display'd,  
More lovely, and more various too,  
Than ever painted Iris' bow;  
Her mien was sweetly unconstrain'd,  
In ev'ry step the Graces reign'd,  
And full of frolic, here and there,  
She tript it with a sprightly air,  
Yet trod so light that scarce the dew  
The printings of her footsteps knew;  
Oft stooping 'midst her gay career,  
Each blooming flower that Earth did bear,  
She dextrous cull'd, to form a wreath  
More fragrant than Aurora's breath,  
Which soon as form'd away she threw,  
And wove a varying wreath anew;

And

And sometimes she would soaring be  
 In some fine flight of ecstasy !  
 Whilst many a wild note, strong and clear,  
 Resounded through the vocal air,  
 As mounting like some Lark on high,  
 She sweetly warbled to the sky.  
 Thus, full of spirit, on she came,  
 And Fancy was the charmer's name.  
 Wisdom, for once, was strangely mov'd,  
 With wonder gaz'd, admir'd, and lov'd :—  
 His warmest eloquence he try'd,  
 And woo'd, and won her to his side.  
 By her free hand the nymph he led,  
 Soft, to a fresh and fragrant bed,  
 Beneath an olive-tree, that stood  
 Retir'd, within a stately wood ;  
 Around whose trunk the eglantine  
 With many a clasp did sport and twine.  
 From this encounter, says the song,  
 In proper time, a child there sprung,  
 As witness of their mutual flame,  
 And Speculation was his name.  
 From then, till now, throughout the earth,  
 He speaks the authors of his birth ;  
 Now, wearing Wisdom's awful face,  
 Now, sporting with all Fancy's grace,  
 And sometimes in his person's shewn,  
 The various charms of both in one :  
 In Newton, Bacon, Locke, and More,  
 His Father's lineaments he bore ;  
 In Shakspeare, Spencer, Cowley, Gray,  
 Doth all his Mother's charms display ;  
 In Milton, Beattie, and in Young,  
 Like both, divinely breathes along :  
 Nor let it be thought strange, that here  
 I make his parentage appear,  
 Since all around will own, their breast  
 His two-fold semblance hath confest ;  
 And all are come to make oblation,  
 To—wild, wife, gay, grave—Speculation.

## To three LADIES, on the Death of a favourite PARROQUET.

[From the late Mr. PENROSE'S POEMS.]

DEEP from your hallow'd, silent shades  
 Attend, attend, ye tuneful maids ;  
 Ye Muses, haste along.  
 Inspire the tender, moving lay,  
 For surely such a mournful day  
 Demands a serious song.

See where with Pity's force oppress'd,  
 (While rising sorrows heave each breast)  
 Three gentle Sisters weep.  
 See how they point with streaming eyes,  
 Where Paroquetta slumb'ring lies,  
 Her last, eternal sleep.

In vain the pride of Beauty's bloom,  
 The vivid dye, the varied plume  
 O'er her fair form were spread :  
 In vain the scarlet's blushing ray,  
 Bright as the orient beam of day,  
 Adorn'd her lovely head.

Love, beauty, youth, perfection, — all  
 Together undistinguish'd fall  
 Before the opposing Fates.  
 The lisping tongue, the silver hairs,  
 One common ruin overbears,  
 One common lot awaits.

Then calm, dear Maids, your woes to peace,  
 With unavailing sorrow cease  
 Your Favourite to deplore ;  
 For know, the time will surely come  
 When you (tho' now in beauty's bloom)  
 When you shall charm no more.

Learn then your moments to employ  
 In virtuous love, in Hymen's joy,  
 Ere yet those moments fly ;  
 For Fate has doom'd this lot severe,  
 The brightest belle, the loveliest Fair,  
 Like Paroquetes, must die.

## DUTCHESS of DEVONSHIRE.

[From the BEVY of BEAUTIES.]

**T**HAT form how refiftlefs, thofe features how fair,  
 Each look is a whisper the heart fprings to hear !  
 And fond to interpret, — too roguifhly given,  
 Conceives a foft meaning that lifts it to Heaven !  
 And yet thofe dear features, I'd readily fwear,  
 The meaning which innocence gives, only wear.  
 — O bow ye tranfgreffors, in penitence bend ; —  
 Againft fuch perfection, what fin to offend !  
 Yet fee — in the brightnefs which darts from her eyes,  
 With Beauty's mild luftre her clemency flies !  
 That fmile juft display'd, to the foul has exprest  
 The tranquil compofure that reigns in her breaft.

May thofe eyes, and that bofom, for ever, bleft Fair,  
 Be undarken'd by sorrow, unruffled by care !  
 Or if a tear start, or a figh gently move,  
 May the tear be of rapture, the figh be of love !  
 May your moments all fly on the wings of delight,  
 And Pleafure's wide regions be ftill in your fight ;  
 And while you are tempted to ramble the ground,  
 Let the mufic of gladnefs ftill echo around !

## DUTCHESS of RUTLAND.

Scene, the Vicinity of Belvoir Caftle.

[ From the fame. ]

**F**IRST in thefe fhades, remember'd with delight,  
 The gentle RUTLAND ftuck my dazzled fight !  
 As on he came her eyes diffus'd a-far  
 The peerlefs luftre of the morning ftar !  
 Upon her beauteous cheek a blufh was fpread,  
 Superior to the lovlieft day-break red ;  
 Her waving locks were twin'd with flow'ry braid ;  
 Her veft was with the bloom of Spring array'd ;  
 And to the breeze, that veft display'd the form  
 Of limbs, which muft to love an hermit warm ! —  
 Her panting bofom — to the wind unbrac'd,  
 Shew'd more of heav'n than zealot ever trac'd !  
 An air fupreme in every ftrep was feen ! —  
 The nymphs and fhepherds hail'd their rural queen :  
 And as the graceful beauty pafs'd along,  
 The village minftrel greeted her in fong ;  
 At intervals, a choral ftain arofe,  
 And RUTLAND's name was heard in ev'ry clofe !

## A M O R N I N G R A M B L E.

[From the BEAUTIES of the SPRING. A Poem.]

**M**Y orisons devoutly breath'd to Heaven,  
 Before th' increating heat or rising gale  
 Have wholly dried the pearly drops away,  
 With deepest sense of gratitude impress'd,  
 Forth let me haste, and with a walk amuse  
 My leisure hours. Of two delightful paths  
 Oft with my steps imprinted, which to chuse  
 I hesitate, uncertain. Downward, this  
 Directs me to the bottom of the dale;  
 That, stretch'd through roughest woodlands, upward leads  
 To where the heath, with supercilious pride,  
 The plain o'erlooks. Along the side of each  
 A riv'let murmurs. In the first, my limbs,  
 Tho' able down the slope to pass with ease,  
 May deem the toil of re-ascending hard;  
 While, if exhausted with the latter's height,  
 Refreshment in returning they may find.  
 Permit me, then, the latter to pursue,  
 Nor think I walk in solitude. Each tree  
 Presents an old acquaintance, and each bush  
 A friend, whose bounty often hath regal'd  
 My ravish'd senses with a rich perfume.  
 The same few objects long remain. I meet  
 With something new each moment. Lo! this oak  
 Supports a woodbine unobserv'd before.  
 An infant ivy round another twines.  
 That bush, with thorn impervious to the hand,  
 A linnet's nest hath in its bosom gain'd.  
 And hark! yon excavated trunk resounds  
 With hum of bees; a colony till now  
 Unnoticed there. But pleasure every change  
 Bestows not. Who, with grief unmov'd, can see  
 What ravages the cruel herds have made  
 Among the lower boughs of yonder ash?  
 Not distant far, another stands, depriv'd  
 Of all its spreading honours, by the hand  
 Of some unfeeling woodman. There his ax,  
 Resistless weapon, to the ground hath hewn  
 The venerable monarch of the grove.  
 Adieu, my ancient guardian! It imparts  
 A melancholy joy to recollect  
 How oft, beneath thy hospitable shade,  
 I thoughtless wont to loiter; from the world,  
 And all the cares of busy life, absolv'd,

Thy fall, not I alone regret : thy fall,  
 In long protracted lamentable strain,  
 The stock-dove mourns ; while of their favourite tree  
 Bereft, the jay and cuckoo, chatt'ring loud,  
 Arraign the author of thine overthrow.  
 Onward, the road continues still to wind,  
 And I, within the limits of its track,  
 My steps confine. A smooth inclosure now  
 I measure o'er, and now remove aside  
 The rambling shoots of bramble, that oppose  
 My passage thro' a thicket. Here, a fold,  
 And there, a shed for cattle, strikes mine eye.  
 Before me often shoots a timid hare ;  
 Nor start I seldom at the whirring flight  
 Of partridge, on her brittle store surpris'd.  
 Meantime, on this side, high above me, swells  
 A rugged mountain, overgrown with wood ;  
 The riv'let, on the other, brawls along.  
 Now, down a fair declivity of sand,  
 It babbles cheerful ; now it foams o'er rocks,  
 Fretful and discontented. Deep conceal'd,  
 Beneath incumbent willows, and the boughs  
 Of hazel, darkling there its current flows ;  
 And yonder, in a pure tranilucient pool,  
 Diffusive spreads, as of the level spot  
 Enamour'd. Nigh the bank, with whisp'ring sound,  
 Soft sigh the reeds ; and smiling, half immers'd,  
 The water-lily, all submission, turns  
 Her spotless bosom, as the gale directs.

EXTRACT from Miss SEWARD's MONODY on Major ANDRE.

AND shall the Muse, that marks the solemn scene,  
 " As busy fancy lifts the veil between,"  
 Refuse to mingle in the awful train,  
 Nor breathe with glowing zeal the votive strain ?  
 From public fame shall admiration fire  
 The boldest numbers of her raptur'd lyre  
 To hymn a stranger ?—and with ardent lay  
 Lead the wild mourner round her Cook's morai,  
 While Andrè fades upon his dreary bier,  
 And \* Julia's only tribute is her tear ?  
 Dear, lovely youth ! whose gentle virtues stole  
 Thro' friendship's soft'ning medium on her soul !  
 Ah no !—with every strong resistless plea,  
 Rise the recorded days she pass'd with thee,

\* *Julia*.—The name by which Mr. Andrè address'd the author in his correspondence with her.

While each dim shadow of o'erwhelming years,  
With eagle-glance reverted, memory clears.

Belov'd companion of the fairest hours,  
That rose for her in joy's resplendent bow'rs,  
How gaily shone on thy bright morn of youth  
The star of pleasure, and the sun of truth!  
Full from their source descended on thy mind  
Each gen'rous virtue, and each taste refin'd.  
Young Genius led thee to his varied fane,  
Bade thee ask all his gifts, nor ask in vain;  
Hence novel thoughts, in ev'ry lustre dress'd  
Of pointed wit, that diamond of the breast;  
Hence glow'd thy fancy with poetic ray,  
Hence music warbled in thy sprightly lay;  
And hence thy pencil, with his colours warm,  
Caught ev'ry grace, and copied ev'ry charm,  
Whose transient glories beam on beauty's cheek,  
And bid the glowing ivory breathe and speak.  
Blest pencil! by kind fate ordain'd to save  
Honora's semblance from † her early grave,  
Oh! while on \* Julia's arm it sweetly smiles,  
And each lorn thought, each long regret beguiles,  
Fondly she weeps the hand, which form'd the spell,  
Now shroudless mould'ring in its earthy cell!

But sure the youth, whose ill-starr'd passion strove  
With all the pangs of inauspicious love,  
Full oft' deplor'd the fatal art, that stole  
The jocund freedom of its master's soul!

While with nice hand he mark'd the living grace,  
And matchless sweetness of Honora's face,  
Th' enamour'd youth the faithful traces blest,  
That barb'd the dart of beauty in his breast;  
Around his neck th' enchanting portrait hung,  
While a warm vow burst ardent from his tongue,  
That from his bosom no succeeding day,  
No chance should bear that talisman away.

'Twas thus † Apelles bak'd in beauty's blaze,  
And felt the mischief of the steadfast gaze;

† *Early grave*.—Miss Honora S—— to whom Mr. André's attachment was of such singular constancy, died in a consumption a few months before he suffer'd death at Tappan. She had married another gentleman four years after her engagement with Mr. André had been dissolv'd by parental authority.

\* *Julia's arm*.—Mr. André drew two miniature pictures of Miss Honora S—— on his first acquaintance with her at Buxton, in the year 1769, one for himself, the other for the author of this poem.

† *'Twas thus Apelles*.—Prior is very elegant upon this circumstance in an Ode to his friend Mr. Howard the painter.

Trac'd

Trac'd with disorder'd hand Campaspe's charms,  
And as their beams the kindling canvas warms,  
Triumphant love, with still superior art,  
Engraves their wonders on the painter's heart.

Dear lost companion! ever constant youth!  
That fate had smil'd propitious on thy truth!  
Nor bound th' ensanguin'd laurel on that brow  
Where love ordain'd his brightest wreath to glow!  
Then peace had led thee to her softest bow'rs,  
And Hymen strew'd thy path with all his flow'rs;  
Drawn to thy roof, by friendship's silver cord,  
Each social joy had brighten'd at thy board;  
Science, and soft affection's blended rays  
Had shone unclouded on thy lengthen'd days;  
From hour to hour thy taste, with conscious pride,  
Had mark'd new talents in thy lovely bride;  
Till thou hadst own'd the magic of her face  
Thy fair Honora's least engaging grace.  
Dear lost Honora! o'er thy early bier  
Sorrowing the Muse still sheds her sacred tear!  
The blushing rose-bud in its vernal bed,  
By zephyrs fan'd, by glist'ring dew-drops fed,  
In June's gay morn that scents the ambient air,  
Was not more sweet, more innocent, or fair.  
Oh! when such pairs their kindred spirit find,  
When sense and virtue deck each spotless mind,  
Hard is the doom that shall the union break,  
And fate's dark billow rises o'er the wreck.

EXTRACT from the fourth Book of Mr. MASON's ENGLISH  
GARDEN:

ONE native glory, more than all sublime,  
Alcander's scene possèst: 'Twas ocean's self——  
He, boist'rous king, against the eastern cliffs  
Dash'd his white foam; a verdant vale between  
Gave splendid ingress to his world of waves.  
Slaunting this vale the mound of that clear stream  
Lay hid in shade, which slowly lav'd his lawn:  
But there set free, the rill resum'd its pace,  
And hurried to the main. The dell it past  
Was rocky and retir'd: here art with ease  
Might lead it o'er a grot, and filter'd there,  
Teach it to sparkle down its craggy fides,  
And fall and tinkle on its pebbled floor.  
Here then that grot he builds, and conchs with spars,  
Moss petrified with branching corallines

In mingled mode arranges : all found here  
 Propriety of place ; what view'd the main  
 Might well the shelly gifts of Thetis bear.  
 Not so the inland cave : with richer store  
 Than those the neighb'ring mines and mountains yield  
 To hang its roof, would seem incongruous pride,  
 And fright the local genius from the scene.

One vernal morn, as urging here the work  
 Surrounded by his hinds, from mild to cold  
 The season chang'd, from cold to sudden storm,  
 From storm to whirlwind. To the angry main  
 Swiftly he turns and sees a laden ship  
 Dismasted by its rage. " Hie, hie we all,"  
 Alcander cry'd, " quick to the neighb'ring beach."  
 They flew ; they came, but only to behold,  
 Tremendous fight ! the vessel dash its poop  
 Amid the boiling breakers. Need I tell  
 What strenuous arts were us'd, when all were us'd,  
 To save the sinking crew ? One tender maid  
 Alone escap'd, sav'd by Alcander's arm,  
 Who boldly swam to snatch her from the plank  
 To which she feebly clung ; swiftly to shore,  
 And swifter to his home the youth convey'd  
 His clay-cold prize, who at his portal first  
 By one deep sigh a sign of life betray'd.  
 A maid so sav'd, if but by nature blest  
 With common charms, had soon awak'd a flame  
 More strong than pity, in that melting heart  
 Which pity warm'd before. But she was fair  
 As poets picture Hebe, or the spring ;  
 Graceful withal, as if each limb were cast  
 In that ideal mould whence Raphael drew  
 His Galatea : yes, th' impassion'd youth  
 Felt more than pity when he view'd her charms.  
 Yet she, (ah, strange to tell) tho' much he lov'd,  
 Suppress'd as much that sympathetic flame  
 Which love like his should kindle : did he kneel  
 In rapture at her feet ? She bow'd the head,  
 And coldly bad him rise ; or did he plead,  
 In terms of purest passion, for a smile ?  
 She gave him but a tear : his manly form,  
 His virtues, ev'n the courage that preserv'd  
 Her life, beseech'd no sentiment to wake  
 Warmer than gratitude ; and yet the love  
 Withheld from him she freely gave his scenes ;  
 On all their charms a just applause bestow'd ;  
 And, if she e'er was happy, only then  
 When wand'ring where those charms were most display'd.

## SERENA's Difficulty in the Choice of a Masquerade Dress.

[From Mr. HAYLEY's TRIUMPHS of TEMPER.]

**N**OW in Diana's form she hopes to meet  
 A fond Endymion sighing at her feet ;  
 Now her proud thought terrestrial pomp assumes,  
 And Dian's crescent yields to Indian plumes ;  
 Now, in the habit of the Grecian isles,  
 She hears some Osman suing for her smiles,  
 And sees his soul that blaze of dress outshine,  
 Whose wealth impoverish'd a diamond mine ;  
 Now simpler charms her quick attention draw,  
 The rose-crown'd bonnet, and the hat of straw,  
 A village-maid she seems, in neat attire,  
 A faithful shepherd now her sole desire.  
 Thus, as new figures in her fancy throng  
 " She's every thing by starts, and nothing long :"  
 But, in the space of one revolving hour,  
 Flies thro' all states of poverty and power,  
 All forms, on whom her veering mind can pitch,  
 Sultana, gipsy, goddess, nymph, and witch.  
 At length, her soul with Shakspeare's magic fraught,  
 The wand of Ariel fixt her roving thought ;  
 Ariel's light graces all her heart possess,  
 And Jenny's order'd to prepare the dress.  
 It seems already bought, with fond applause ;  
 An azure tissue, and a silver gauze ;  
 Too soon, alas ! that garb of heavenly hue  
 The ready mercer flashes to her view.  
 Ah blind to fate ! how oft the youthful belle  
 Feels her gay heart at sight of tissue swell !  
 And thinks the fashionable silk must prove  
 Her robe of triumph, and a spell to love !  
 To thee, sweet maid, whose pleasure-darting eyes,  
 Joy in this favourite vest, an hour shall rise,  
 When thou shalt hate the silk so fondly sought,  
 And wish thy silver-spotted gauze unbought.

## Description of ENNUY.

[From the same Poem.]

**W**ITHIN that ample nich,  
 With every quaint device of splendor rich,  
 Yon phantom, who, from vulgar eyes withdrawn,  
 Appears to stretch in one eternal yawn :

Of

Of empire here he holds the tottering helm,  
 Prime minister in Spleen's discordant realm,  
 The pillar of her spreading state, and more,  
 Her darling offspring, whom on earth she bore ;  
 For, as on earth his wayward mother stray'd,  
 Grandeur, with eyes of fire, her form survey'd,  
 And with strong passion starting from his throne,  
 Unloos'd the sullen queen's reluctant zone.  
 From his embrace, conceiv'd in moody joy,  
 Rose the round image of a bloated boy :  
 His nurse was Indolence ; his tutor Pomp,  
 Who kept the child from every childish romp ;  
 They rear'd their nursling to the bulk you see,  
 And his proud parents call'd their imp Ennui.  
 This realm he rules, and in superb attire  
 Visits each earthly palace of his fire :  
 A thousand shapes he wears, now pert, now prim,  
 Pursues each grave conceit, or idle whim ;  
 In arms, in arts, in government engages,  
 With monarchs, poets, politicians, sages ;  
 But drops each work, the moment it's begun,  
 And, trying all things, can accomplish none :  
 Yet o'er each rank, and age, and sex, his sway,  
 Spreads undiscern'd, and makes the world his prey.  
 The light coquet, amid flirtation, sighs,  
 To find him lurk in Pleasure's vain disguise ;  
 And the grave nun discovers, in her cell,  
 That holy water but augments his spell.  
 As the strange monster of the serpent breed,  
 That haunts, as travellers tell, the marshy mead,  
 Devours each nobler beast, tho' firmly grown  
 To size and strength superior to his own ;—  
 For on the grazing horse, or larger bull,  
 Subtly he springs, of dark saliva full,  
 With swiftly-darting tongue his prey anoints  
 With venom, potent to dissolve its joints,  
 And, while its bulk in liquid poison swims,  
 Swallows its melting bone, and fluid limbs :—  
 So this Ennui, this wonder-working elf,  
 Can vanquish powers far mightier than himself.

## Description of SCANDAL.

[From the same Poem.]

**W**RAPT in dark mists, malignant Scandal flies,  
 While Envy's poison'd breath the buoyant gale supplies.  
 Tho' Sheridan, with shafts of comic wit,  
 Pierc'd, and expos'd her to the laughing pit,

The

Th' immortal hag still wears her paper crown ;  
 'The dreaded empress of the idle town :  
 O'erleaping her prerogative of old,  
 To sink the noble, to defame the bold ;—  
 In chace of worth to slip the dogs of strife,  
 Thro' all the ample range of public life ;—  
 The tyrant now, that sanctuary burst,  
 Where Happiness by Privacy is nurs'd,  
 Her fury rising as her powers increase,  
 O'erturns the altars of domestic Peace.  
 Pleas'd in her dark and gall-distilling cloud  
 The sportive form of Innocence to shroud,  
 Beauty's young train her baleful eyes survey,  
 To mark the fairest, as her favourite prey.  
 Hence, sweet Serena, while thy spirit stray'd  
 Round the deep realms of subterranean shade,  
 This keenest agent of th' infernal powers  
 On earth was busied in those tranquil hours,  
 To blast thy peace, and poison'd darts to aim,  
 Against the honour of thy spotless name :  
 For Scandal, restless fiend, who never knows  
 The balmy blessing of an hour's repose,  
 Worn, yet unfated with her daily toil,  
 In her base work consumes the midnight oil.  
 O'er fiercer fiends when heavy slumbers creep,  
 When wearied Avarice and Ambition sleep,  
 Scandal is vigilant, and keen to spread  
 The plagues that spring from her prolific head.  
 On Truth's fair basis she her falsehood builds,  
 With tinsel sentiment its surface guilds ;  
 To nightly labour from their dark abodes  
 The demons of the groaning press she goads,  
 And smiles to see their rapid art supply  
 Ten thousand wings to every infant lye.

## CONCLUSION of the POEM.

**A**T length the enraptur'd youth, all forms compleat,  
 Bears his sweet bride to his paternal seat ;  
 On a fair lawn the cheerful mansion stood,  
 And high behind it rose a circling wood.  
 As the bless'd lord of this extensive reign  
 Led his dear partner thro' her new domain,  
 With fond surprize, Serena soon descried  
 A temple rais'd to her ætherial guide.  
 Its ornaments she view'd with tender awe,  
 Their fashion such as she in vision saw ;

For

For the kind youth, her grateful smile to gain,  
 Had, from her clear description, deck'd the fane.  
 Joyful he cried, to his angelic wife,  
 "Be this kind power the worship of our life!"  
 He spoke, and led her to the inmost shrine;  
 Here, link'd in rosy bands, two votaries shine;  
 The pencil had imparted life to each,  
 With energy that seem'd beyond its reach.  
 First stood Connubial Love, a manly youth,  
 Whose bright eye spoke the ardent vows of truth;  
 Friendship, sweet smiling, fill'd the second place,  
 In all the softer charms of virgin grace.  
 Their meeting arms a mystic tablet raise,  
 Deck'd with these lines, the moral of my lays:  
 "Virtue's an ingot of Peruvian gold,  
 Sense the bright ore, Potosi's mines unfold;  
 But Temper's image must their use create,  
 And give these precious metals sterling weight."

INFLUENCE of CHIVALRY, in freeing EUROPE from the  
 growing Dominion of the MOORS.

[From Mr. MICKLE'S ALMADA HILL.]

**B**UT turn we now from Chivalry diseased,  
 To Chivalry when Honour's wreath she seized  
 From Wisdom's hand.—From Taurus' rugged steep,  
 And Caucasus, far round with headlong sweep,  
 As wolves wild howling from their famish'd den,  
 Rush'd the devouring bands of Sarazen:  
 Their savage genius, giant-like and blind,  
 Trampling with fullen joy on human kind,  
 Assyria lay its own uncover'd grave,  
 And Gallia trembled to th' Atlantic wave:  
 In awful waste the fairest cities moan'd,  
 And human Liberty expiring groan'd  
 When Chivalry arose:—Her ardent eye  
 Sublime, that fondly mingled with the sky,  
 Where Patience watch'd, and stedfast Purpose frown'd  
 Mixt with Devotion's fire, she darted round,  
 Stern and indignant; on her glittering shield  
 The Cross she bore, and proudly to the field  
 High plum'd she rush'd; by Honour's dazzling fired,  
 Conscious of Heaven's own cause, and all inspired  
 By holy vows, as on the frowning tower  
 The lightning volleys, on the crested power  
 Of Sarazen she wing'd her javelin's way,  
 And the wide-wasting giant prostrate lay.

DOMESTIC

## DOMESTIC LITERATURE,

Of the Year 1781.

**D**IVINITY, in the present year, hath not made so distinguished a figure as it did in the last; the theological productions of 1781 being inferior in number, importance, and value. Nevertheless, some few have appeared which are not unworthy of notice. Of these, the first place is due to Mr. Taylor's "Thoughts on the Nature of the Grand Apostacy; with Reflections and Observations on the fifteenth Chapter of Mr. Gibbon's History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire." We do not admire the title of the book; and we could have wished that the author had not interpersed in his work so many of his peculiar ideas concerning the Millennium. But notwithstanding this, it is a treatise of great merit, with regard to ingenuity, learning, and true knowledge of Christianity. Indeed, it is one of the completest, if it be not absolutely the completest answer that hath been given to Mr. Gibbon, though it will not be so popular as Dr. Watson's Apology. Mr. Taylor, who is the same gentleman that wrote Ben Mordecai's Letters, hath mixed several strokes of humour in the present performance, which occasionally give it an agreeable vivacity. His introductory observations on the benefits of

1781.

snearing are very pleasant. Of the three dissertations annexed to the work, the third on "Prophecy," by the late rev. Mr. Richard Favell, rector of St. Maurice, in Winchester, is peculiarly valuable; and causes us to regret that the world is deprived of a clergyman, who, if we may judge from this specimen of his abilities, would have been a distinguished ornament to theological literature, and a respectable and judicious defender of revelation.

Mr. Madan hath pursued his absurd and infamous defence of polygamy, in another volume of the Thelyphthora. In this volume, besides endeavouring, in vain, to answer the objections which have been made to his doctrine, he principally employs himself in abusing the fathers. Against the fathers, who have many weaknesses to answer for, much may be said with an appearance of reason and justice. But they must have been far worse than they were, to have excited Mr. Madan's admiration and applause. With all their faults, they were not weak or wicked enough to give countenance to the system which he hath supported; and hence it is that he is filled with indignation against them, and treats them without mercy. His knowledge of them, however, is not founded on original learning,

but

but is drawn from modern compilers, and even bad translations of those compilers. The consequence of this is, that to wrong arguments he hath added a sufficient quantity of blunders, as hath amply and decisively been shewn in the *Monthly Review*. Several distinct antagonists have appeared against him in the course of the year. Mr. Palmer, a dissenting clergyman, resident at Birmingham, in his "*Examination of the Thelyphthora*" hath advanced some scriptural considerations of great weight in the controversy. The people of Mr. Madan's own profession, the Methodists, have been peculiarly solicitous, by expressing their indignation against his doctrine, to wipe off the reproach he has cast upon their sect. Mr. Hill, in his "*Blessings of Polygamy displayed*," hath attacked him with argument and wit; and hath repeated his attack, in the same way, in the "*Cobler's Letter*." Even Mr. Madan's old and particular friend, the rector of Aldenham, hath written against him; and hath done it with no small advantage, in his "*Scriptural Refutation*." The controversy is now, we believe, brought nearly to a conclusion; and the time cannot be far off in which the *Thelyphthora* will sink into total contempt and oblivion.

The Trinity hath again become the object of attention to some of our divines. Mr. Shepherd's "*Free Examination of the Supilian Exposition of the precatory Verbes of St. John's Gospel*," is another addition to the numerous treatises which have been published on that controverted and difficult passage. The learned writer earnestly contends, that this passage affords a decisive proof both of the pre-existence and the divinity of Christ; and the

praise cannot be denied him of having supported his argument with ability. Whether his success hath been equal to his ability, will, unquestionably, still continue to be doubted.

Very different are the avowed sentiments of Mr. Lindsey on the same subject. This gentleman, in a little tract, entitled "*The Catechist*," which seems intended for the use of common Christians, hath endeavoured to shew, from the general testimony of scripture, that the supremacy of the one God and father of all, is the uniform voice of revelation; and what he hath observed, in defence of a doctrine so apparently rational, is highly deserving of consideration. Many, however, will think that difficulties still remain, with regard to several passages in the sacred writings, of which he hath attempted to give an explanation.

Another gentleman, of the same turn of thinking with Mr. Lindsey, hath written, "*A free and serious Address to the Christian Laity, especially such as, embracing the Unitarian Sentiments, conform to Trinitarian Worship*." In this address, the author endeavours to prove, that those persons who reject the belief of the Trinity ought not to join in offices of devotion which are founded upon the admission of that doctrine. The point is urged with great earnestness, and we do not see what answer can be given to the writer's arguments, by the men who embrace the Unitarian principles, and yet comply with the Athanasian forms of worshipping the Deity.

The "*Remarks on Mr. Lindsey's Dissertation upon praying to Christ*," affords a farther discussion of a question which hath lately been  
much

much agitated in the theological world. Many even of those who admit the inferiority of the Son to the Father, contend, that a certain degree of subordinate worship is to be paid to our Blessed Saviour, and that this is expressly appointed in scripture, and confirmed by various instances. The matter is still in controversy among our divines, and it is probable that it will not speedily be decided; unless a fuller and more elaborate treatise be written upon the subject than hath yet been given to the public.

Wakefield's "Essay on Inspiration considered chiefly with respect to the Evangelists," is the work of a young man, whose zeal to distinguish himself is superior to his knowledge and judgment. There is a petulant forwardness in the preface, which, though it may proceed from an honest ardour in the cause of Christian liberty, would have been well exchanged for a little modesty and discretion. As to the essay itself, so far as what is advanced is true, and reasonable, there is little in it but what hath long been admitted by rational divines; and where Mr. Wakefield goes out of the common road, he generally betrays himself by hasty assertions. What he hath alleged, in particular, concerning St. Luke's account of the two malefactors who were crucified with Jesus, is remarkably crude and injudicious, and proves the writer's ignorance of the subject. A treatise on inspiration, which should be more full, accurate, critical, and specific than most that have yet appeared, would be an acceptable present to the lovers of sacred literature.

Mr. Wakefield's "New Translation of the first Epistle of Paul to

the Thessalonians," and which is published as a specimen of an intended translation of the whole New Testament, hath only convinced us that the author ought to wait some years before he engages in so arduous an undertaking.

The controversy between the bishop of Waterford and Dr. Priestley, concerning the duration of our Lord's ministry, hath been carried on with the same candour and good manners as before. The bishop hath answered Dr. Priestley's second letter, and this hath produced a reply from the doctor, in a third address to his lordship. The debate is now, perhaps, brought to a conclusion; and each of the disputants will probably sit down fully satisfied with his own opinion.

Mr. Green's "Poetical Parts of the Old Testament, newly translated from the Hebrew," is the production of a veteran in scripture criticism. The author is a strenuous advocate for the truth of bishop Hare's system, with regard to the versification and metre of the ancient poetry of the Jews. In this respect, the learned will scarcely agree with Mr. Green, after what hath been so well, and as we think, so decisively alleged upon the subject, by Dr. Lowth. In other points, the public is indebted to the worthy and learned illustrator, for many valuable remarks.

Mr. Farrer's "Selection of Hebrew Poems translated," is a fresh instance of the difficulty of success in rendering some of the most affecting and sublime passages of the Psalms and prophets into English verse.

Were it not for the name and dignity of the writer, we should scarcely have taken notice of Dr. Bagot's

Letter to Dr. Bell, upon the sacrament of the Lord's supper. Indeed, it is the less worthy of attention, as it is not a disquisition into the nature and design of the ordinance, but a rebuke to Dr. Bell, for giving such a view of it as is supposed to be different from that of the church. This, however, is a matter which relates to himself. Dr. Bell, we doubt not, is satisfied with his own conduct; and, in the mean while, the world is obliged to him for his rational and scriptural account of the institution.

Robinson on Toleration doth not relate to that subject in general, but is a defence of what is called free communion amongst the Antipædo-Baptists; that is, the admission of those persons to partake of the holy sacrament in their churches, who refuse to be baptized by immersion, because they sincerely believe, that they have been rightly baptized by sprinkling in their infancy.

Mr. Williams's Dissertation on Scripture Imprecations, prefixed to his collection of Psalms for public worship, is upon a question of importance in theology. The design of the author is to vindicate the sacred writers in general, and the psalmist in particular, from the charge of indulging and countenancing a malevolent spirit. With this view the position he endeavours to establish is, that the Hebrew texts express no kind of *evil*, but are only so many denunciations of the just displeasure of God against those, who were or should be guilty of the several sins there mentioned, and of the judgments they might reasonably expect to follow, unless prevented by a timely and thorough repentance. What Mr. Williams hath advanced, in support of his position, appears to be founded on truth and reason.

The Sermons, as well as the Theological productions in general of the year, have not been equal to those of 1780. We cannot, among the writers of this kind, mention a Hurd, a Blair, or a Mainwaring. All which can be said of Dr. Goddard's Discourses is, that they are plain, practical, and useful; for they do not rise to any peculiar dignity of sentiment, or elegance of composition. Of Mr. Tatham's Sermons, likewise, though the productions of a man of abilities, it cannot, we believe, be asserted, that they are likely to procure him a more than common reputation. They do not always contain that simplicity and nervousness of style, at which the writer professes to aim; and there is too much in them of those disputable doctrines, which we could wish to see for ever banished from the pulpit.

A particular testimony of respect is due to the late excellent Bishop of Sodor and Man, Dr. Thomas Wilson. His son, the present Dr. Wilson, so well known by his patriotic attachments, hath published a splendid edition of his father's works; which must be acknowledged to be a proper and an honourable instance of regard to the memory of so pious and worthy a parent. The second volume consists of a hundred sermons never before printed. The simplicity of style and sentiment renders them the most proper model of discourses for common families, servants, and the lower order of people, that, perhaps, can be found in this country. They are easy, plain, and intelligible, in a degree that must be level to the meanest understanding. It is to be regretted that the good bishop's zeal for all the doctrines and ceremonies of the Church hath occasioned him to mix some things in

the sermons which judicious persons would be glad to have seen omitted. They might, otherwise, have served for the Sunday evening's instructions of every Christian family, of every religious denomination.

As to Dr. Neve's Sermons, preached at Mr. Bampton's Oxford lecture, we are concerned to see men of parts and literature cramped by so confined an object. Nothing very interesting or important will ever be produced by this lecture. The subjects—even if they had been more judiciously chosen, are too limited to allow scope for great exertions. The institution of Mr. Boyle, which hath given birth to such a number of excellent defences of religion, hath for some years been upon the decline. The Warburtonian lecture, though of such recent original, already languishes from the difficulty there is in engaging able men to undertake it. If such be the fate of more valuable designs, we may venture to pronounce, that Mr. Bampton's institution will not be long in sinking into total insignificance.

Mr. Ramsay's "Sea Sermons" ought not to be passed over without a tribute of respect. A chaplain of a man of war, who thus laudably employs himself in stirring up the British sailors to a sense of their peculiar duties, is entitled to applause. The discourses, which are the first of the kind, have a considerable degree of animation; and the subjects are, in general, well suited to the men to whom they are addressed.

The single sermons of the year make a more striking figure than those which have appeared in volumes; and there are three or four of them of such uncommon merit, that the mention of them cannot be omitted. The "Discourse on the late Fast, by Philoleutherus Norfolcensis," and which is understood to

be written by Dr. Parr of Norwich, stands distinguished above the rest. The length of it is such, that it is rather a treatise than a sermon; and it is a treatise of the highest value, abounding with acute and important observations, striking and energetic language, sublime and pathetic eloquence. An equal union of wisdom, piety, and animation is seldom to be met with. We do not, however, think that the discourse is wholly free from faults. A few of the sentiments might be objected to; and the style is sometimes laboured into stiffness and obscurity.

Mr. Crewe's Sermon, preached at Oxford, on the fifth of November, comes recommended by various merit. His liberal views with regard to religious toleration, and the late relaxation of the laws against the Roman Catholics, demand the approbation of every enlightened and generous mind. His opinions concerning civil liberty are founded on the noblest ideas of the rights of human nature; and the elegance of his composition and language is suited to the dignity of his sentiments.

Upon a different subject, Mr. Paley's "Advice to the young Clergymen of the Diocese of Carlisle," is entitled to equal praises. The advice is chiefly intended for the lower order of churchmen, especially such as sustain the character of curates; and the exhortations he gives are the result of united wisdom, seriousness, and knowledge of the world. Nothing, if properly attended to, can be better calculated to render clergymen honourable, useful, and happy. To such men as Parr, Crewe, and Paley, the Church of England may look up as its future ornaments; and it is to be hoped that they will not be permitted to remain in stations of obscurity.—Mr. Poille-

thwaite's

thwaite's discourse at Cambridge, upon Isaiah, chap. vii. ver. 14, 15, 16, is another attempt to explain a very difficult and important prophecy, which, at all times, and especially of late years, hath much excited the attention of the scriptural critics. The author's interpretation, by which he endeavours to fix it to the Messiah, is new, ingenious, and well supported; but whether he hath removed every perplexity that hath attended this celebrated passage, will possibly still be considered as a matter justly to be doubted.

Did it comport with our plan, to enter into the consideration of single sermons in general, several others have been published during the course of the year, which might well deserve to have been mentioned: and we can scarcely forgive ourselves for having forgotten more distinctly to characterise Mr. Cappe's Discourse, preached at York, upon occasion of the Fast.

On the Head of Natural Religion, the only production deserving of peculiar regard, is Dr. Balguy's "Divine Benevolence asserted." This is not a declamatory treatise on the subject, but one of the closest and most philosophical discussions of it that hath ever been presented to the public. The acute and ingenious writer proceeds with slow and cautious steps, till he hath fully established his point. Without mentioning Mr. Hume, Dr. Balguy appears to have intended his work to be an answer to that able and celebrated sceptic; and the answer is a complete one, so far as the divine benevolence is concerned. It is an admirable specimen of a larger treatise which the author has by him, on the subject of natural religion and mo-

rality, and which, we hope, will not long be withheld from the literary world. This publication, we believe, materially contributed towards procuring for Dr. Balguy the offer he lately had of the bishoprick of Gloucester, but which he thought proper to refuse.

With respect to Metaphysics, nothing hath been produced, during the year 1781, but the drainings of the controversy raised by Dr. Priestley, concerning matter and spirit, and philosophical necessity. Mr. Gifford's Outlines of an Answer to that gentleman's Disquisitions, are the production of an able man who is conversant with the subject on which he writes. He is well acquainted with the authors who assert the immateriality of the human soul, and hath given their sentiments with perspicuity and force; but we do not recollect that there is any thing new in his arguments.

The same account will nearly suit Mr. Rotherham's "Essay on the Distinction between the Soul and Body of Man." With perspicuity and elegance of language, the author supports the common, and what is deemed the orthodox opinion with regard to the essential difference between matter and spirit.

A larger proportion of metaphysical acuteness must, perhaps, be assigned to the writer of the "Essay on the Nature and Existence of the Material World." This writer attacks, with great spirit and vigour, both Dr. Price and Dr. Priestley; and defends, with no small degree of ability, bishop Berkeley's ideal system. From the agreeable vivacity and wit with which he expresses himself, a person might sometimes be almost tempted to doubt whether he be in earnest, and whether it may  
not

not be his principal intention to laugh at his two antagonists. Whatever may be the case, the praise cannot be denied him of eminent ingenuity and penetration.

The small tract entitled "The Doctrine of Philosophical Necessity invalidated" is the production of a man who has thought upon the subject. He hath endeavoured to give his arguments the form of a demonstration: but, whatever zealous metaphysicians may imagine, no demonstration is to be expected, on either side, in the question concerning free will. It hath been debated from the time that men began to philosophize, and it will continue to be debated as long as the world exists.

With regard to the general science of Human Nature, and the Progress of Society and Manners, we do not recollect any thing that requires to be noticed; excepting that Mr. Bruce hath published a new edition of his "First Principles of Philosophy," and Dr. Dunbar of his "Essays on the History of Mankind in rude and cultivated Ages." In these editions the ingenious and able writers have considerably improved their works. Mr. Bruce hath made large additions to the extensive and important plan of study which he hath proposed to the examination of his readers. We hope that in some future time he will be able to fill up the great outline which he hath here drawn with so masterly a hand.

Concerning Government in general and the English Constitution and Laws in particular, the year 1781 hath afforded a variety of publications. If, in mentioning these, we give the first place to Dr. Tucker's treatise on Civil Government, it is

not from the high sense we entertain of its merit. The Dean's attack upon Mr. Locke (for that is the chief purpose of his book) is violent, illiberal, and, in every important respect, groundless. He mistakes both Mr. Locke's positions, and the consequences that result from them; and then treats that great man's system with reproaches, the causes of which are only to be found in his own absurd imagination. The contempt with which he continually uses the words "Lockians" and "Lockian hypothesis," is unworthy of the gentleman, and unsuitable to the regard that was due to so eminent a writer. Neither hath Dr. Tucker preserved a consistency in his treatise; for whilst he appears so angry with the assertors of the rights of the people, he makes concessions, which, in effect, destroy his own doctrine, and can only be supposed on Mr. Locke's general principles. As to his mighty clamour about the "Original Contract," the dispute is of little importance. If either Locke or his followers have sometimes expressed themselves unguardedly concerning it, it is no great matter: the idea is a just one. For if government be a trust for the benefit of the "governed," there must, in the very nature of it, be certain mutual conditions implied, without which it cannot possibly be established on a right foundation. It cannot be denied that Dean Tucker hath displayed some ability in the publication before us, and that he writes with vivacity; but it is a vivacity which hath an air of petulance and conceit. Neither is his work destitute of historical information; but his account of the Gothic Constitution is too violently wrested to his own purposes. As to his main de-

sign of bringing Mr. Locke into discredit, we will answer for it, that his attempt will be attended with little success. The reputation and writings of that illustrious philosopher will flourish in the utmost honour and veneration, when Dr. Tucker shall be totally forgotten. Or if the name of the Dean should descend to posterity with Mr. Locke's, it will only be attached to it as that of Zoilus is to Homer, with contempt and disgrace.

The author of the "Principles of Law and Government," is of a very different cast of mind from Dr. Tucker. He is a disciple of Mr. Locke, without implicitly subscribing to every sentiment or expression of his master. He agrees with him in asserting the rights of mankind with ardour, and in strenuously maintaining the cause of equal liberty. His plan of a federal league between great Britain and America comes, we are afraid, too late to be carried into execution.

Noëd's "Two Discourses on Sovereign Power and Liberty of Conscience," translated by Mr. Macaulay, present us with another publication consecrated to the cause of freedom. The translator, in his notes, hath confirmed and supported the liberal principles of the original author. It is a shame to this country, that, whilst foreigners are enlarging their conceptions of the civil and religious rights of human nature, and diffusing their rational and generous ideas through the world, there are persons amongst us, and those, too, of some name, who advance tenets of a slavish and bigotted kind.

Ibbetson's "Dissertation on the National Assemblies under the Saxon and Norman Government," asserts the ancient free constitution of England,

especially in the Saxon times. The author maintains his point with an ability and learning which shew, that, as a young barrister, he has employed his hours to good purpose. Though he is no friend to the aristocracy of the feudal system, he hath proved, that the foccage tenants were not in such a state of slavery as is represented by Dean Tucker. Mr. Ibbetson published, in 1780, "A Dissertation on the Judicial Customs of the Saxon and Norman Age;" a tract which escaped our notice.

Mr. De Lolme hath given a new edition of his celebrated and excellent treatise on the constitution of England, with four additional chapters. These chapters contain some farther useful information, and some curious disquisitions. What he hath advanced on the subject of American taxation appears to us to be more refined than solid and convincing.

The chief merit of Mr. Ayre's publication entitled "A Comparative View of the Difference between the English and Irish Statute Law," is to be found in the introduction "On the contested point of the power of the British parliament to bind Ireland."

Mr. Jones's "Essay on the Law of Bailments" being upon a practical branch of the English jurisprudence, it lies out of our way to determine, from our own personal knowledge, precisely concerning its value. Those who are the best judges of the matter speak of it, as might be expected, in high terms. The author, who is already well known by various excellent and curious works, is, on account of his genius, taste, and uncommon knowledge, which extends far into the Eastern as well as the Grecian, Roman, and modern literature, perhaps the most extraordinary

nary young man of his age. Whatever subject he applies to, he always treats it with an ingenuity and accuracy that call for admiration; and his sentiments and views of things are as enlarged and liberal as his learning is extensive.

Mr. Gilbert's Plan for the better Relief and Employment of the Poor; for enforcing and amending the laws respecting houses of correction and vagrants; and for improving the police of this country, is the production of a gentleman, who, with singular ardour of public spirit, hath employed his thoughts and labour, through a number of years, on a very great and important national object. The difficulties attending every scheme for the effectual reformation of the poor laws are more than can well be expressed; but it is to be hoped that in time something valuable may be accomplished. Mr. Gilbert hath now brought his proposed bill into parliament, not, we believe, with the design of having it immediately passed; but that it should stand over for another year, in order to its undergoing as full an examination and discussion as possible.

The judges on the bench, and the advocates at the bar, have received a farther aid in their determinations and pleadings, in the fifth volume of Sir James Burrows's "Reports of Cases adjudged in the Court of King's Bench," and in the two volumes of Sir William Blackstone's Reports. The merit of these publications, in the view they were intended for, cannot in the least be questioned. No one who is acquainted with Sir James Burrows will doubt of his accuracy; besides which, we understand that he hath been favoured with the revision and assistance of Lord Mansfield himself, during whose presi-

dence in the King's Bench, the cases were determined. As to the late Mr. Justice Blackstone, his former admirable writings are a sufficient testimony that whatever comes from his pen, must be correct, faithful, and, in general, judicious.

There hath been a publication this year of a more general legal nature, that deserves a greater degree of attention than it appears to have met with from the studious part of the world. We mean the "Essay on the Right of Property in Land, with respect to its Foundation in the Law of Nature, and its present Establishment by the municipal Laws of Europe; and the Regulations by which it might be rendered more beneficial to the lower Ranks of Mankind." The aim of this treatise is very liberal indeed; it being intended to shew that every man ought to have some portion in the soil of the country in which he lives, and to point out the immense advantages that would result from such a disposition of things. To most readers the author's ideas will seem too speculative; and his plan will, in general, be considered as impracticable. That the execution of it, in any great measure of perfection, must be attended with immense difficulties, in the present state of society, cannot be disputed. But we should not too hastily condemn laudable, though arduous attempts, as absolutely impossible to be effected. Something, as the writer himself proves, might be done gradually, and by embracing favourable occurrences; and who can tell what regulations may, at length, take place, in the course of human affairs, and from the spirit of improvement which pervades Europe? At any rate, the author's views are entitled to applause; his manner of treating his subject is ingenious

ingenious and elegant ; and his arguments merit the closest examination of the profound and enlightened politician.

We now come to Mathematical and Philosophical Science, Experiments, and Natural History ; objects in which this country hath long eminently excelled, and where in the year 1781 will not be found deficient. - In pure mathematics the publications have not been very numerous. Mr. Henry Clarke hath translated, from the Latin, professor Lorgna's "Dissertation on the Summation of infinite converging Series with Algebraic Divisors," and accompanied it with illustrative notes and observations. The translator hath highly extolled Lorgna's method ; but Mr. Landen, who does not view it in the same favourable light, hath attacked it with some severity, in his "Observations on converging Series." The design of Mr. Landen is to shew, that the late Mr. Thomas Simpson, in his Mathematical Dissertations, published in 1743, hath pointed out a very ready method of computing the sums of a great number of series, comprehending, at least, all that can be done by the method exhibited in Mr. Lorgna's book. However Mr. Clarke and Mr. Landen may differ in opinion, they are both of them entitled to the praise of being able mathematicians.

Mr. Austin's "Examination of the first Six Books of Euclid's Elements," is another attempt to restore that ancient and eminent geometrician to a greater degree of purity and perfection. This hath been done by Mr. Austin with ingenuity and modesty, and, we believe, with success. The subject is well worthy of a learned student in geometry.

In the Philosophical Transactions, there is, we apprehend, the most valuable communication of the mathematical kind, which the year hath produced. We mean Mr. Atwood's "General Theory for the Mensuration of the Angle subtended by two Objects, of which one is observed by Rays after two Reflections from plane Surfaces, and the other by Rays coming directly to the Spectator's Eye." Mr. Atwood's eminence in the knowledge of Mathematics, Optics, and Astronomy, is well known ; but it is far beyond the power of the writer of this article to speak with precision concerning the merit of his paper.

With regard to Philosophical Science in general, we may observe, that Dr. Rees's new and improved edition of Chambers's Cyclopædia is carrying on with the same ability, diligence, and success with which it hath heretofore been conducted. This great undertaking is advancing to its completion, the third volume being nearly finished.

The Philosophical Transactions contain, as hath been usual of late years, a variety of curious and useful communications on the different parts of natural knowledge. Mr. Herschel's Astronomical Papers have justly excited peculiar attention ; and his account of a comet, or, perhaps, a new planet, hath procured for him the honour of Sir Godfrey Copley's medal. Mr. Herschel, who is a musician at Bath, is one of those extraordinary men, whose genius for astronomy, and whose talents for the improvement of instruments, have enabled him to break through every disadvantage of situation, and to make discoveries, which, as they call for the warmest approbation of mankind, ought

ought to obtain for him a more than common encouragement and patronage.

Mr. Miller's "Enquiry into the Cause of Motion, or a General Theory of Physics, grounded on the primary Qualities of Matter," is upon a subject equally curious and difficult. It is a subject with respect to which a number of able men have lost themselves, and on which others will probably continue to do so, for many years to come. Mr. Miller is not satisfied with Sir Isaac Newton's principles, but endeavours to penetrate deeper into the primary cause of the various operations of the physical world. What success he hath had in his enquiries, we shall leave to be determined by those whose studies shall lead them to give his book a particular examination.

Jones's "Physiological Disquisitions, or Discourses on the Natural Philosophy of the Elements," are the production, likewise, of an ingenious man who is very solicitous to investigate the ultimate causes of things. In doing this, he takes a wide scope, enters into the regions of philology, and doth not even abstain from theological discussions. The author rather derives his system from experiments already made, than from any material discoveries of his own. The time, however, we believe, is not yet come for constructing complete theories of nature. Much remains to be done in the way of experiment and observation, before the philosophical system of the universe, in its various parts, can be fully developed.

The "Essay on Tune; being an attempt to free the Scale of Music, and the Tune of Instruments, from Imperfection," is an elaborate disquisition on a subject intricate in itself, and which hath employed the attention of several able men. How

far the writer hath succeeded, we cannot, from our personal knowledge pronounce; but those who understand the matter, speak of his work with approbation and applause.

Mr. Mudge's Register of the Going of his first Time-keeper, relates to an object of capital importance in settling the longitude of places. The emulation of different artists to complete an exact time-keeper is highly laudable, and cannot fail of producing valuable effects. We could wish, however, that they would avoid that petulant severity in their treatment of each other, which is shewn by the writer, whoever he is, of a letter "On the Longitude," addressed to the commissioners of that board.

Before our undertaking commenced, Dr. Crawford wrote a "Theory of animal Heat and Combustion," which raised him to an uncommon degree of reputation, and was adopted by several ingenious philosophers and chemists, both at home and abroad. However, the exactness of his experiments, and the truth of his conclusions, have been called in question by Mr. Morgan, in his Examination of the doctor's theory. What Mr. Morgan hath advanced is undoubtedly worthy of Dr. Crawford's attentive consideration. The friends of the doctor, we understand, are not disheartened by this attack; and we have heard it asserted, that his system hath lately been confirmed abroad, by some new experiments. It is certainly of importance to the philosophical world that the matter should be brought to a decision.

Dr. Watson's "Chemical Essays" constitute a very valuable publication. The author treats the subjects he writes upon with eminent perspicuity, as well as ability; and whilst he appears to have little farther

farther design than to engage young persons and gentlemen to the study of chemistry, hath given no small satisfaction to the ablest proficient in the science. His design is not yet completed, and he intends to publish two farther volumes, if the present work be favourably received. That it will have a reception suitable to its merit, we would not willingly doubt.

Cavallo's "Treatise on Air" is a large performance on the subject, giving a general account of what hath been done in this important and improved part of philosophy. From Mr. Cavallo's known abilities, few could be expected to execute such a design with greater advantage. Not having had an opportunity of examining his book, we cannot be specific in our estimation of its merit.

Lord Mahon's "Principles of Electricity" not only shew how worthily this young nobleman spends his time, but reflect great credit on his philosophical proficiency. His lordship hath connected his electrical experiments with mathematical knowledge, and hath applied that knowledge to a deduction of conclusions, extending farther than the direct result of the experiments themselves. We wish our youths of fashion would take example from this noble lord, who is a striking instance of a devotedness, in high life, to science, virtue, and liberty.

Mr. Lyon's "Farther Proofs that Glass is permeable by the Electric Effluvia, and that the Electric Particles are possessed of a polar Virtue," relate chiefly to a dispute with the Monthly Reviewers. We shall only say, that whether the author be right or wrong, he hath something to allege in his own defence. His experiments are, at

least, entitled to a candid investigation.

Hopson's Essay on Fire seems rather to be founded on what hath been advanced by others, than on any peculiar discoveries of his own. He appears, however, to have well considered what hath been done before him, and his work may suggest some hits and enquiries that are worthy of notice.

Mr. Henry's "Account of a Method of preserving Water, at Sea, from Putrefaction, by a cheap and easy Process," holds out an object that is of great importance to the community. His process is rational and practicable, at least to a certain degree; and we wish that it may be found easy to carry it into execution on board of a ship, and to that extent which the ingenious author proposes. A scheme so salutary and useful deserves every kind of trial and encouragement. Mr. Henry hath added, a mode of impregnating water, in large quantities, with fixed air, for medicinal uses.

It is with peculiar satisfaction that we mention Dr. Priestley's having reverted, after some intermission, to his philosophical pursuits. He hath, this year, published another volume of "Experiments and Observations relating to various Branches of Natural Philosophy: with a Continuation of the Observations on Air." This volume, like the preceding ones, contains a variety of important observations and discoveries; delivered with his accustomed perspicuity, precision, and fidelity. We have the pleasure of finding that the present volume is not likely to conclude his enquiries and labours of this kind. He is going on with his wonted ardour; hath struck out new lights; and we have authentic information for saying, that, in his next publication we may expect the  
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nature of phlogiston to be absolutely ascertained.

On the head of Natural History, Pulteney's "General View of the Writings of Linnæus" is a very acceptable present to the public. Dr. Pulteney is one of the first botanists in this kingdom, and there is no man who hath studied the works of Linnæus with greater attention. No man, therefore, could be better qualified to give an exact account of them, and to form a just estimation of their utility and merit. We may safely pronounce, that the publication before us cannot fail of being agreeable to every gentleman who wishes to know something of Linnæus and his system. Dr. Pulteney hath farther enriched his book with a judicious abridgment of the "*Amœnitates Academicæ*;" and hath added to the whole a translation of the "*Pan Succus*," accommodated to the English plants. From this part of the work, the usefulness of botanical knowledge in relation to agriculture, and the feeding of cattle, is particularly apparent.

Mr. Pennant, of whom we need not say that he is one of the most eminent naturalists of our own country, hath made an addition to his former valuable writings, by publishing a "*History of Quadrupeds*." The work was originally intended for private amusement, and as an index for the more ready turning to any particular animal in *Monf. de Buffon's* voluminous performance. But as it swelled to a size beyond Mr. Pennant's first expectation, he was induced to communicate it to the world. The publication is a fresh evidence of the accuracy and extent of the author's natural knowledge, and cannot fail

of being acceptable to a great number of readers. The same may be said of his "*Genera of Birds*," which forms a proper supplement to his *History of Quadrupeds*.

Mr. Brand's "*Select Dissertations from the Amœnitates Academicæ*," contain some of those articles at large, of the whole of which Dr. Pulteney hath given a general abridgment. Mr. Stillingfleet had translated several of them before, in his tracts relating to natural history. To such as have not the original, the present publication will probably be agreeable. Mr. Brand hath added remarks of his own; and, as he intends to proceed in his design, it may not be amiss to observe, that his style of composition is capable of amendment.

With regard to Mr. Smellie's Translation of *Buffon*, it hath not yet fallen into our hands; and, therefore, we must defer our notice of it till the next year.

In the Science of Medicine, the world hath been enriched by the productions of men of knowledge and experience. Dr. Monro's writings have been collected by his son into one large volume in quarto; and the doing of it was a proper tribute of respect to so eminent an anatomist and professor. The greater part of the pieces now published have appeared before, but several new ones are added on curious and useful subjects. The whole forms a valuable body of anatomical and medical knowledge.

The works of the late able and popular physician, Dr. Fothergill, have, also, been given to the public by Dr. Elliot. This is not the only testimony of regard that is intended to be paid to Dr. Fothergill's memory. The next year will record

record farther evidences of the regret of mankind for the loss of so excellent a man. Dr. Letfome, in particular, proposes to print a more complete collection of his writings than hath been done by Dr. Elliot.

Baron Dimfdale hath drawn together into one volume his *Traacts on Inoculation*. The opinions and practice of a man who is so great a master of the subject, and who hath had such an uncommonly large experience in it, cannot fail of deserving and exciting peculiar attention.

Dr. Black's "*Observations, Medical, and Political, on the Small Pox and Inoculation,*" contain a vindication, in opposition to Baron Dimfdale, of the propriety of introducing a general inoculation among the lower classes of the people. This is not the Dr. Black of Edinburgh, who is so well known by his philosophical discoveries.

Dr. Duncan's "*Heads of Lectures on the Theory and Practice of Medicine,*" form a kind of syllabus, chiefly intended for the use of medical students. Publications of this nature, which either aid the memory in the recollection of what hath been heard before, or serve as a guide to the mind, in the prosecution of its future enquiries, have a considerable degree of utility.

Foster's "*Principles and Practice of Midwifery,*" the posthumous work of a physician, who was long eminent in his profession at Dublin, is a fresh addition to the numerous treatises on the subject which have lately appeared, and is spoken of as being written with perspicuity, accuracy, and skill.

There may possibly have been other performances of the physical gentlemen, which some may think ought to have been mentioned; but as they lie much out of the way of

our reading, we hope that we shall be permitted, without incurring any great degree of censure, here to close our medical account.

From medicine we turn our view to an object that will probably be more agreeable to the generality of our readers. The year 1781 assumes a distinguished lustre with regard to Historical Productions; in the enumeration of which, the first place, in point of rank and praise, is undoubtedly due to the second and third volumes of Mr. Gibbon's "*History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.*" The conciseness to which we are confined, by the nature of our plan, renders it difficult to give a just character of a work of such eminence and importance. One great excellence of it is, that, from detached passages, and accidental intelligence, scattered in a number of obscure and disagreeable writers, it furnishes us with an information which it is in the power of but a few persons to attain. Another prime merit of it is, that the author hath been able, from such discordant and imperfect materials, to form so complete and admirable a narrative, replete with curious facts, animated by a philosophical spirit, and displaying the greatest sagacity of sentiment and reflection. The exactness of the geographical and incidental knowledge, demands, likewise, particular applause. As to the language, it is accurate, elegant, and polished in the highest degree; so that Mr. Gibbon hath justly attained the character of being one of the most finished historians, which this, or any country hath produced. We are not insensible that he has his detractors, as well as his admirers. Some, who prefer a simplicity

plcity of style in historical writing, think that his composition is too artificial and splendid. But history, as is evident from the example of the ancients, admits of different modes of writing; and that manner which Mr. Gibbon hath chosen to adopt, he hath carried to its highest perfection. Other objections have been made to him, and, where religion is concerned, with some degree of reason. Though we hold him in high admiration, we by no means universally agree with him in opinion; and are especially dissatisfied with the extravagant encomiums which he bestows on Athanasius. It strikes us, that ecclesiastical affairs in general occupy too high a place in his imagination; not, we apprehend, from his strong regard for Christianity, but perhaps from a different motive. We are by no means ignorant that the concerns of the church must unavoidably take up a large space in the history of times in which princes were more anxious about the idle and ridiculous disputes of the ages they lived in, concerning points of doctrine and discipline, than they were for the good government of their subjects. Still, however, it appears to us, that Mr. Gibbon hath paid more attention to them than was absolutely requisite; and that to be the writer of civil history was not his sole object. But, whatever incidental things we may have observed in his work, which we do not entirely approve, we give our willing testimony to his extraordinary merit; and return him our thanks for communicating to us, in so masterly and beautiful a manner, a variety of intelligence which even the learned could not obtain without searching deeper into the rubbish of antiquity than even *their* inclination or time might

often admit. Mr. Gibbon hath now carried on his undertaking to the fall of the western empire; and we learn, with great satisfaction, that he is engaged in completing his design.

Dr. Henry hath published, this year, the fourth volume of his "History of Great Britain," on his own new and peculiar plan; which is, not to intermix the various historical objects together that relate to our country, but, under every period, to treat each of them distinctly, in distinct chapters. One chapter he assigns to civil and military affairs; a second to religion; a third to the constitution, government, laws, and courts of justice; a fourth to learning, learned men, and the chief seminaries of literature; a fifth to the arts both useful and ornamental, necessary and pleasing; a sixth to commerce, shipping, money or coin, and the prices of commodities; and a seventh to manners, virtues, vices, remarkable customs, language, dress, diet, and diversions. This method he uniformly pursues, through each volume. The utility of it, in certain respects, is apparent; and Mr. Gibbon hath spoken of the work with much commendation. Such a mode of writing history does not afford scope for the most beautiful form of composition, which must undoubtedly result from the being able finely to combine events into one grand whole. But this, perhaps, Dr. Henry could not easily have attained; and, if he could have attained to it, he purposely adopted a different plan. There is great merit both in his design, and in its execution; for though he doth not rise to the elegance and dignity of a Hume, a Robertson, and a Gibbon, he expresses himself with a perspicuity and propriety suited to the end he hath

hath in view, which is information. We think, too, that he improves in his style of writing as he proceeds in his work. The application, industry, and perseverance of our author are truly commendable. We apprehended, at first, that he would never have been able to complete his intention; but, as he hath now gone through four volumes, we begin to entertain a hope that both himself and the public may have the satisfaction of seeing the whole brought to a conclusion.

Mrs. Catharine Macaulay Graham, who has published the sixth and seventh volumes of her "History of England," is an unhappy instance how much some personal circumstance may affect the success of an author. These volumes are not, upon the whole, inferior to those which she hath formerly given to the world. They exhibit the same strength of sentiment, and dignity of language, and abound with the same animated zeal in the cause of liberty, and for the rights of mankind. The enormities of Charles the Second's reign, are justly exposed; the story of the popish plot judiciously and candidly told; and the characters of Vane, Russell, Sydney, and other eminent persons drawn with a masterly hand. If there be any prejudices, any partialities in our fair historian, they are no other than what have appeared in her former volumes: and yet we have reason to believe that those now published have had a very indifferent and far inferior sale. No just cause can be assigned for their meeting with so unfavourable a reception. Has Mrs. Macaulay's marriage with a young man, or any part of her personal conduct, lessened her merit as a writer? Certainly not; but still there is a connection

between private and public esteem. The composer of this article feels, at the very time in which he is writing, the force of the connection. Though he blames himself, he doth not find his heart so much attached to this ingenious and able lady, even as an historian, as it formerly was: an instructive admonition to authors that they endeavour to secure, in every respect, the public estimation. We could wish that Mrs. Macaulay Graham, before she publishes, would get some literary friend to correct a few grammatical errors, which are apt to escape her notice, and are a blemish to her style.

Dr. Bever's "History of the Legal Policy of the Roman State, and of the Rise, Progress, and Extent of the Roman Laws," is a very important work, executed with great ability, knowledge and diligence. When the author confines himself to what strictly relates to the Roman law, he is admirable; but when he comes to what is more generally historical, he is liable to censure. To write of the transactions of ancient times with a party spirit, and in a manner favourable to tyranny, and to introduce reflections which have an evident reference to the modern political disputes of our own country, can never be deemed worthy of any man who hath extensive views of utility, and aims at the approbation of posterity. When will our civilians acquire a manly and liberal attachment to the cause of freedom? However wise, just, and humane, many of the institutions of the Roman code may be, we cannot sufficiently admire the good sense and spirit of our ancestors, in not permitting it to be received as the standard of law for England. Their "*Nolumus Leges Angliæ mutari*,"

was honourable to themselves, beneficial to the British constitution, and happy for their descendants.

Mr. Justamond hath given, from the French original, a translation of the "Private Life of Lewis the Fifteenth." The first circumstance that occurred to us in reading this work was, that it did not strictly answer to its title. For though there are a great number of things in it which relate to the private life of Lewis, and especially to his amours, yet far the greater part of it concerns his public administration, and particularly the contentions between the parliaments and the clergy, regulations of finance, and the state of naval affairs. With regard to the court intrigues, and those personal incidents which we are more immediately encouraged to look for, there is not the novelty that might have been expected. Indeed, we do not find many facts related which we have not met with before. The author evidently borrows from other works; and with regard to Voltaire, he confesses that he takes him in his own expressions, since to change them could only be for the worse. But though truth hath obliged us to make these remarks, we do not intend to depreciate the performance before us. Besides the detail of public transactions, many private anecdotes are recorded, and the intrigues of courtiers are well described. The latter part of the history contains, likewise, more new matter than the former. The writer gives a dreadful, and, we doubt not, a just picture of the corruption and profligacy of Lewis the Fifteenth's court. His sentiments too are liberal; and he every where appears as a friend to virtue, and the interests of mankind. Upon the whole, the work affords much important information, and is

1781.

entitled to a favourable reception from the literary world. With respect to the translation, we cannot bestow upon it any high tribute of applause. There is sometimes no little confusion in the style, and several particular expressions are inaccurate and awkward; but, taken altogether, it may be read with tolerable satisfaction, and we suppose that there is no reason to doubt of its fidelity.

The "History of Connecticut" is written in a lively and entertaining, though in a very desultory manner. It is not destitute of information; and some of the facts and circumstances relative to the state, government, manners, and natural productions of the country, are deserving of attention. But the work would be far more worthy of praise, if it were not evidently dictated by a most violent party spirit. This is so flagrant that it must greatly diminish its credit. We know not in what respects we can believe a nameless writer, who cites no authorities, and who is clearly influenced by some personal resentment. In reality, his performance has so much of the nature of a party tract, that it does not merit the honourable title of a history.

English Biography hath received, in 1781, a most valuable addition, by the completion of Dr. Johnson's "Lives of the Poets," extending from Addison to Gray. This work having been universally read, and almost as universally admired, its character is, perhaps, already settled in the minds of our readers. It comes equally recommended by the strength and dignity of its style, the originality of its sentiment and composition, and the perspicacity of its observations. The author hath not

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alike displayed his powers on every object. His accounts of some of the smaller poets are very short, and have nothing in them remarkably interesting. Of others he enters into a larger detail, accompanying his narrative with an acute investigation of their character and merit. On Pope, in this part of his undertaking, he hath exerted his full strength, as he did upon Dryden, in his former volumes. In general, he is so far from being a biographical flatterer, that he often runs into the contrary extreme. There is much in him of the spirit of diminution and satire, we will not say of malignity; for, notwithstanding Dr. Johnson's severity, we do not think that he is ill-natured in his real disposition. With regard to several of the anecdotes which he relates, we question whether he had them upon indisputable evidence: they might be stories that he heard in his youth, and the truth of which he believes, without having accurately investigated the foundation on which they were originally built. It would, at least, have been a satisfaction to his readers, if, in some cases, he had condescended to inform them of the sources of his information. Though his decisions with respect to the characters of men and their works come with great weight, and are delivered with an air sufficiently imposing, the literary world will, nevertheless, still assume the liberty of judging for itself, and not tamely submit to dictatorial authority. But in whatever instances our opinions may differ from Dr. Johnson, it is with pleasure that we give our testimony to his being the first biographer of the age. He is always entertaining, always instructive, always matterly; and his invariable attachment to the cause of religion

and virtue deserves high commendation; though it would be better if that attachment were never mixed with the prejudices of education.

The Biographical materials of our country have, likewise, been increased by other performances. Mr. Nichols's "*Anecdotes of William Hogarth*" contain a very full detail of the life and works of that eminent and original moral painter. The catalogue given of his pictures and prints is drawn up in chronological order, and accompanied with occasional remarks. From this account, in conjunction with that lately afforded by Mr. Walpole, the editor of the *Biographia Britannica* will be enabled to do ample justice to Mr. Hogarth's memory.

Mr. Nichols, who excels in biographical knowledge, and is fond of biographical communications, hath, also, recorded the story of William Ged, an ingenious but unfortunate artist in the printing way. The same writer, in the fourth number of the *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*, hath published a *Life of Sir John Hawkwood*. This was originally read before the Society of Antiquaries; but whether it was written by Mr. Nichols himself, or some other person, doth not appear.

Dr. Hird's "*Affectionate Tribute to the Memory of Dr. Fothergill*," is not so much a regular life of him, as a panegyrical funeral oration. It furnishes, however, several particulars concerning him, which will be useful to future biographers. Dr. Elliot hath, also, prefixed a life of Dr. Fothergill to his collection of that gentleman's medical writings. Two more lives of him are expected from Dr. Thompson and Dr. Lettsome; so that there is a mighty ardour to do honour to the character

character of this popular, worthy, and eminent physician.

Farther justice has been done to the merit of that excellent and famous anatomist, and professor, Dr. Alexander Monro, by a well written account of him, prefixed to his works. Both the doctor's sons have contributed to erect a monument of filial piety to their father; one as his biographer, and the other as his editor.

Mr. Clithero has prefaced his publication of Sir William Blackstone's Reports, with a Life of that able lawyer, sound judge, and admirable writer. Every one will be sensible that there are few men whose names deserve to be transmitted with greater reputation to posterity. We here learn, for the first time, that Sir William Blackstone was the real author of a fine poem on the death of the Prince of Wales, printed in Mr. Clithero's name, in the Oxford Collection, upon that occasion.

Dr. Enfield's funeral Sermon for Dr. Aikin is of a biographical nature, consisting almost entirely of the character of that gentleman, who was a very learned, worthy, and much esteemed divinity tutor among the Protestant Dissenters. He was the father of the justly admired poets, Mrs. Barbauld, and of Mr. John Aikin, who is known by various ingenious publications. Whilst Dr. Aikin's remarkable modesty did not permit him, though he was well qualified for it, to appear in the world as an author, he trained up his children to make a distinguished figure in the republic of letters.

The Biography of the year hath extended to foreigners, as well as to the natives of our own country. Dr. Pulteney hath intermixed, with his "View of the Writings of Lin-

neus," a Life of that great naturalist. The account given of him is sufficiently copious for every purpose of valuable information, and perhaps a better will not easily be produced.

The "History of the Chevalier Bayard," by Mr. Stirling, seems to be more valuable for the materials than the execution. The work, however, is not uninteresting or destitute of entertainment, though, in point of composition, it might have appeared to superior advantage.

Mrs. Thicknesse's "Sketches of the Lives and Writings of the Ladies of France," of which she has now published the second and third volumes, may afford a pleasing amusement to a number of readers.

To the Antiquarian Knowledge of this country, much addition hath been made in the course of the year. In this respect, Mr. Warton's third volume of his "History of Poetry" deserves particularly to be mentioned; for though its principal merit is of a higher nature, it is a great performance in point of antiquities. It contains much information of that kind, and hath brought many curious facts to light. The name of Mr. Warton, as a member of the Society of Antiquaries, reflects honour on that learned body. Such an union of genius and taste, with a fondness for antiquarian researches, is not a common phenomenon. It is, at the same time, a happy circumstance; as a liberal investigation of antiquity enables us to form an accurate and philosophical acquaintance with the spirit and manners of past ages.

Dr. Nash's "Collections for the History of Worcestershire," constitute a work of great labour, and great value. The author is as much

distinguished by the liberality and generosity of his mind, as he is by his knowledge and industry; for we understand that he hath largely contributed to the execution of the present design out of his private fortune. From many parts it appears that Dr. Nash is a very able antiquary; and the biographical accounts he hath introduced of the eminent men who were natives of the county of Worcester will be entertaining to the generality of readers. We can have no doubt but that he will acquire reputation from this work; and it is with pleasure we find that he hath had the courage to prosecute, with vigour and celerity, his laborious and useful undertaking.

Sir Richard Worsley's "*History of the Isle of Wight*," is a full and complete account of that island. Such a work has long been expected as well as wanted; and it is a satisfaction to us to see it accomplished. It hath, for many years past, been the employment of the Worsley family to collect materials for the design. The history owes its origin to Sir James Worsley, who advanced some way in the business. Additions were made by his son, Sir Thomas; and his grandson, Sir Richard, hath finished the work. The part which hath been performed by Sir Richard Worsley appears to be very considerable, and the whole is executed to good advantage. Among other historical facts, there is a curious relation of king Charles the First's imprisonment in Carisbrook Castle. Perhaps we need not add, what from the nature of the work might be expected, that both the *Collections for Worcestershire*, and the *History of the Isle of Wight*, are adorned with cuts and engravings, some of them beautifully finished.

The *Observations* of the learned Mr. Bryant, on the *Poems of Thomas Rowley*, may principally be considered as an antiquarian production. For whatever becomes of the particular question he is engaged in, it hath occasioned him to examine minutely into the history of the times, and to throw much light on several obscure facts. In this respect, the ingenuity, literature, and spirit of research displayed by Mr. Bryant entitle him to great admiration, though we may not agree in opinion with him concerning the poems for the authenticity of which he so strongly contends.

An anonymous pamphlet on the same subject, and nearly with the same title, comes entirely under the head of *Antiquities*, the intention of it being to explain a number of old words that occur in *Chaucer's* professed *Rowley*, and to vindicate the propriety of them, in opposition to Mr. Tyrwhit's objections.

The anecdotes of Olave the Black, king of Man, and the Hebridian princes of the Somerled Family, being a fragment of ancient Scottish history, cannot fail of gratifying the lovers of antiquarian researches. These anecdotes were printed at Copenhagen, in 1780, in the original Icelandic, from the Flateyan and other manuscripts, with a literal version and notes, by the Rev. Mr. Jonstane, chaplain to his majesty's envoy at the court of Denmark. There are added eighteen eulogies, on Haco king of Norway, by Snorro Sturlson, poet to that monarch. Perhaps it may in part be owing to their being given in so literal a version, that we have been able to discern but little poetical excellence in these eulogies.

Some other publications, which it may be sufficient barely to mention,

are a "Supplement to the Origin of Printing;" the "History and Antiquity of the four Inns of Court;" the additional numbers of "the Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica," and Mr. Gutch's "Collectanea curiosa," extracted chiefly from the Bodleian Library.

Mr. Thomas Warton hath printed the parochial history of upper and lower Kiddington in Oxfordshire; of which, however, he hath only struck off twenty copies. It is intended as a specimen of this kind of composition, and is designed to be inserted in the History of the County of Oxford, if such a work should ever be completed. It is not only an excellent specimen of that species of writing, but shews the minuteness of investigation to which a great genius can occasionally descend. Kiddington is Mr. Warton's own parish.

With regard to the antiquities of other countries, two or three publications may require to be noticed. Mr. Uvedale Price's "Account of the Statues, Pictures, and Temples of Greece," which is principally a translation from Pausanias, may be of some service to those who wish to be acquainted with the subject.

The "Letters from an English Traveller in Spain," contain a history of the progress of poetry in that country, and many particulars concerning its more ancient writers. The work is instructive and entertaining; but the composition of it might have been capable of improvement. It is certainly written by one who is master of his subject.

Mr. Raspe's "Critical Essay on Oil Painting," is an ingenious and elaborate disquisition into a matter that will be deemed very curious and interesting to the lovers of that art. On the credit of Vasari the Florentine,

who, in 1556, wrote the Lives of the Painters, it has almost universally been admitted, that John Van-Eyck of Bruges, about a hundred and fifty years before that time, was the inventor of painting in oil. But Mr. Raspe contends that it was more ancient, and urges a variety of evidence, which seems to be decisive of the question. In the prosecution of the subject, he collects much information, and shews himself so complete a master of all the learning belonging to it, that his performance will add to the credit he hath already obtained in the literary world.

Under the head of Travels, Mr. Pennant's "Journey to Snowdon," and Mr. Wyndham's "Tour through Monmouthshire and Wales," are the chief publications of the year. They might have been mentioned under the article of antiquities, as they contain many particulars of that kind. Mr. Pennant's descriptions of the fine and noble scenes he met with, and especially of Snowdon, are intelligent, animated, and striking. Several historical anecdotes are likewise interpersed. In Mr. Wyndham's Tour there are, also, various entertaining descriptions and remarks. This Tour is a second edition, but enlarged from a small pocket volume to a quarto. Both Mr. Pennant's and Mr. Wyndham's works are adorned with plates well executed; and among those of Mr. Pennant is a half length of Sir Richard Wynne, by Bartolozzi. We need not say that it is a beautiful engraving.

The "Journal of Captain Cook's last Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, on Discovery," is published without a name, and is certainly not a book of authority. The general

account of the navigation, we doubt not, is true ; but several parts of the narration are embellished by fancy, and, perhaps, disgraced by fiction. The editor could not expect much credit to be paid to the performance ; since he sets out with saying, that he doth not make himself answerable for the facts that are related in the journal.

Of the abridged account of Sonnerat's " Voyage to the Spice-Islands, and New Guinea ;" and of Richard's " Tour from London to Peterborough," we can assert nothing decisive, not having read them.

With regard to political tracts, we have formerly observed, that it is impossible for men greatly devoted to literary pursuits, to attend to all the publications which the party disputes of the times may render worthy of a temporary notice. There are some, however, that must not be omitted ; and especially such as belong to great national questions. An important object of political speculation is the state of the population of this country. In the New Annual Register for 1780, we adverted, somewhat prematurely, to Mr. Wales's enquiry into the subject. This was soon followed by Mr. Howlett's " Examination of Dr. Price's Essay on the Population of England and Wales ;" in which the doctrine of an increased population is asserted to be established by facts. Mr. Howlett's is a very important treatise, and has much the appearance of being decisive. Many of his arguments, indeed, seemed to us to be too precarious and speculative ; and in some smaller points we knew him to be mistaken. But his accounts of the registers of parishes, in different parts of the kingdom, were so strong

as to convince us, and we rejoiced in the conviction, that our native land was not in such a deplorable decrease of inhabitants as had been represented, but was rising in numbers, and, consequently, in internal prosperity. But, alas ! our pleasure was too short-lived. The author of a little tract, on the " Uncertainty of the present Population of the Kingdom," has, with extraordinary sagacity of observation, driven us back again into the region of doubt and difficulty. We must, therefore, leave the matter still undetermined, and wait for the final issue of the contest. Dr. Price, we know, will resume the subject, in the new expected edition of his work on Annuities and Reversionary Payments.

That the Dutch war would be productive of political discussion, was a point that could not be doubted. An able advocate for the conduct of the British government has been found in Dr. Andrews. This gentleman has vindicated the proceedings of our court, in " Two Letters to count Welderen," the late ambassador from Holland to England ; and since, in two farther letters, addressed to the same nobleman. Dr. Andrews reasons plausibly and forcibly on the measures which the United Provinces ought, in wisdom and good policy, to have pursued, and on the state of the treaties between us and them. But he must be a first-rate politician indeed, who can prove the propriety and prudence of our having engaged in a war with the Dutch, at a time in which we were otherwise exposed to such a formidable host of enemies.

The situation of affairs in the East Indies hath, likewise given rise to various publications. The most im-

important one is the Report of the Committee on these Affairs, in two Volumes, Folio. It is not to be expected, that we, who are not proprietors of India stock, and who have no Indian connexions, should drudge through such a voluminous work. But we have looked enough into it to see, that the subject is interesting to general policy, interesting to civil government, and interesting to humanity. The management of our concerns in that part of the globe is a most difficult object; difficult with regard to the right mode of treating the natives; with respect to the introduction of new laws, and measures of administration; and, above all, in preventing the tyranny and corruption of those who are sent thither from England. It will, probably, be a long time before a wise, rational, comprehensive, and successful system of legislation and polity can be established in that country. Perhaps, before such a period may arrive, our follies and our crimes will have totally deprived us of our possessions in the East Indies.

The claims of the people of Ireland have constituted another grand object of political dispute. Grattan's "Observations on the Mutiny-bill," are the production of one of the most illustrious patriots of that kingdom. He is very able and spirited as a writer; but his exertions have been most distinguished in the Irish parliament, where he hath eminently contributed to the signal privileges lately gained by his countrymen.

The pamphlet, entitled, "Considerations submitted to the People of Ireland, on their present Condition with Regard to Trade and Constitution," is an Answer to Mr. Grattan's Observations. It is writ-

ten with temper and with argument; but, as the event hath shewn with little effect.

A tract on the same side of the question, attributed to Mr. Charles Sheridan, is remarkable for its ingenuity, moderation, and plausibility. The author hath produced many subtle arguments to prove, that the Irish ought not to insist on a declaration of their rights, the repeal of Poynings' law, and the new mutiny-bill. His reasonings, however, seem to us to be more acute than convincing. They speak rather the language of an able advocate, than of one who was perfectly satisfied with his subject. Mr. Sheridan's publication is said, at first, to have had an extraordinary influence in calming the minds of the Irish; but it was an influence that was by no means durable. A people, with arms in their hands, will attend to their own wants and feelings, and not to refined speculations. No conduct, in history, can, perhaps, be mentioned as equally wise and political with that of the inhabitants of Ireland. They first arm themselves for their defence against foreign enemies, and then they say, we will have our domestic grievances redressed. Nor do they say this only, but obtain all their demands without bloodshed; whilst the country, which hath long kept them in subjection, makes a virtue of necessity, and affects to applaud their behaviour.

Neckar's "State of the Finances of France," we leave to be estimated by those who are able to decide upon a subject of which we ourselves are but incompetent judges. Dean Tucker's "Cui Bono?" in a Series of Letters addressed to Mons. Neckar, contains a number of ingenious and useful observations,

concerning which we may justly say, that it would be happy if they were attended to by the powers of Europe. If there be, here and there, something fanciful in the dean's pamphlet, allowance is to be made for the eccentricity of his genius; for we believe that it would be difficult for him to maintain an absolute uniformity of good sense, excepting when he writes on a question immediately commercial, like his tract upon wool.

We pass over "The Enquiry into the Causes of our National Discontents and Misfortunes," "Cicero's Letters to Cataline," the "Letter to Lord Howe," the "Speech of the Earl of Buchan," the "Letter to Mr. Jenkinson," the "Interior Cabinet," the "Authentic Rebel Papers," and other publications. Most of them, though not destitute of ability, or void of information, on the different sides of the questions they relate to, can only be considered as party pamphlets.

"The History of Lord North's Administration," though not a brilliant, is an useful performance. It affords, so far as it goes, a good account of the measures of that minister, especially with regard to objects of finance and East India affairs. Collections of this kind will be of service to future historians.

The right of the people of this country to a reformation in the constitution of parliament, hath lately become a subject of enquiry. We shall only mention, that Mr. Northcote's "Observations on the Natural and Civil Rights of Mankind," and "the Second Address from the Committee of Association of the County of York," are interesting performances upon different plans,

in favour of a more equal representation. This is a question which is becoming every day of greater and greater consequence, and which will, probably, call for our more particular attention in the next year.

The endeavours of the Lincolnshire and the Leicestershire graziers to obtain the exportation of wool, have given rise to several ingenious and elaborate publications. The opinion of most of the writers upon the subject, coincides with the general sense of the nation, that such an exportation ought not to be allowed.

Mr. Wesket's "Complete Digest of the Theory, Laws, and Practice of Insurance," we find to be well spoken of, as a very elaborate performance, and likely to be of great use in the mercantile world.

In ancient, classical, and polite learning, England hath long shone with peculiar eminence; and it will be seen from the productions of the year, that it still continues to make a distinguished figure in this respect. With regard, however, to Oriental literature, nothing hath appeared in 1781, that is of any great importance. The only thing relating to it, is Dr. Jubb's "*Lingux Hebraicæ Studium Juventuti Academicæ Commendatum*." This is an oration which was delivered by the doctor on his entering upon the king's professorship of Hebrew at Oxford; and it contains a judicious enumeration of the advantages arising from the study of that language. The present discourse, may, perhaps, be a prelude to what may farther be expected from the learned professor.

In Grecian literature, the year appears with much advantage. Mr. Jod-

Jodrel, in his "Observations on Euripides," which, though comprehending two volumes, are confined to the tragedies of the Ion and the Bacchæ, hath afforded ample specimens of the extent and variety of his ancient reading. He hath discussed many curious questions, and several of his remarks will reward the attention of the classic scholar. We have our doubts whether the work be not too much loaded with quotations, so that the sense is sometimes buried in the multiplicity of authorities.

Mr. Burge's Edition of "Dawes's Critica Miscellanea," is another excellent publication relative to Grecian learning. Mr. Dawes's work is of known and acknowledged merit, and the value of the present edition is highly increased by Mr. Burge's large Appendix. This Mr. Burge we consider as an extraordinary young man, from whom great things, in the way of erudition, are to be expected, and who promises to be one of those, who, in this respect, will contribute to sustain the glory of our country. The same gentleman, in a Supplement to his Essay on Antiquities, which attained the Oxford prize in 1781, and which deserved that prize, hath given the general plan of an intended treatise on the origin and formation of the Greek language. From this plan it is apparent, that the author is well fitted for undertaking curious and profound enquiries.

In mentioning classical translations, the first and greatest object that presents itself to us is Mr. Potter's Euripides. This gentleman gave so admirable a specimen of his abilities in Æschylus, that he was justly called upon to favour the world with Euripides, and the high-

est expectations were formed with regard to the execution of the design. Mr. Potter hath completed one volume of his undertaking. Its excellence in general, we sincerely acknowledge; but we cannot help expressing some doubt whether his Euripides be equal to his Æschylus. We intimate our opinion with hesitation, as we have not compared the translation with the original. But in reading the English Euripides, it hath struck us that there are greater marks of carelessness in the versification, and that there are several other defects. We cannot by any means approve of the paucity of the notes. Those on Æschylus constituted a valuable part of the work, and it cannot be denied, that Euripides might have admitted of much illustration. Mr. Potter alleges his deference to the opinion of some persons, who want notes as little as the translator likes to deform his page with them: but we do not love that advice which tends to flatter the natural indolence of mankind.

Of the famous "Hymn to Ceres," lately discovered, and ascribed to Homer, and which, though probably not his, is, undoubtedly, very ancient, it was natural to expect translations. Two have been presented to the public, one by Mr. Hole, and one by Mr. Lucas. Mr. Hole's affords ample proof of his abilities, both as a poet and a critic. Mr. Lucas's translation we have not had an opportunity of examining, and, therefore, cannot determine concerning its merit.

Mr. Rutherford hath published a "Translation of the Select Orations of Cicero." If he hath not been remarkably successful, he may console himself with the reflection, that few would be so happy as en-  
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tirely to succeed in the same attempt.

Upon general Criticism, it is with concern that we mention Harris's "Philological Enquiries," on account of the death of that ingenious and worthy author, just before their publication. With the peculiar character of this gentleman's writings, our readers cannot be unacquainted. He was deeply conversant in the Grecian learning, and especially the Grecian philosophy. Perhaps he was devoted to it to a degree of bigotry, since he would scarcely permit himself to extend a thought beyond the ideas of the ancients. To this turn of mind we are indebted for three valuable productions, of which the *Hermes* is entitled to particular applause. The present performance is not so profound as Mr. Harris's former works; but it displays the same knowledge of antiquity, and the same veneration for its decisions. It is, at the same time, a very entertaining publication, as it gives an historical view of the progress of criticism among the Greeks and Romans, and exhibits a curious and pleasing account of the state of literature in the middle ages.

The third volume of Mr. Warton's "History of English Poetry," which we have mentioned and applauded under the head of antiquities, is still more worthy of applause as a critical work. This, indeed, is its distinguished and intended excellence, the other being rather incidental. Every lover of polite learning must rejoice that the subject hath fallen into the hands of a gentleman who is so capable, in all respects, of doing it complete justice. The literature and sagacity, the ex-

act discrimination of poetical merit, and the fineness of taste, discoverable through the whole of the performance, render it one of the first productions of the kind with which this country hath been adorned.

Dr. Johnson's "Lives of the Poets" form an illustrious addition to critical, as well as to biographical knowledge. No man will hesitate in allowing that the Doctor is one of the first critics of the age. For this he is admirably fitted, by the strength and penetration of his understanding, and by his original cast of thinking. He hath appreciated the excellence of our poets, in many respects, with a very masterly hand, and in the life of Pope he hath displayed his full vigour. The general tendency of Dr. Johnson's work is rather to diminish than to exalt our writers; and he hath an unreasonable dislike to some kinds of poetry, which do not coincide with his own turn of mind. Much as the world is disposed to submit to the Doctor's authority, it will not in every case bow down to his judgment. It is almost universally agreed that he hath not done justice to Prior and to Gray; and there are other instances in which his determination will probably hereafter be disputed.

To the "Collection of Scottish Tragic Ballads," are prefixed two Dissertations, one on the oral tradition of poetry, and the other on the old tragic ballad; and they each of them contain judicious and sensible remarks.

Mr. Walker's "Elements of Elocution," relate to an important subject, and are written by a man who hath long made it the object of particular study. Accordingly, it abounds with observations and rules well worthy of regard,  
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and contains many useful strictures of a critical nature, upon the English language.

A contest hath been raised, this year, concerning the poems of Ossian. Their authenticity hath absolutely been denied by Mr. Shaw, in his enquiry into the subject; and he hath brought a charge of imposture fully and directly against Mr. Macpherson. The accusation seemed to come with the greater force, as it was urged by a man who is a native of the Western Islands, who is acquainted with the Galic language, who hath even written a Grammar and Dictionary of that language. Besides this, Mr. Shaw travelled into the country, spent some months in searching for Ossian's poems, and asserts, after all, that no such poems exist. In the opinion of Englishmen, the matter seemed to be decided; when lo! Clark's Answer appeared, and brought the affair back to its original uncertainty. Mr. Clark calls in question the knowledge, judgment, veracity, and candour of Shaw, and hath alleged many strong things against him, which do not seem likely to admit of an easy reply. We disapprove, in both these authors, of the spirit with which they have written. The petulance with which Mr. Shaw treated his own countrymen, we thought, from the first, ridiculous, and hurtful to his argument; and the violence of Mr. Clark is equally blameable, especially, as he has such advantages on his side. Why cannot a question of this kind be debated with calmness and temper? The obstinate silence of Mr. Macpherson, in the controversy, is generally disapproved. He hath repeatedly been called upon to ascertain the point; he

alone can do it completely; he is in honour obliged to it; and yet he hath been appealed to in vain. Whilst he persists in this conduct, an obscurity will remain upon the subject; and many, at least among the English, will continue to be disbelievers in Ossian.

A fresh controversy, and which promises to be a voluminous one, hath, likewise, arisen concerning the poems ascribed to Rowley, by Chatterton. After what had been said by Mr. Walpole, Mr. Warton, and Mr. Tyrwhit, most people had settled their minds on the question, and concluded that the poems were modern productions, and the workmanship, however extraordinary, of Chatterton himself. Nevertheless, there were several gentlemen who continued to maintain the contrary opinion; and amongst them there were some names of no small note in the literary world. The celebrated and learned Mr. Bryant, in his "Observations upon the Poems of Thomas Rowley" hath not scrupled to assert in the very title page, that he hath *ascertained* the authenticity of these poems. It must be allowed that, in this work, he hath displayed great ability, ingenuity, and literature. He hath urged every thing that can be urged, in favour of the existence of Rowley, in favour of his being the author of the poems, and in favour of the impossibility of their being composed by Chatterton. Some of his arguments are particularly delusive; and, for a time, we were so confounded by them, that we scarcely knew what judgment to form. But, though staggered, we were not convinced; and the illusion by degrees wore off. The praise, however, cannot be denied to Mr. Bryant of having produced

produced a most able defence of Rowley.

Dean Milles has not been equally fortunate. He hath alleged many of the same arguments which Mr. Bryant hath done, but they do not come with the same force. One reason is, that in Bryant the poems are kept out of sight, whereas in Milles they always stare you in the face. The Dean having given a splendid edition of them, hath added, in the notes, his reasons for their authenticity, and his answers to objections. But it is impossible, while we are reading the poems, to be convinced by the notes. The poems carry, upon the face of them, such evident traces of a recent original, that the whole effect of Dr. Milles's reasoning is destroyed. We have been concerned to see such men, as Mr. Bryant and the Dean, engaged in a controversy, which, in the end, will be of little advantage to their reputation.

The anonymous pamphlet, entitled "Observations on the Poems attributed to Rowley," is on the same side of the question, and is opposed to Mr. Tyrwhit. The author seems to possess a considerable portion of antiquarian knowledge, but it is exerted on a subject that will not stand the test of enquiry.

The curious and decisive answers to Mr. Bryant and Dean Milles belong to the year 1782, and will, under that year, be taken into due consideration.

Mr. Bowles hath much obliged the public, by his noble edition of *Don Quixote*, in Spanish. From his admirable acquaintance with the language and literature of Spain, no man could be better fitted for such an undertaking; and we hope that he will meet with an encourage-

ment proportioned to his labour and desert.

We must not omit the delightful impression, though not published, of the Duke of Marlborough's *Gems*. A small number only of this fine book have been printed, to be given to his grace's particular friends. The gems are most beautiful in themselves, and the engravings as beautifully executed by Bartolozzi. The explanation of them is in Latin and French: the Latin by Mr. Bryant, and the French by Mr. Maty. Mr. Bryant's Latin from which the French is a translation, is remarkably perspicuous and elegant. This work is far superior, in beauty and execution, to that which contains the *Gems of the Duke of Orleans*.

The Poetical History of the year includes a number of beautiful compositions. Mr. Mason, by the publication of the fourth book, hath put the finishing hand to his "*English Garden*". His character we need not enlarge upon, as he hath long stood in the list of our most classic living poets. His "*English Garden*" is of the didactic kind, and formed on the models of the purest taste. Its chaste and genuine beauties will long render it the object of admiration. The fourth book is less preceptive than the former ones; the instructions being conveyed in a beautiful and affecting story, which reflects great credit on the author's heart, as well as on his imagination, and displays the noble liberality of his sentiments. He hath chosen blank verse, and we agree with him in opinion, that this species of versification was best suited to his design, and the nature of the poem.

Mr. Hayley, in his "*Triumphs*" of

of Temper," hath afforded a fresh and eminent proof of the brilliancy of his genius. The present poem hath an exuberance of fancy, a richness of invention, a variety of imagery, and a beauty of description, that call for our warmest applause. The versification, too, is, in general, remarkably elegant and harmonious. But the author will forgive us for asking him, whether he is not sometimes too redundant and diffusive? Are there, or are there not, a few things that might have been spared; and may not marks of haste occasionally be observed? The poem comprehends above three thousand lines, whereas Pope's Rape of the Lock consists of little more than a thousand; and we think that the exclusion of every superfluous idea and expression constitutes a part of its merit. But perhaps we betray too frigid a disposition in mentioning the slight defects of so delightful a poet as Mr. Hayley; whose errors are lost in a blaze of excellence, and who hath no faults but what years and experience will easily correct.

"Sympathy" a poem, is entitled to a large share of commendation. We see united in it, rational and philosophical sentiment, poetical description, harmonious versification, and a most feeling heart. From this author, whose peculiar situation hath obliged him to devote perhaps too much time to novel-writing, (though his *Emma Corbet* hath great pathetic merit,) we are here led to form high poetical expectations; and we wish that he may be encouraged to pursue the mode of composition to which his genius particularly tends.

Miss Seward, who did such justice to the memory of Captain

Cook, hath done equal justice to the memory of Major André. Nay, the circumstances of her having been the particular friend of the Major, and intimately acquainted with his personal history, have enabled her to give a peculiar pathos to her composition. Her *Elegy* is, indeed, through the whole of it, beautiful and poetical, and will add not a little to the reputation of this distinguished lady. She hath annexed to the poem some letters of Mr. André, written when he was very young, and which shew that he was a man of taste, and had a literary turn of mind.

Mr. Keate's "*Epistle to Angelica Kauffman*," is an elegant compliment to that ingenious woman and excellent painter. It took its rise from his observing on her pallet a colour from the gum of an Egyptian mummy. From this circumstance, Mr. Keate's imagination ranges, in a very agreeable manner, to the pyramids of Egypt; and thence he deduces many pleasing reflections, and many topics of praise to Angelica. The same gentleman hath collected, into two small volumes, his former poetical works, to which he hath added a number of pieces that never were printed before.

A Library is not an improper subject for poetry to a philosophical and ingenious mind, as it suggests various objects of meditation and description. Such a mind is possessed by the author of the poem which goes under that name. He runs through the several departments of science and literature with great justness and elegance of sentiment, and with great correctness and harmony of versification. However hazardous the task might have been, and however wisely he may have avoided

avoided it, if he had entered into the characters of particular authors, his production would probably have been still more entertaining.

In reading the poem on the "Beauties of the Spring," it is impossible not to think of Thomson, who hath so divinely painted that, as well as the other seasons of the year. The versification is remarkably similar, and the author hath evidently formed himself upon that poet. Many of the descriptions and subjects have a strong resemblance; but, at the same time, there are various objects beautifully enlarged upon, which are not treated of by Thomson. On the whole, there is considerable merit in this poem, though sometimes it is rather feeble, and sometimes too diffusive.

The Odes under the title of "Rimes," are the productions of ingenuity and learning, and the author is a great admirer of Gray and Ossian. But his pieces are somewhat deformed by affectation, and by the particular ideas which he hath entertained concerning the nature of poetical harmony and variety.

"Runic Odes" are another not very happy imitation of Mr. Gray. Eminent geniuses sometimes lead their injudicious followers into attempts which do not highly contribute to reputation and glory.

Mr. Mickle's "Almada Hill" is a pleasing poem, and not unworthy of the translator of the *Lusiad*. Almada Hill is near Lisbon, and commands a noble prospect. This prospect the author not only describes in a beautiful and animated manner, but enters into other excellent descriptions and reflections which the scene before him, and the history of the country suggested.

The Honourable Mr. Fielding, younger son to the Earl of Denbigh, hath paid a poetical tribute to his elder brother, Lord Viscount Fielding. The eclogue entitled "The Brothers" displays his fraternal affection, and exhibits the marks of an elegant mind.

The "Triumph of Dullness," a satirical poem, relates to a grace which passed not long since in the University of Cambridge. Being, therefore, of a local nature, it is probable that, notwithstanding its merit, it will not arrest the attention of the generality of readers.

The "Bevy of Beauties" contains elegant compliments to the ladies of rank, who are at present, celebrated for their personal charms.

Mr. Wile's "System of Nature and Providence" we have not seen, nor Mr. Capel Loft's "Eudokia." It is possible that other poems which deserve to be mentioned, may have escaped our notice. The authors, we hope, will forgive us this wrong; and if we have been guilty of any great error, we will endeavour to rectify it hereafter.

Besides single poetical performances, some collections have appeared, this year, which must not be passed over in silence. Mr. Penrose's Poems are the productions of a man who was animated with no small portion of genius. They are not all of them equally valuable, but some of them are peculiarly pleasing and striking. We sincerely regret that the ingenious author was cut off, just at the time when, after sustaining many difficulties, he had been raised to a comfortable state of independence.

Mr. Logan's Poems, if not great, are elegant, and some of them are beautiful. The writer, who is a clergy-

clergyman of the Church of Scotland, and resides near Edinburgh, possesses an amiable sensibility, and a polished taste. If his Hymns are not poetical, he may plead in their excuse, that other and superior authors have failed in the same respect. This, indeed, should have been a reason for his not inserting them in his work.

The fourth volume of "Poetical Amusements at a Villa near Bath," forms a very agreeable collection. Several of them have much excellence, and we have observed, with pleasure, the names of Hayley, Seward, Ansty, Whalley, Pratt, and others. Some names, which were unknown to us, promise future celebrity. This volume is not inferior to the preceding ones, and, perhaps, may be considered as excelling them. The justly lamented death of Lady Miller has, we apprehend, put a stop to any future publications of the same kind.

With regard to Dramatic performances, which are the objects of universal criticism, we shall only give a list of them, as we did the last year, and for the same reason.

Though 1780 did not produce a single tragedy, 1781 hath in this respect been sufficiently fruitful. It hath given birth to four, two in the beginning, and two in the close of the year. These were "The Siege of Sinope," by Mrs. Brooks; "The Royal Suppliants," by Dr. Delap; "The Count of Narbonne," by Mr. Jephson; and "The Fair Circassian," by Mr. Pratt. All these tragedies were successful; but the two last had a greater run than the others. Dr. Delap and Mr. Pratt are new adventurers in the line of dramatic composition.

Comedy began with bad auspices.

Notwithstanding Mrs. Cowley's being a great favourite of the town, her "World as it goes" did not succeed; and though after having made considerable alterations in it, she brought it again on the stage, under the title of "Second Thoughts are best," it was still rejected. The other comedies of the year, that were more fortunate, were, "Dissipation," by Mr. Andrews; "The Man of the World," by Mr. Macklin; and "Duplicity," by Mr. Holcroft. Mr. Macklin's *Man of the World* had formerly been acted at Dublin, at which time it was called "The true-born Scotchman." "Baron Kynvervanhatfersprakingatchdern," a musical comedy by Mr. Andrews, and founded on Lady Craven's Tale under that name, was condemned. Two other comic operas were produced in the year; "Jupiter and Alcmena" taken from Dryden's *Amphytrion*; and "The Carnival of Venice," by Mr. Tickell.

The smaller dramatic performances of 1781, were "Thelyphthora", an after-piece, by Mr. Pilon; "Dead alive," a farce, by Mr. O'Keefe; "The Agreeable Surprise," by the same gentleman; "The Silver Tankard," a musical after-piece, by Lady Craven; "The Marriage Act," taken from the comic opera of the Islanders; "The gentle Shepherd," from Allan Ramsay's famous pastoral comedy; and "The Divorce." We scarcely know whether it be consistent with our design to mention "Medea and Juno," a burlesque ballet, and two pantomime entertainments, "Robinson Crusoe," and the "Choice of Harlequin."

Mr. Sheridan hath published, this year, his "Trip to Scarborough,"

rough," and his "Critic." The former is only an alterations of Vanbrugh's "Relapse, or Virtue in Danger."

We close our account of the Domestic Literature of the year 1781, with its miscellaneous publications, several of which are peculiarly valuable. Mr. Daines Barrington's *Miscellanies* are a very acceptable present to the public, as might reasonably be expected from a writer whose abilities and works are so well known. Many of the pieces, in the volume before us, have already been printed in one form or another; but we rejoice to see them collected together, with the addition of original contributions. They are instructive and entertaining, and exhibit Mr. Barrington in the various lights of a philosopher, a naturalist, an antiquary, and a critic. Whilst we pay him the just tribute of applause, we do not mean to express our concurrence with him in every sentiment which he hath advanced. We are sorry that his curious observations on Singing Birds did not make a part of the collection.

Though Dr. Falconer's work, on the "Influence of Climate, Situation, Nature of Country, Population, Nature of Food, and Way of Life, on the Disposition and Temper, Manners and Behaviour. Intellectuals, Laws and Customs, Form of Government, and Religion, of Mankind," is a quarto, he only calls it "Remarks," and doth not give it the name of a treatise or essay. In this his modesty is commendable, as the subject is of such a kind that it affords much room for the exertion of fancy, and for the introduction of precarious and disputable matter. Many curious

facts and observations are collected in the present volume, and the doctor, which we much approve of, hath every where referred to his authorities. The work may be read with great advantage, as presenting many topics of speculation and reflection. Though we do not reject the influence of natural causes upon the manners of men, and especially the influence of climates in the remotest extremity from each other, with respect to heat and cold, and the easiness or difficulty of procuring the necessaries of life, nevertheless, we still think that moral causes are chiefly productive in constituting the grand differences of nations.

Mr. Knox's "Liberal Education" is, in every view of it, an admirable performance. It is equally distinguished for the justness of its sentiments, and the perspicuity and elegance of its composition. The author hath excellently vindicated a classic education, and hath determined most of the other questions which come before him, with so much intelligence and precision, that one would think they would never again be disputed. To say that it is one of the best treatises on the subject which hath appeared, is barely bestowing upon it its just degree of praise. For the truth of his decisions, for the exquisite good sense of his observations, and for the close and correct, yet sufficiently ornamented manner of his writing, Mr. Knox deserves to be called the Quintilian of the age.

To Lord Kaimes's "Loose Hints upon Education," we cannot assign an equal proportion of applause. It is not such a treatise on the subject as might have been expected from the author of the *Elements of Criticism*, and the *Sketches of the History*

History of Man. It is written in a desultory manner, and there are many things in it which will be thought too trifling for such a writer. However, it is not destitute of merit with regard to the object which it chiefly proposes, the culture of the heart. Lord Kaimes's zeal to instil the principles of liberty and virtue into the minds of youth, is highly commendable; and he hath very rationally opposed some of Rousseau's peculiar opinions. We blame him for adding the *Excerpta* from a young man's common-place book, since they are evidently too insignificant and injudicious for publication. When will authors learn to know when they have printed enough?

The Countess de Genlis, whose "Theatre of Education" hath been translated from the French, hath the same end in view which is proposed by Lord Kaimes, the regulating the hearts of youth. To attain this end, she hath thrown her instructions into the dramatic form, and hath composed a number of moral comedies, the aim of each of which is to inculcate some particular virtue. In the execution of the design, she hath displayed great ability and judgment, and there can be no doubt but that her book will be admitted into the places of female tuition.

Mr. Sherlock's "New Letters," are the production of an ingenious and sprightly writer, who hath entertained the public in the same way before. The Author hath evidently displayed in them a considerable acquaintance with polite literature, an acute knowledge of modern languages, a refined taste, and an amiable and liberal mind. The chief danger is lest his vivacity should

sometimes run away with his judgment, and carry him to the borders of the region of affectation.

The "Thoughts on Hunting," are upon an uncommon subject, and are written in an uncommon manner. Though it is a subject we are little acquainted with, we can easily discern the ability, the spirit, the enthusiasm, with which it is treated by the author. We should have rejoiced if we could have paid the same compliment to his heart, that we can to his head: but some of his rules for the management and usage of the hounds, which are the chief instruments of the hunter's pleasure, are shocking to the feelings of humanity.

Tyers's "Historical Rhapsody on Mr. Pope" ought, perhaps, to have been introduced under the article of Biography. But in whatever department it is placed, we pronounce it, though written in a desultory manner, to be a lively and agreeable composition. The author hath somewhat of the spirit and manner of Montaigne, which will ever be pleasing. The second edition of the Rhapsody is far superior to the first.

The Abbé Raynal's "Revolution of America" might, likewise, have been ranked under the head of History or Politics. When we call it the Abbé Raynal's, let it not be imagined that we believe it to be really the work of that celebrated writer. It is a happy imitation of his vivacity, eloquence, and way of thinking: but, after all, we are fully persuaded that it is only an imitation; and, like other attempts of the same kind, it doth not fully come up to the original.

Baretti's "Guide to the Royal Academy," being the production

of a man of acknowledged abilities and taste, and who is perfectly acquainted with the objects he describes, cannot fail of completely answering to its title.

Not entirely to forget the Novels of the year, we may observe, that two of them may be mentioned as rising superior to the rest, the "History of Juniper Jack," and "Mount Henneth." The History of Juniper Jack, as coming from the author of the adventures of a Guinea, raised in us considerable expectations, but they were not entirely answered. It is drawn with so coarse a hand, that the perusal of

it gave us very little satisfaction. Mount Henneth is a truly pleasing romance: it has nature, character, humour, and interest, and its tendency is amiable and excellent. When it arrives to another edition, we advise the publishers not to disgrace it again by such shameful print and paper.

In our account of the domestic Literature of 1780, we were mistaken in representing Baron Dillon, the author of the "Travels through Spain," as a foreigner. He is an Englishman by birth, and hath, we are informed, claims of honour and title in this country.

## FOREIGN LITERATURE,

Of the Year 1781.

**A**MONG the foreign literary productions which have appeared during the course of the year 1781, one of the most valuable is, a translation into the French language, from the German, by Mr. Huber, of *the History of the Fine Arts among the Ancients*, by M. Winckelman. It was printed at Leipzig, in three volumes, quarto, and is adorned with copper plates. The original work was published by the deceased author at Dresden, in an imperfect state, about eighteen years ago, in one volume, quarto; but there are now so many improvements and additions, that in its present form it may be considered as a new work. The abbé Winckelman was possessed of every advantage which could qualify him for a work of this nature; he had studied the ancient languages, and understood the beauties of the modern; his principles of taste had been drawn from the finest Greek writers; and he lived at Rome, in an independent manner, and in a situation which opened to him all the treasures of antiquity in that city. His work is not a biographical history of artists, or a mere chronological narrative of the revolutions which the arts of painting, sculpture, &c. have undergone; but a kind of systematical treatise of the arts themselves, though

treated in a historical manner; and in which the learned author traces their origin, progress, and decline, in different ages, and among different people: developing the principles of the respective arts, and at the same time illustrating and confirming his observations by continual references to ancient and modern writers; and to the various statues, paintings, medals, and other valuable monuments of antiquity, which have come down to us. In the first volume, the author treats in particular of the origin and progress of *Art*, (including under this general title the arts of painting, sculpture, modelling, &c.) amongst the Egyptians and Etruscans. In the second, Greece furnishes the noblest materials, or subjects of his inquiries. These are continued through a part of the third volume, and down to the death of Augustus Cæsar; and the work is terminated by the subsequent history of the arts among the Romans. An account of the life and writings of the author is prefixed to the first volume, chiefly compiled from his own private letters to his friends and correspondents in Germany. He was murdered, on the 8th of June, 1768, at Trieste, by a villain who had introduced himself to his notice, and who was induced to commit the fact by the hope of obtaining some

gold medals which the abbé had shewn him. Such was the tragical end of this learned antiquary, who had been employed, on the very morning of the day in which he was murdered, in writing directions for the publication of a French edition of the present work.

*New Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences and Belles Lettres of Berlin*, for the year 1779, have been published this year at Berlin, in the French language. Among the most valuable of the articles which this volume contains, is a letter, written by M. De Anſie de Villoiſon, from Venice, and addreſſed to M. Formey, ſecretary to the Academy; from which we learn, that M. Villoiſon, who is ardently attached to the ſtudy of Greek literature, was induced to go to Venice, in order to examine the excellent Greek manuſcripts which lie almoſt unheeded in the library of St. Mark in that city; and he has found the trouble of his journey amply rewarded by the hidden treaſures of Grecian literature which he has diſcovered there. The moſt curious and important manuſcript which he met with in this collection, is an *Iliad* of the tenth century, written on vellum, in a large folio ſize, and enriched with the notes and *ſcholia*, hitherto unpublished, of fixty of the moſt eminent ancient critics. Theſe *ſcholia*, which M. Villoiſon conſiders as inſtimable, are written on the margins in ſmall characters, with ſuch fine ſtrokes of the pen, as render them but barely legible. They are entirely different from the Euaſthius of Leyden, from that of Leiſſie, from the *Scholia Horneiana*, from thoſe at the end of the Cambridge edition, and alſo from thoſe that the learned M. Waſſenberg, of Franeker, has collected on the two firſt books of the *Iliad*. Beſides theſe ſcholia,

MS. diſcovered by M. Villoiſon contains *various readings*, equally numerous and important, drawn from the ancient editions of Homer, which were given by the cities and ſtates of Chios, Cyprus, Crete, Marſeilles, Sinope, and Argos; editions hitherto only known by name, and by ſome citations of Euaſthius. It alſo exhibits a great quantity of various readings, drawn from the two editions of the famous Ariſtarchus, the two of Antimachus, of Colophon, from thoſe of Zenodotus; and Ariſtophanes of Byzantium, who was librarian of Alexandria under Ptolemy Philadelphus; from thoſe of Calliſtrates, the diſciple of Ariſtophanes; Rhianus, a poet who flouriſhed under Ptolemy Euergetes; the Egyptian Soſigenes, a Peripatetic philoſopher, and Philemon of Crete. It appears, that this Homer may be properly called the *Homerus Variorum* of all antiquity, and more eſpecially the Homer of the famous ſchool of Alexandria. M. Villoiſon enumerates all the ancient critics whoſe ſelect notes are collected in this manuſcript; of whom the moſt modern lived in the times of the firſt Roman emperors. He alſo mentions the principal authors from whoſe works this collector has quoted and explained a variety of paſſages, that throw new light on ſeveral parts of the *Iliad*. Another particularity of this manuſcript, and which greatly increaſes its value, is, that it contains, at the margin of each line, the critical marks (*σημεία*) which the ancients employed to denote the verſes that were falſely attributed to Homer, thoſe that were doubtful, thoſe that were obſcure, thoſe that were corrupted, and thoſe that were remarkable; as alſo the falſe corrections of Ariſtarchus and Zenodotus, the falſe readings of Crates, the tranſpoſitions, amphibologies, mythological or  
historical

historical antiquities, the moral sentences, the expressions peculiar to Homer, the expressions which are Attic, those which have various significations, the passages erroneously employed, by certain critics, to prove that the Iliad and Odyssey were not composed by the same person, &c. Our author has also discovered, in the same library, a small Greek treatise, which has furnished him with an explication of these critical marks, and a key to the different cyphers. This he intends to prefix to the new edition of the Iliad, which he proposes to publish from this valuable manuscript, together with the great number of various readings and notes, which have been already mentioned.

M. Villoison has also copied, in the library of St. Mark, a new Greek version of the Pentateuch, of the three books of Solomon, of Ruth, of the Lamentations of Jeremiah, and of the book of Daniel. This valuable version, which has never been published, is entirely different from that of the LXX. and from all those from which Montfaucon and Bahrd have given us fragments in their edition of the Hexapla. It is also more accurate and more literal. As it is translated, word for word, from the Hebrew text, it supplies the place of the ancient MS. from which it was composed. M. Villoison mentions several reasons which convince him that this version was made by a Jew, and that it formed the seventh or eighth volume of the Hexapla of Origen.

Our learned author has also published, this year, at Venice, in two volumes, quarto, *Anecdota Græca, e Regia Parisiensi, et e Veneta S. Marci, Bibliothecis deprompta*. The first volume of this collection of Greek miscellanies contains the *Iavã* of the empress Eudocia, wife to

Romanus III. who was emperor of Constantinople in the eleventh century. This is an Historico-Mythological Dictionary, compiled from Diogenes Laertius, Philostratus, and various scholia, and now first published from a manuscript in the king of France's library. This part of his publication M. Villoison has dedicated to count Maurepas, whom he compliments in very high terms, as the patron of all the great literary undertakings in France in the course of the last reign. The second volume is miscellaneous. It begins with some account of the *Podavîa*, or Anthology of Macarius Chryscephalus, a writer supposed to have lived in the fourteenth century. This is a manuscript which was unknown to Fabricius, and which M. Villoison supposes is only to be found in St. Mark's library, where it was deposited by cardinal Bessarion, to whom Greek literature is so much indebted. It contains sentences and fragments of Synesius, D. Chrysostom, Plutarch, Aristides, Herodian, the orator Æschines, Lucian, Demosthenes, Libanius, and Choricus. Among the other pieces contained in this volume, the most valuable are, the third book of Iamblichus concerning the doctrine of Pythagoras, and two dissertations of Plotinus.

Mr. Josias Lorck, minister of a German church at Copenhagen, has published, in that city, in the German language, the first volume, octavo, of the *History of Bibles illustrated*, containing a number of valuable observations relative to the history of the Bible, and its various editions and translations. This gentleman has been the better enabled to execute the task that he has undertaken, by being in possession of one of the greatest collections of

Bibles that is to be met with, amounting to 4182 publications, and 4676 volumes, in forty-nine different languages, which he has collected in the course of twenty years. We learn from this author, that the king of Denmark has given 2000 dollars to defray the expence of printing a version of the New Testament into the Creolian language, for the use of the poor slaves in the West India islands.

The Abbé Jerusalem has published at Berlin, in 12mo, in 1781, in French, a letter concerning German literature, addressed to her royal highness the Dutchess Dowager of Brunswick Wolfenbittel. The design of the author in this performance, is, to point out the obstacles which have retarded the progress of the *belles lettres* and sciences in Germany, and at the same time to shew the successful attempts which have been made, notwithstanding these obstacles, by the native energy of genius in that country. Among the obstacles to literature, he mentions those wars which began at the period when the exiled Muses took refuge in the West, and which continued so long to ravage Germany; the circumstances of the German empire, which exhibits no common protector to learning, nor any fixed residence; the contempt which the grandees have almost always shewn for literature, as below their dignity, and only fit for the lower ranks in society; the little encouragement given to learned men, who were scattered here and there, seeking a scanty subsistence in various ways; and, when they had not the badge of nobility, being excluded from courts, kept at a distance from the commerce of the polite world, and obliged to live in a discouraging obscurity. He observes, that Germany was indebted for the first dawn of good taste to the

French, and more especially to a colony of that nation, which fled from persecution, and found an asylum in the territories of the elector of Brandenburg. He represents this colony as having polished the rough Germans by the elegance of their manners, the beauty and harmony of their language, and the masterly productions of their poets, orators, and historians, which were superior to any thing which Germany had as yet exhibited in this line of literature. But these advantages were not exempt from inconveniences. The more learned Germans studied and admired the French language, but began to be almost ashamed of their own; at least many despaired of being ever able to render it harmonious and elegant. This discouragement suppressed emulation, and thus the importation of French eloquence retarded the progress of German literature. During the present century science and polite literature have, however, made a rapid and considerable progress in Germany: and our author alledges, in proof of this, the poems of Haller, the Messiah of Klopstock, the Idylls and the Death of Abel of Gessner, the Romances of Wieland, the Fables and Moral Writings of Gellert, the elegant and witty productions of Lessing, Lichtwer, Engil, and Cramer, and the philosophical writings of Sulzer, the Jew Mendelson, Engel, and Garve.

M. Durival has published at Nancy, in three volumes, quarto, a historical and geographical account of Lorraine and Bar. The first volume contains the history of these countries, which is brought down to the death of Stanislaus, and the entire re-union of Lorraine and Bar to the crown of France; after which follows a general description of these countries, their

their natural advantages, climate, various productions, population, the manners of the inhabitants, their trade and manufactures, and an account of their laws, and of the administration of justice. The second volume contains a particular geographical description of each of the bailiwicks into which Lorrain and Bar are divided. The inhabitants are computed by the author to amount to 804,275. The corn produced by the country is sufficient to sustain its inhabitants, and very good harvests supply an exportation of about 400,000 sacks. The third volume contains a general table, alphabetical and topographical, of all the cities, market-towns, villages, castles, colleges, abbeys, &c. The work appears to be compiled with care; and, besides the particulars that have been mentioned, contains some account of the most eminent persons that Lorrain and Bar have produced.

The Abbé Sestini has published at Florence, in three volumes, octavo, in Italian, *Letters written from Sicily and Turkey to several Friends in Tuscany*. These letters are written with ingenuity, candour, and accuracy, and contain an agreeable and instructive account of the travels of the author. The eleven first letters contain an account of the abbé's voyage from Florence to Catania, of the inhabitants and curiosities of the latter city, and more especially of the celebrated collection of antiquities and natural history belonging to the prince Biscari, who has chosen our author for his library-keeper and antiquary. The twelfth and thirteenth letters, which conclude the first volume, treat of the amber and grain in Sicily. The second volume contains eleven letters, in which, among other things, the

abbé treats of the cultivation of the pistachio-nut, of the most remarkable plants that grow in the environs of Taormina, Camerino, and Centorbi, of the ash-trees and the manna they yield, and also of the olive-trees, and the manner of making oil. The principal contents of the third volume are a relation of two voyages to mount Atna, with sundry observations on that famous volcano; an account of *Kali* of Sicily, of its almond-trees, mulberry-trees, saffron, silk worms, and other natural productions of that island, and of the antiquities of Syracuse. As the learned abbé is travelling upon an extensive plan, and intends, after having passed through Walachia and Crim Tartary, to visit several provinces of Asia and Africa, the public may hope hereafter to be entertained with a continuation of these letters.

Mr. Gezelius has published, at Stockholm, the second volume of his *Biographical Dictionary of celebrated and learned Swedes*. The first volume of this work was noticed by us in our account of the foreign literature of the last year. Among the lives given in this volume, are those of Klingenshierna, who, for his merits in mathematical knowledge, was raised from a professorship to the post of secretary of state; of John Chr. Koenigsmark, the general who, under Gustavus Adolphus, became so formidable to the Imperialists in Germany; of Otto William Koenigsmark, another general, not less formidable to the Turks; of Lantinghausen, the late commander of the Swedish army against the Prussians in Pomerania, who, in order to save his army from starving, mortgaged his own fortune three successive times, caused his

his own plate to be coined and paid away, and borrowed on his own credit one hundred and eighty thousand rix dollars; of count Piper, confidential minister to Charles the Twelfth; and of Olaus Rudbeck, the discoverer of the lymphatic vessels, who, in his eloquent and popular anatomical lectures, had queen Christina among his auditors, and is also famous for his *Atlantica*, his *Campi Elisei*, and the Cæsarean operation, which he successfully performed on his own wife; and whose son, Olof Rudbeck, succeeded at last with Erick Benzelius in founding the academy of sciences at Upsal.

At Modena, the Abbé Tiraboschi, librarian to the duke of Modena, and professor of the university in that city, has published the eighth volume in quarto, in the Italian language, of his *History of Italian literature*. This volume contains the literary history of the seventeenth century. The whole work is a general literary history of Italy, from the time of the Romans to the beginning of the present century. It is a valuable and laborious work, and abounds with entertainment and instruction.

M. Paucton has published, at Paris, in quarto, *Metrologie, ou Traité des Mesures, Poids, et Monnoies, des anciens Peuples et des modernes*; a treatise of the measures, weights, and coins, of ancient and modern nations. This is a very learned and valuable work, and appears to be more complete and accurate than any other of its kind.

M. Sigaud de la Fond, professor of experimental philosophy, has published at Paris, in octavo, *Precis Historique et Experimental des Phé-*

*nomenes Electriques depuis l'Origine de cette Decouverte jusqu' à ce Jour*: a historical and experimental summary or view of electrical phenomena, from the origin of that discovery to the present time. This is an elegant and judicious history of the progress of electricity; in which the author has given an account of all that has been attempted or done, and also a variety of hints, relative to what may be done farther towards the improvement of this branch of natural philosophy. The facts are neatly and perspicuously related, and the subject is treated in a very able and accurate manner.

At Paris have been published, in octavo, *Theoretical and practical Elements of Subterraneous Geometry*, as taught by M. Koenig, director of the mines of Lower Bretagne, and extracted from the metallurgical voyages of M. Jars, member of the royal academy of sciences. The application of the principles of ordinary geometry to the working of mines is what the author of this work calls subterraneous geometry; and the rules and directions necessary to this application are clearly and concisely pointed out in these elements.

The chevalier Buat has published, also at Paris, in octavo, *The Principles of Hydraulics*; or, a treatise concerning the motion of water in rivers, canals, and conduit pipes; the origin of rivers, and the formation of their beds; the effects of sluices, bridges, and reservoirs; the collision of water; and concerning navigation, both in rivers and in narrow canals. This work is an illustration of such branches and parts of the science of hydraulics, as are of general utility, and is an excellent performance.

Father

Father Don Ambrose Soldani has published at Florence, in quarto, in Italian, enriched with twenty-five plates, *An Oryctographical Essay, or Observations on the Nautilitic and Ammonitic Earths of Tuscany, together with a philosophical Table of small testaceous Animals, and other marine Fossils found in that Duchy*. One of the principal objects, which the author of this work has in view, is, to make known the natural productions which exist in several parts of Tuscany, and more especially the stores and earths which contain the remains of a prodigious number of marine bodies, testaceous, crustaceous, and zoophytical. From the observations which he has made, the abbé infers, that this whole country was formerly covered by the sea.

M. Stephen Falconet, the ingenious artist whom the empress of Russia has employed to model and cast the equestrian statue of Peter the Great, has published dissertations on several branches of the fine arts, in six volumes, octavo. Some of the pieces have been published by him separately. They contain a multitude of entertaining and instructive facts, anecdotes, and observations relative to the fine arts.

The Abbé Don Juan Nuix, who has considerable merit as a writer in point of style, has published at Venice, in 12mo, a piece which will procure him no applause among the friends of humanity. It is an attempt to vindicate, or to extenuate, the infamous cruelties of the Spaniards in America, and to shew that all the sufferings of the Americans were abundantly compensated by the signal advantages they enjoyed under the dominion of the Spaniards. Such an employment of parts and learning renders the author a just object of the severest censure. But

there are no degrees of iniquity, however enormous, which some writers have not had the effrontery to varnish, or to palliate.

M. de St. Croix, a native of Canada, has published at Philadelphia, in octavo, in French, a treatise of the constitutions of colonies among the ancients, and of their relations to their respective mother countries. His design is to dispute the rights of mother countries over their colonies, and especially to confute the History of Colonizations, originally published in English, and since translated into French and German. This work has considerable merit; and the author concludes with a chapter on the modern colonies of the Europeans, and with a declamation against the rapacity, tyranny, and false politics exercised against the colonies, in order to keep them, by jealousies and internal dissensions, in a state of slavery.

A popular work has been published at Paris, in two volumes, octavo, intitled, *Tableau de Paris*, and which is supposed to have been written by M. Mercier. Though the author be a Frenchman, the great object of the work is to ridicule the French nation, and more particularly the inhabitants of Paris. It has, however, been well received in that capital, the inhabitants of which love to laugh, though it be at themselves, notwithstanding the solemn gravity which was once attributed to them by our old friend Sterne. The frivolousness of Parisian manners, the effeminacy of French *petit-maitres*, and many prejudices and absurdities of that nation, are indeed ridiculed in this work with abundant wit, and in a fine vein of irony and satire.

At

At the Hague has been published, in the French language, in octavo, a Journal of Travels through the southern countries of Europe, written by the late Mr. John George Sulzer, who was an excellent philosopher, and a most amiable and worthy man. He engaged in these travels with a view to the recovery of his health, and the remarks which he made in the course of them, and which are contained in this journal, are relative to the state of arts, sciences, agriculture, commerce, geography, and politics, in the countries through which he passed. His description of the beautiful and romantic views in the environs of Basil is extremely picturesque and pleasing; as is also his account of the canton of Bern, of Morat, Lausanne, the country of Vaud, Vevay, and the delightful rural scenes which transport the traveller between Lausanne and Geneva; as likewise of the little town of Aubonne, from which a view opens of the whole lake of Geneva, of the duchy of Chablais, and of an innumerable multitude of villages, castles, and country seats. Upon the whole, this is a very agreeable and instructive publication.

At Leipzig have been published, in octavo, by Dr. Gottfried Scütze, the first volume of a collection of Martin Luther's letters, which have never before been printed. These letters have been preserved in the public library of the city of Hamburgh; and the publication of them will contribute to throw some light both on the civil and ecclesiastical history of the period in which they were written. Some of these letters are in the German language, but the greatest part of them are in Latin.

M. Parmentier has published, at

Paris, in octavo, *Inquiries concerning nutritive Vegetables, which, in times of Scarcity, may supply the Place of ordinary Food; together with new Observations on the Culture of Potatoes.* This is a performance of considerable utility, and is divided into thirty-two articles. In the eleven first, the ingenious author treats of nourishment in general, of its composition, of nutritive matter, of seasoning, of light, solid, and coarse food, of farinaceous substances, of the glutinous matter of wheat, and lastly, of flour, considered as that part of farinaceous bodies which is essentially nutritive. The use of potatoes, their mixture with the meal or flour of different grains, the bread which may be made of them alone, as also the pulse, leaven, paste, sea-biscuit, gruels, salep, and sago, that may be obtained from these vegetables, are the subjects treated of in the seven following ones. The remaining fourteen articles contain an instructive account of the farinaceous seeds and roots from whence starch may be extracted; of roots in general; of nutritive and mucilaginous roots; of the vegetable substances that may supply the place of plants of the kitchen-garden; of the uncultivated vegetables, whose roots contain fine flour, or may be used wholly or in part for food; of nutritive powders; of the advantages of vegetable above animal food; of the precautions that ought to be employed in times of scarcity, and the means that may be used to prevent it.

M. Le Gentil, member of the Royal Academy of Sciences, has published at Paris, in quarto, the second volume of an account of a voyage in the Indian seas, made by order of the king of France, on occasion

casion of the passage of Venus over the sun's disk, June 6, 1761, and June 3, 1769. The first volume of this valuable work was published some time since. This second volume contains several new and interesting details, relative to the Philippine islands, and to the isles of France, Bourbon, and Madagascar. The long residence of the learned author at Manilla, and his connections with the principal inhabitants of that city, have furnished him with a great variety of information concerning the natural, moral, and political history of the Philippines, which the Spaniards have taken the utmost pains to conceal from the knowledge of other European nations. From the account given by M. Le Gentil, it appears, that the mountainous parts of these islands are peopled with savages, who seem to be ancient inhabitants of the country, and the resemblance of whose language with that of Malabar, renders it probable that they came originally from that part of India. The inhabitants of the plain are more civilized; they have been initiated into the mysteries of Popery, and are in a state of most slavish subjection to the Spanish priests.

The lovers of oriental literature will be pleased with a descriptive catalogue which has been published, at Madrid, by Don Michel Casirio, in two volumes, folio, of all the manuscript works composed in Arabic, by Arabico-Spanish authors, which are contained in the monastery of the Escorial. The learned compiler of this catalogue is a Syrian Maronite priest, an interpreter of oriental languages, and librarian to the present king of Spain. We are informed, in the preface to this work, that under the reign of Philip III. Pietro de Laza, being

on a cruise near Salee, took two vessels, wherein, among other effects belonging to Zeidan, king of Morocco, he found three thousand manuscripts, on political, philosophical, and medical subjects, and on the true sense and interpretation of the Koran. These were deposited in the library of the Escorial, and were a most valuable addition to it; but, unfortunately, on the 7th of June, 1671, a fire broke out, which consumed a great number of these manuscripts, so that there were only about eighteen hundred which escaped the flames. This catalogue is in Arabic and Latin, and the manuscripts are divided into thirteen classes, viz. rhetoric, poetry, philology, miscellanies, lexicons, philosophy, politics, medicine, natural history, jurisprudence, theology, geography, and history. M. Casirio gives some account of the characters of many of the authors of these manuscripts, of the time when they wrote, and of the degree of esteem in which their works are held by the Mahometans. It appears, that under the reigns of Almanzor and Almainon, the Arabians applied themselves, with great success, to the study of philosophy, mathematics, medicine, and natural history. They translated, into their language, the most valuable writings of the Greeks, Syrians, Persians, Egyptians, and Indians.

The Abbé Augier has published, in three volumes, octavo, a French translation of all the works of Isocrates, to which are added select dialogues from other authors. This translation appears to be well executed, and the abbé has prefixed a life and character of Isocrates, with critical observations on his merit as an orator.









